REPORT OF GROUP A

Group A with attendance of 16 of the 22 expected participants and some additional guests reached the following conclusions:

(1) It found that there was no present activity of the SRC which needs to be abandoned or considerably altered. It sought in its recommendations to emphasize practical programs in the view that such programs are more effective than mere exhortation.

(2) The group sees the VEP program as highly relevant to the building of a power base for blacks. It urges continuance of a study of techniques of voter registration and projects for citizenship education and leadership training. It recommends attention to projects for getting out the vote by action, if counsel sees this as advisable, or by encouragement of other organizations. It hopes that the staff of VEP will continue to seek new ways to contribute to the growth of political power in the black community. It would welcome some attention to the poor white citizen's need for political understanding.

(3) In the matter of compliance of federal bureaus, state offices, and local governments with Equal Opportunity Act requirements, the group recommends that the staff carry on research projects to indicate the extent and quality of compliance where other agencies have not done so. It suggests that a re-survey after an interval might be constructive.

This section believes the following suggestions to be worthy of consideration by staff and Executive Committee:

(4) A study and report on the orfices which are filled by appointment in Southern state governments and the extent, if any, to which race seems to be a factor in such appointments.

(5) The trend toward consolidation of local government units may call for study of examples, good and bad, of its effect on the political power of the black community.

(6) The group recommends the preparation of a brochure aimed at the medium-sized business to indicate how effectively to comply with the Equal Opportunity Act, how to overcome the difficulties involved, and the economic benefits of equal employment.

(7) The group was in favor of a simple manual to help the lower-level supervisor avoid mistakes in handling minority employees and to increase his sensitivity to the problems of those whom he supervises.

(8) The group recommends that the staff consider the possibility of offering the material involved in these two brochures and similar material as program content for business meetings which are convened in Atlanta.

(9) The group wishes to alert the staff to the desirability of seeking contact with SRC board members and state Council board members when their projects take them to local areas.

(10) The group desires to see more involvement of SRC board members. This is now achieved by initiative of individual members and by a few advisory committees. One suggestion is that the members from a given state meet concurrently as an SRC committee at the time of the state Council annual meeting.

(11) The group agreed that staff should be alert to the opportunity offered by planned federal concentration on Memphis in civil rights action.

(12) Consensus of the group was that SRC should engage in activities which will lead to complete freedom of occupancy in all parts of our communities without regard to race or economic levels.

(13) Staff should search out OEO "success stories" and spotlight them for public information.

(14) In addition to its present excellent publications, the production for much larger distribution of a series of pamphlets or papers better designed to reach and appeal to the man in the street.

(15) The staff should write news releases based on all SRC's published material as it appears.

(16) Some study should be made by the SRC Executive Committee of inviting the participation of young people, perhaps as members of the SRC Board.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF GROUP B

The session reviewed the structure, purposes, and program goals of SRC. There was universal agreement that goals were valid but questions were raised as to the relevancy of these programs at this time in the light of new issues and new problems facing the South and the nation. The following areas of new program approach and emphasis were suggested.

1. The SRC was described as a head without a body, representing a need for more effective articulation between the programs of the Council itself and those of the State Councils on Human Relations.

   As a means of addressing this need it was proposed that the Executive Committee continue to make use of ad hoc committees of State Council Directors and officers when it considers those problems of direct interest to the State Councils and that the State Council Directors and SRC staff be urged to find even more effective ways of communicating their mutual concerns through joint sessions, projects, and individual consultations.

2. As a means of enabling the Council both to (a) address itself to issues of economic development affecting the life and welfare of the dispossed communities and (b) take advantage of the new resources available

through government, business, private foundations and other organizations and that the Council launch a program for establishing Community Development Corporations.

3. That SRC expand its activity of political education and in this connection formulate a Charter of Goals for the region essential to the achievement of a more democratic society in the South.

   Two specific kinds of projects were suggested: 1) Analysis of the voting records of Southern Congressmen and Senators in the context of proposed social and economic legislation, and (2) that SRC undertake a research project in 1969 dealing with living conditions in a variety of counties of the South, and that photographic and essay reports be prepared both to educate local residents as to priority goals and to remind local, state and national leaders of unmet local needs.

4. Emphasis upon mass media as a principal program departure using as a model the vehicle of the New Orleans Council -- that is seminars with mass media personnel (newspapers, radio and television) and local community leaders, with poor people involved. Such a program might achieve the following: 1) The better interpretation of the basic social goals to which the SRC program is addressed. 2) A fuller consideration of the tactical use of the equal

time and fairness standards applicable to the TV and radio media and 3) the exertion of constructive criticism on the interpretation of race relations events and developments affecting life in the Southern Community.

5. In our awareness of the continuing need for young people -- potential Southern leaders -- to find meaningful expression of their goals and an outlet for action leading to constructive change and recognition, we urge consideration of a youth project aimed at both community and student leaders.

6. We recommend that SRC's Executive Committee consider the establishment of a separate entity in conformity with Section 503-C-4 of the Internal Revenue Code whose purpose shall be to implement the legislative goals which SRC sees as essential to the development of the region.

7. In the context of its present leadership program, we propose that SRC explore the possibility of using the regional and national meetings of business, professional, civic and other organizations held in Southern cities as a means of interpreting the developing South, its racial problems and progress.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF GROUP ~~B~~ C

Evaluation of SRC Program and Structure:

1. Basic program.--We feel that SRC's programs are fundamentally sound.

2. Composition and structure of the Council and Executive Committee.--SRC should examine its by-laws involving restrictions on the composition of the Council and the Executive Committee with the objective of broadening the basis of representation and rotation. We enthusiastically support the new spirit and changes as disclosed in the recommendation of the report of the Nominating Committee. We feel, however, that more changes should occur:

   A. More diverse geographic representation on the Executive Committee.

   B. More youthful membership on the Executive Committee.

3. Reaching grassroots level.--We feel that SRC needs to broaden its base of communication and involvement with the so-called grassroots people. We specifically recommend:

   A. A technique should be developed to reach a broader constituency in areas not

covered by VEP. Specifically, SRC should

1. Study the possibility of manuals for mass distribution in all areas being relevant.
2. Produce a formal manual for leadership training groups tailor-made to SRC's programs.

4. Lack of flexibility of funding.--We observe that SRC has nearly all of its resources earmarked for specific projects and therefore has too little money to use for innovation or in a flexible manner to meet problems not foreseen at the time the budget was prepared. There is, therefore, a need for a search for more funds to guarantee greater flexibility.

5. State Councils.--There is a serious problem of the funding of state councils. Therefore, we recommend that the Executive Committee and/or staff invite reactions to the merits of a professionally coordinated state council fund-raising effort.

6. Out-reach.--We observe that SRC programs involve and reach only a limited number of citizens within our region. We therefore believe that SRC's out-reach should be increased to include communication with a greater number of low-income

and here-to-fore unreached citizens, black and white, within the region. Specific recommendations include:

A. Schools.

B. Established civic and community groups.

C. Young black militants.

7. Voter Education Project.--VEP has done an outstanding job in voter registration, education, and participation, as well as in leadership training. We are delighted to see it move in new areas such as providing services to public officials. We feel, however, that VEP should explore the possibility of using its existing channels for other programs and ventures of SRC.

We believe that the group discussion process followed at this meeting is a creative innovation in the decision-making process, and should be repeated at the next annual meeting.

--C. H. Thomas, Chairman

Samuel DuBois Cook, Recorder

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.,
Staff Resource

SC/js

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, AUGUST, 1952

MEETINGS & SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

George Mitchell

Three talks to the conference of Unitarians of the Southeast at Blue Ridge, N. C., August 28-30.

Lectured to rural ministers from the Southeast at Gammon Theological Seminary August 12.

Spoke to students of regional planning at Georgia Institute of Technology.

Met with the mayor of Atlanta, along with several other human relations professionals, to discuss the mechanics of a contemplated mayor's committee on human relations. Director of information also assisted in the preparation of a prospectus and other materials necessary for the furtherance of the plan.

Arrangements made with officials of the North Carolina Division for a late September meeting of the Division.

Collected $75 due on sale of "Race and Law Enforcement" in Washington, D. C.

Conference with President Marion Wright

Mrs. Tilly

Taught courses in human rights for the Tennessee Conference of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church in Beersheba Springs, Tennessee; for the Kentucky Conference WSCS in London, Kentucky; and for the Board of Education of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, at Dahlonega, Georgia.

Spoke at Junaluska, N. C., to 2,000 adult Sunday School teachers.

Spoke to political science class at Emory University.

POLICE MATTERS

Luncheon meeting with selected Atlanta citizens, arranged by Anti-Defamation League, to meet the Atlanta Chief of Police and Superintendent of Police Brown, who had attended the institute on "The Police and Racial Tensions" at Chicago, in part with aid from the Southern Regional Council.

Wrote appropriate officials in the Department of Police at New Orleans, praising their new manual on "Human Relations and Effective Police Action."

Research assistant did another complete mail survey of Negro policemen and Negro firemen in Southern cities.

STUDENT MATTERS

Assisted in arranging for an orphaned Negro high school boy with artistic talent to have special instruction at Spelman College.

Conference with Kendall Weisiger re travel aid to African students in general.

INFORMATION SUPPLIED

Virginius Dabney wanted information for article he is doing for the Saturday Evening Post on "Segregation in Education."

A minister in South Carolina wanted to be brought up to date on the controversy on segregation in the schools in his State.

A South African weekly wanted information about the new Negro private hospital in Atlanta.

The American Friends Service Committee wanted a new citizen of Richmond informed as to interracial contacts she might make there.

An Arkansas citizen wished to be told how to tie on to the interracial movement.

Assisted in the preparation of materials on prejudice in politics for presentation to a Southwide church women's gathering.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE

With the Girl Scouts re an additional site for interracial meetings in Tennessee.

With a Virginian re action of State medical societies in other Southern States on admission of Negro physicians.

Executive director wrote article for September 27 issue of The Nation, on "The Negro in the South," introducing the section on "Labor Movement in the South."

Various letters toward obtaining information for an article in Emory law review by the assistant dean of the law school there, on segregation in recreational facilities in certain Southern States and cities.

Encouragement to the St. Petersburg, Florida, Council on Human Relations.

Sent to various American Indian friends in the South a new pamphlet, The Indian Who Never Got Home.

RACE & LAW ENFORCEMENT BLOCK SALES

Palmetto State Teachers Association, Columbia, S. C. - 100
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (Bishop J. Arthur Hamlett), Kansas City, Kansas - 600
Unitarians at Southeastern Conference, Blue Ridge, N. C. - 23
Cooperative Farms, Inc., Cruger, Mississippi - 10

FUND RAISING

Letters to several people who customarily help us about this time of year with small contributions.

Efforts in New Orleans assisted by Rev. V. J. O'Connell and Dr. A. W. Dent.

Report sent to an annual anonymous donor.

Renewed request to a small New York foundation.

Raised $175 toward a needed $1,000 to matching a foundation-promised thousand for the Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law.

Conference with Washington representative of the Ford Foundation.

ECONOMY MEASURES

Did not hire a membership secretary to take Adella Shields' place when she left in late August.

Gave up storage and work room, at a saving of $25 per month.

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STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, OCTOBER, 1952

OCTOBER TRAVEL & SPEECH-MAKING

George Mitchell

Knoxville, for two interracial gatherings, one of friends of Fellowship House, to talk about possible programs for Knoxville, and another at the Unitarian Church, on the South in general. Talked also at Knoxville College and at the University of Tennessee.

At Lakeland, Florida, for the middle week of the month for a very interesting occasion. The American Federation of Labor held its first Southwide Labor School, bringing in the top people from its State Federations of Labor and city Central Labor Units from all over the South--sixty-odd. They gave the Council the job of teaching a course in "Economic and Social Problems." George Mitchell took them over the bumps--FEPC, segregated education, and all. Two-thirds of them cordially interested. Perhaps a third not. Significant that this group was prepared to approach these subjects intimately and intensively.

In the course of the Lakeland trip, talked also to a social work group and friends of the Southern Regional Council at St. Petersburg.

Luncheon appearance on "Problems of Rural Planning" for a gathering of engineers and city planners in Atlanta.

Mrs. Tilly

Conducted a workshop on Christian Social Relations for the Southeastern Conference of the Council of Churchwomen at Jacksonville.

Spoke at convocation of adult Methodists of the Indiana area.

Met with Rome and Augusta, Georgia Committees on Interracial Cooperation.

Spoke to young people at two Atlanta Methodist churches.

COX COMMITTEE

Questionnaire arrived in mid-October from the Cox Committee--in full, the Select Committee of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations.

We judged the questionnaire to be aimed chiefly at foundations making numerous grants for scholarship or other aid, the apparent intent being to convict them of failing to investigate grantees for un-American proclivities. They bored in also with many questions as to the practices of agencies on employment of personnel and choice of policy officers. On the finance side, they wanted a full list of contributors to each agency from 1937 forward. By heroic effort, the secretary-treasurer furnished a list of all who had contributed a hundred

dollars or more since the beginning of the Southern Regional Council in 1944, but on advice of counsel, we lumped together the many small contributions, over and above dues, which had come in. President Wright mailed the full report in to the Committee November 1.

FUND-RAISING

Supplied William C. Whitney Foundation with additional information as to SRC program for 1952.

Wrote to various customary, but laggard, contributors.

Katherine Stoney, on a journey to Washington, made arrangements for a fund-raising dinner for friends and members of the Council, to be held there November 14.

RACE & LAW ENFORCEMENT

Number of sheriffs visited by church women, as of October 31--127 in 11 States.

INFORMATION SUPPLIED

The usual run of theses and debates to service.

For a sub-committee of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials we prepared a summary of the present status of safety of the person and several other civil rights in the South.

For Hodding Carter supplied a collection of materials to assist him in describing matters Southern in a six-months trip abroad, beginning in mid-October.

Undertook lengthy chapter on employment of Negroes for a forthcoming year book of the Journal of Negro Education.

SURVEYS

Considerable interest in Knoxville toward a self-survey there. Stirrings in St. Petersburg.

SOUTHWIDE MEETING NOVEMBER 17

Much correspondence with the various agencies invited to attend this third meeting (at Fisk November 17) of human relations agencies in the South.

GENERAL

Time and attention to visitors from Norway, Sweden and South Africa.

Arranged speaker for South Carolina Division meeting coming up November 6.

Anna Holden queried by mail the various Southern colleges rumored to have altered their admittance policies on matters of race.

Prepared a project proposal for needed changes in Southern State constitutions.

Continued advice to National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

Suggested to a publisher that a book be commissioned on the growth of regulation and precedent in the field of fair employment. Would be indispensable as a text in the task of training personnel for an FEPC.

Various small matters relating to African students in Atlanta.

Executive Director undertook to serve on a board being formed to raise and administer travel funds for these students in the future.

NOVEMBER TRAVEL

Executive Director, Washington, D. C., November 11-14, meeting of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

November 14, Abbeville, S. C., Friends Committee re Little River Farms.

November 17, Southwide coordinating group, Nashville.

November 18, Woodstock, Georgia, address to church group.

November 20, St. Petersburg, Florida, speech and encouragement to survey.

November 24, Rock Hill, S. C., address to local church group.

November 14, secretary-treasurer, meeting of Florida Division.

November 25, secretary-treasurer, meeting of Mississippi Division.

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, NOVEMBER, 1952

TRAVEL

November has been a month of traveling about. George Mitchell spent the second week in Washington at a meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

On November 14 some eighty members and friends of the Southern Regional Council met in Washington at the YWCA with the executive director and raised about $400 for the Council.

Also on November 14, Katherine Stoney met with the Florida Division at Jacksonville. They most generously contributed $350 to the Council's budget.

November 17 at Nashville, George Mitchell met with the various agencies concerned with human relations in the South. Attendance quite good, with representatives from the Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, and South Carolina Divisions of the Council present, as well as people from the National Urban League, the Methodist Church, the NAACP, the Fellowship House of Knoxville, and the Race Relations Institute at Fisk. We drew up the statement attached on the use of prejudice in political campaigns, and devised plans for getting numerous church and lay organizations throughout the South to pass resolutions in the coming months against racial and religious prejudice in campaigns. The group will meet again in January or February on the question of segregation in the schools.

Met with a church group in the North Georgia town of Woodstock November 18.

November 20 and 21 at St. Petersburg, Florida, for a two-day session of the St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations and a talk to its major evening gathering on November 20.

Also on November 20-22, Harold Fleming represented SRC at a conference of human relations experts at Aaronsburg, Pennsylvania. Plans for a nation-wide program on human rights were discussed.

George Mitchell went to Rock Hill November 24 for a talk to lay groups from two Catholic Churches in that city.

On November 24 Katherine Stoney attended the annual meeting of the Mississippi Division, and reported an unusually constructive meeting.

RACE & LAW ENFORCEMENT

Mrs. Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned have reported the following counties in which church women have visited their sheriffs in the interest of fair law enforcement:

Alabama
DeKalb, Barbour, Macon, Madison

Florida
Volusia, Broward, Columbia

Georgia

Walker, Whitfield, Chattooga, Gordon, Cherokee, Fannin, Heard, Lumpkin, Rabun, Hall, Barrow, Gwinnett, Walton, DeKalb, Fulton, Clayton, Cobb, Coweta, Troup, Meriwether, Upson, Morgan, Harris, Greene, McDuffie, Richmond, Schley, Sumter, Evans, Dougherty, Tift, Bacon, Seminole, Brooks, Clinch, Dooly.

Kentucky

Marshall, Campbell, Carter, Boyd, Pike, Perry, Franklin, Mercer, Hardin, Taylor, Adair, Jefferson, Simpson, Henderson, Webster, Meade, Hopkins, Christian, Livingston, Boyle, Montgomery, Edmonson, Greenup, Fleming

Mississippi

Union, Sunflower, Grenada, Carroll, Madison, Scott, Smith, Simpson, Panola, Copiah, Clairborne, Walthall, Forrest

North Carolina

Cabarrus, Rowan, Orange, Mecklenburg, Chatham, Caswell, Alamance, Durham, Vance, Wayne, Pitt, Onslow, Columbus, Yancey

South Carolina

Dorchester, Edgefield, Laurens, Anderson, Pickens, Lexington, Richland, Newberry, Beaufort

Tennessee

Sullivan, Jefferson, Cumberland, Prentiss, Smith, Sumner, Robertson, Davidson, Williamson, Maury, Marshall, Giles, Lawrence, Montgomery, Humphreys, Dyer, Gibson, Lauderdale, Shelby

Virginia

Scott, Lee, Wise, Dickerson, Grayson, Tazewell, Wythe, Pulaski, Staunton, Nottoway, Rappahannock, Fairfax, Accomac, Northampton

Louisiana

Grant, Rapides, East Baton Rouge, Thibodaux

Texas

Harris

Total number of sheriffs visited to date--141.

STATE DIVISIONS

The South Carolina Division had its meeting November 5, and the Council assisted in getting Dr. Faulkner of Fisk as principal speaker for the meeting at Columbia.

At Baton Rouge some proposals are being made for reviving the Baton Rouge Chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION

President Marion Wright has written in urging that the Council bring its available resources to bear in preparing the South for constructive use of whatever may be the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation case, and we are busily organizing with other groups for appropriate action.

The November 8 Saturday Evening Post carried a long article by Virginius Dabney on segregation in the schools, mentioning the Council several times and quoting at length from a statement we made to the effect that in more parts of the South than most people suspect, local opinion could be brought pretty readily to agree to an unsegregated school system.

Harold Fleming conferred in Atlanta with Galen Weaver of the American Missionary Association on general plans for meeting the upcoming changes in Southern schools.

INFORMATION SUPPLIED

The Council is much turned to by colleges and students' debating groups for information about this year's debate topic--FEPC

We came near to the end of our little research project on recreational facilities in Southern States and cities, and will shortly turn it over to people at the Emory Law School, who are preparing an article on it for the Emory law review.

A college president preparing an article on segregation in higher education needed a list of Southern institutions now open to Negroes. Supplied.

The usual run of inquiries for information on this and that.

GENERAL

On survey matters, Knoxville continues to show interest in a survey, and Anna Holden is going there to meet with the interested groups December 4.

On fund-raising, George Mitchell continued negotiations for aid hoped from a foundation in New Orleans; and Leonard Haas, in the course of a trip to New York, very kindly got in touch with people in the Ford Foundation on our behalf.

We proposed to a New York publisher that a volume be issued developing the "case law" of fair employment practices, suitable for use in training the personnel that will be needed by any expanded agency in this field.

DECEMBER TRAVEL

December 2, Little Rock, at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Division.

December 5 at Palm Beach, Florida, for a convention of the Florida Home Economics and Dietitians Association.

December 7 and 8 at Monteagle, Tennessee, for a meeting of the board of Highlander Folk School.

December 12 at Raleigh for the annual meeting of the North Carolina Division.

SRC-ex.dir.

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, JANUARY, 1953

No special report was mailed out for December, 1952, as the Executive Committee itself met that month.

MEETINGS & LECTURES

The executive director met with the Atlanta Friends Meeting, with the Atlanta Chapter of the journalism fraternity Sigma Delta Chi, with the Pilot Club at Daytona Beach, and in an Arkansas trip late in January talked to classes of the student body at AM&N College, Pine Bluff, and with a faculty group at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville.

Mrs. Tilly's activity was concentrated with the Georgia Interracial Committee.

FORD REQUEST

In the last few days of December the executive director went to New York in hopes of getting some light on the date at which a decision from the Ford Foundation could be expected. The Ford Foundation had convened the first meeting of the Board of its new Fund for the Republic on December 11. An interview was held with staff members of the Fund for the Republic and with one or two of the members of its Board. The situation with us is the more urgent because of the impending decision of the United States Supreme Court on the segregation cases. Whatever the form of the decision, we told the Fund for the Republic people, substantial changes will necessarily occur in the South, and it is the part of simple wisdom to be prepared in advance for these changes. We presented a proposal about voluntary State School Committees which had seemed to our December meeting of the Executive Committee to be a suitable step toward readiness. While persons in the Fund for the Republic office recognized the importance of the emergency set out, they had available no mechanism for providing within a very short while the substantial sums in terms of which the Council was speaking, and at the end of the negotiations the executive director left the matter of the whole original request to stand as heretofore before the Board of the Fund for the Republic.

Estimates vary as to how long it will take the Board of the Fund for the Republic to come down to cases. Some say weeks, some say months.

POSSIBLE NEW BY-LAWS

A draft of possible new by-laws, cast in the form approved in principle by the November, 1951, annual membership meeting, and subsequently discussed in meetings of the Executive Committee, was sent out in January to all members of the Executive Committee. These were drafted to enable the Council to function smoothly in the event that it received quite substantial additional support, and therefore had the means to provide for active State organizations with full-time paid personnel. Detailed comments and revisions of the draft by-laws are requested.

FUND-RAISING

In the course of the New York trip various of the foundation groups which have from time to time helped the Council were interviewed. We had reason to be assured of the renewal of the annual grant from the National Council of the protestant Episcopal Church and from the Sidney Hillman Fund. Further negotiations were conducted with the Doris Duke Foundation about the proposed Commission on Equal Penalties in Courts of Law. We have already enjoyed this year a substantial contribution from the United Steelworkers of America - CIO, and upon receipt of the audit will renew our requests to the United Automobile Workers of America - CIO, to several small foundations, and to a number of our largest individual contributors. President Marion Wright has been working on contacts of his, and Paul Williams has promised to renew his efforts on our behalf.

NEW SOUTH

The last few issues of New South have been somewhat more popular than usual. There has been an exceptionally wide demand for the FEPC issue, September, 1952. Orders have been received from a total of 52 public and college libraries all over the country, as well as from many individuals (mostly college students).

We have been pleased to notice a steady growth in the subscription list of New South last year. It continues to receive, issue by issue, good and widespread newspaper notice.

RECREATION PROJECT

The research assistant, Miss Anna Holden, aided by a volunteer, Mrs. Sue Crank, has compiled the facts on discrimination in recreational facilities in several sample Southern cities and States, and it is hoped that this can serve as a basis for an early article in the law review published by Emory University.

LIBRARY PROJECT

A survey of library services available to Negroes in the South is being made in cooperation with the Atlanta University Library. The survey is concerned with services in the main libraries, in Negro branch libraries, and with Negro representation on library boards in the Southern States.

STATE DIVISIONS

The Little Rock group of the Arkansas Division continues to hold an interracial luncheon every two weeks.

The New Orleans Committee on Race Relations has resumed employment of a paid executive secretary.

The Georgia Interracial Committee has been active in a recent court case.

The Alabama Division will meet at Montgomery February 10.

THIS & THAT

Information furnished to the usual miscellany of inquirers. We helped some groups find speakers for Race Relations Sunday.

Some follow-up on the Nashville meeting of last November, to further its proposal of local resolutions against use of racial and religious prejudice in political campaigns.

The Christian Science Monitor of January 9 carried quite a good write-up of Mrs. Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned.

A church official needed help in drafting an action program for his group in the field of Christian relations. Gave him eight ways to act.

A New Jersey Ph.D. researcher wanted to be steered to a plantation belt Southern town lately industrialized. Suggested Demopolis, Alabama.

Wrote Mr. Luther Jackson's widow to tell her that a recent occasion for us to go through her husband's 1948 Council pamphlet, Race and Suffrage in the South since 1940, had convinced us all again of the soundness and far-sightedness of his work.

During the past month the Council has assisted several newspaper men in the preparation of major articles on race relations. One of these, a series explaining the significance of the school segregation suits, appeared in the Greensboro Record.

For the third consecutive year the Council is to be one of the beneficiaries of the Student Brotherhood Chest at Emory University. Campus solicitations begin in February.

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, FEBRUARY, 1953

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

George Mitchell

First Congregational Church and Rush Memorial Congregational Church, Atlanta; Agnes Scott College; Morehouse College chapel; Emory University; Georgia Conference of Tuberculosis Workers at their annual meeting in Augusta; annual meeting of the Alabama Division; a group of foreign trainees, under auspices of YWCA. For the Woman's Society of Christian Service in several Methodist churches (Central Jurisdiction) in Atlanta, conducted four-session evening course on civil rights at Gammon Seminary.

Mrs. Tilly

Spoke at annual meeting of Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church (Southeastern Jurisdiction) in Jackson, Mississippi. Taught class on civil rights to Methodist women at Ben Hill, Georgia.

Harold Fleming

Talked to NAACP meeting at Birmingham on housing.

MONEY MATTERS

Correspondence with Field Foundation and extensive correspondence with Fund for the Republic.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States has agreed to renew for this year its annual contribution to the Council.

Letters to numerous of our regular contributors, sending along the 1952 audit and requesting renewed assistance in 1953.

Prepared for Charles Johnson a renewed letter to friends of his who for several years have given generously to the Council.

PROJECTS UNDER WAY

In conference with Walter White of the NAACP made proposal for assistance in getting together a group of Southern people representing various agencies in the field of human relations who might discuss jointly with the NAACP problems arising from the impending decision of the Supreme Court on the school cases.

A member in northern Alabama sent in a news clipping showing that the police commissioner in Birmingham had, in a recent speech, condemned the employment of Negro policemen on Southern police forces as useless to the various police departments. We supplied the facts to the chairman of the Alabama Division, who undertook to get some news correction of the impression left by the Birmingham police commissioner. Attached are some of the facts.

NEW SOUTH

The Race Relations Department at Fisk University has done a careful study on segregation in interState coach travel. With their permission, we propose to make this the basis for an early article in NEW SOUTH.

Elmer Henderson, for the American Council on Human Rights, ordered 200 copies of the issue of NEW SOUTH on the Negro vote in the South.

STATE DIVISIONS

The New Orleans Committee on Race Relations, affiliated with the Council, held its annual meeting on February 25. Board member Morris Abram from Atlanta made the principal talk.

Alabama Division held its annual meeting February 10 in Montgomery, with Board member Harry Richardson as principal speaker.

BITS & PIECES

A good many hours with a writer from TIME magazine, who is preparing material for a forthcoming issue centered on Negro matters.

Some furtherance of the idea of getting a publisher to do a book on the emerging administrative law of fair employment practices.

One or two chores in Atlanta for the Greensboro Office of the Job Opportunities Project of the American Friends Service Committee.

Some advice to the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor as to Southern agricultural matters.

President Wright was instrumental in getting the Winston-Salem JOURNAL & SENTINEL to do a full-page feature article on the Council in the Sunday issue of February 22.

Advice to a friend in the myaor's office in Houston who is, on behalf of the mayor, looking into the possibility of setting up an official Commission on Human Relations in that city.

Supplied information on race relations progress for use by an SRC member temporarily residing in Japan.

Supplied detailed information on Negro suffrage, colleges "opened," income, and other aspects of race relations in the South to Division of Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. Also to writer from a Chicago newspaper.

Sent SRC member in Mobile and interested citizen in Moultrie, Georgia, and another in Annapolis, Maryland, information on Negro police. All trying to secure Negro police in their communities.

Numerous requests for debate information on FEPC and other subjects.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance report for February, 1953

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$ 168.50	
Contribution from Church (Natn'l Council, Protestant Episcopal Church)	1,000.00	
Contributions from Foundations (Sidney Hillman Fund - $1500.) (Marion R. Ascoli Fund - $300.)	1,800.00	
Members Dues	248.00	
New South Subscriptions	73.25	
Sale of Literature	76.90	
Honoraria	35.00	
Transfer from Fellowship of the Concerned - salary, Mrs. Tilly	100.00	
Total Receipts		$3,501.65

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$ 2,703.32	
Social Security (cost to Council)	18.99	
Travel	188.22	
Office Supplies	102.55	
Rent	105.00	
Telephone & Telegraph	162.23	
Postage	18.32	
Books & subscriptions	5.85	
Georgia Sales Tax	.82	
Bank Exchange	1.05	
Paid to State Divisions	314.50	
Total Disbursements		$3,620.85

Recapitulation:

Balance, Feb. 1, 1953	$ 171.04
Receipts	3,501.65
	3,672.69
Disbursements	3,620.85
Balance, March 1, 1953	$ 51.84

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE as of February 28, 1953

George S. Mitchell, Salary	$ 833.34
Harold Fleming, salary	250.00
Katherine Stoney, salary	596.64
Anna Holden	166.66
Mrs. M. E. Tilly	125.00
Southern Bell Tel. Co.	19.20
Stein Printing Co.	176.39
Mimeograph Co.	47.65
Office Supply Co.	12.41
Due to State Divisions	119.00
Audit fee	75.00
Total Accounts Payable	~~$2,346.29~~ $ 2421.29

April 2, 1953

TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Here is a quarterly round-up.

FINANCES

1952 ended lamely, we must admit, and the Council still limped in the early months of 1953. Lately the Ford Foundation itself sent us $20,000 "to sustain and expand" our program in 1953. And so far as we learn, this life-saving grant is without prejudice to our major application long pending before the Fund for the Republic. We are told that it will be a goodish period yet before the Fund for the Republic is completely organized and ready to make its decision.

The Executive Committee decided March 21 that we would not make this grant a matter of public notice.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Thus refreshed, we go to our job with less limp. The problem of the year is clearly the schools. Late in December we prepared a new memorandum on what ought to be done in the South to get ready for the Supreme Court's decision and for the months thereafter. We thought the best thing was to try to get going in each Southern State a State School Committee of private citizens, faithfully representing all interests, and in some sense paralleling the official State school boards. The private Committee would make use of the paid personnel that we hope ultimately can be provided in each State, so that pretty complete facts could be laid before the meetings of the Committee on each school system--differences, inequities, opportunities for early desegregation, compliance with whatever the Supreme Court may order, all the problems about teachers and buildings and curricula and school district lines, and so on.

One of the abiding but curable problems of the South is that we don't use the normal democratic processes for satisfying a minority grievance. In a democracy what you are supposed to do is get on to the official boards representatives of each interest, and there in the official boards settle problems. As we all know, there are only two State school boards in the South that have or have lately had Negro members (Kentucky and North Carolina). And the Council knows of only five or six local school boards so organized. Wherefore, misunderstanding, distrust, and partial policies.

We suppose that these private committees could reach agreement on the facts as to things to be done. Certainly they could give public opinion in each State a lead often different from the official one.

Clearly, there is not, for the time being, the money to put the paid personnel into the States, and therefore, organizing such Committees has to wait. But we shall see if we can find in each State some single volunteer person who will con up the facts about the schools and be both a

correspondent for the Council centrally and an aid to good movements within his or her own State. And that we are trying to work out now. The Council could pay the modest expenses of such a person on telephone calls and travel and reports and postage. We have asked the chairman of each State Division or affiliated committee to help find such a person. Board members can help their State chairmen by being in touch with them and advising them.

HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES

The Council has had a hand in getting together three separate meetings of agencies in the South concerned with human relations. One talked about housing and bomb violence; the next about racial and religious prejudice in political campaigns; and the last, just lately, about segregation in the schools. The meeting is merely people from the various agencies, without any power to commit agency program; but all who have come have found it a useful opportunity to bring our various policies nearer together and concentrate at particular times on particular things.

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual membership meeting of the Council will be held at Dean Sage Hall at Atlanta University on May 14. The Board will meet on May 13 in the Board Room of Atlanta University at 10:00 a. m., as heretogore. And again the Council is in a position now to pay the expenses of Board members for that meeting. So we hope there will be full attendance.

ELECTION OF NEW BOARD

A proposal will be before the annual membership meeting to alter the by-laws in such a way as to enable the election of an almost complete Board this time.

You will remember that the membership meeting in November, 1951, asked that new by-laws be drafted to alter the Council into a sort of federation of active State groups, with a single self-perpetuating Board to coordinate the work of the State organizations. If, therefore, at this meeting we simply filled out the vacancies in the present Board (the usual custom in the past), we would probably be keeping only a "lame duck" Board and would face later on (when, as, and if the Council gets means for a substantially expanded program) the problem of choosing a new Board to work under the new by-laws.

So it is proposed this time to suspend that clause in the present by-laws which arranges elections to vacancies on the present Board, and use, in effect, the machinery of the proposed new by-laws for selecting on May 14 the reorganized Board. I want to emphasize that a reorganized

Board does not mean the loss from the Board of, by any means, all of the present members; we hope that the nominating committee will bring in a slate that will include many of you who have been the Council's firm supporters all these years.

There is some hard thinking and planning to be done May 13 and 14. The Council is debt-free, clearly has strength for some time to come, may quite possibly be much expanded in the future, and Goodness knows, has work to do. Wherefore, please come and help.

Respectfully submitted,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance report for March, 1953

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$	856.00
Contribution from Organization (Emory Univ. Brotherhood Chest)		141.10
Contributions from Churches (Div. of Home Missions & Church Extension, (The Methodist Church - $250. (Province of Sewanee, Protestant Episcopal (Church - $100.		350.00
Contribution from Foundation (The Ford Foundation)		20,000.00
Members Dues		700.00
New South Subscriptions		114.50
Sales of Miscellaneous Literature		58.20
Honorarium		25.00
Total Receipts	$	22,244.80

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$	4,471.62
Social Security		39.47
Rent		105.00
Travel		269.09
Printing		362.80
Office Supplies		127.04
Postage		59.89
Telephone & Telegraph		67.46
Audit Fee		75.00
Books & subscriptions		60.22
Expense of meeting		7.27
Sales Tax		.83
Bank exchange		1.05
Misc.		1.50
Paid to State Divisions		113.00
Total Disbursements	$	5,761.24

Balance, March 1, 1953	$	51.84
Receipts		22,244.80
Disbursements	-	5,761.24
Balance, April 1, 1953	$	16,535.40

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE as of March 31, 1953

Southern Bell Tel. Co.	$	20.45
Elliott Addressing Machine Co.		4.12
Columbia Ribbon & Carbon Co.		4.64
Due to State Divisions (for March)		221.00
Total	$	250.21

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, JUNE 1953

ANNUAL MEETING

What with the annual meeting in mid-May, we have neglected our monthly letter to members of the Executive Committee.

The annual meeting we thought a success. They agreed that the problem of getting compliance in the South with whatever the Supreme Court may decree is the first order of business. They elected a strong new Board of Directors. They re-elected a good strong Executive Committee! They adopted altered by-laws, to be brought into effect at a time to be fixed by the Executive Committee. The new arrangement would provide for our scattered Southwide membership to belong to strengthened State organizations, which in turn would be bound together and assisted by the Board of Directors of the Council. And the Board would be the Council itself, having power to elect to its own vacancies. All that waits on funds enough to enable us to put paid personnel into each State organization. Whether the Funds can be had or not is quite likely to be decided this autumn.

SCHOOLS PROGRAM

We have been urging each of our State groups to choose a single volunteer person, who will rapidly build up a knowledge of the school situation in his or her State. Here are the volunteers thus far officially named:

Miss Ruth Dreyfous, 17 Audubon Street, New Orleans
Dr. R. C. Koeninger, Sam Houston State Teachers College, Houston
Mr. Howard G. McClain, 116 South Saluda Street, Columbia, S. C.
Mr. Roscoe Giffen, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky
Dr. A. S. Turnipseed, 1429 Gilmer Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama
Mrs. Ruby Lyells, 1116 Montgomery Street, Jackson, Mississippi
Mr. Alfred Mynders, The Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga

Virginia has placed the responsibility on Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, at Trinity Christian Church at Staunton, who is chairman of a committee to make a permanent selection.

In Florida Mrs. W. C. White at Eau Gallie is serving for the time being, at least. Arkansas, Georgia, and North Carolina have as yet made no selection, but we are pressing the chairmen of the State organizations for a choice.

In the Council office here we have employed for the summer a professor from Agnes Scott, Miss Anna Greene Smith, who is in charge of pushing the schools program.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

We have concluded that the best use to be made of the remaining months between now and an announcement on the Supreme Court's decision will be to

get going in as many communities as we can local interracial discussion meetings, on the matter of schools. We want to pick some leaves out of the survey manual and prepare with them and other things a kit of material which would be useful to such discussion groups. In answering the questions for themselves in their own localities, they would find out the condition of white and Negro schools, the cost involved, the number of pupils by race, the number of teachers by race, and so on. Out of knowing the facts, it seems to us, the answers will begin to emerge. And the first group of responsible citizens well informed is pretty likely to be important in setting the reaction of local opinion to whatever the Supreme Court may say. The help of members of the Executive Committee is earnestly asked in getting these local discussion groups going.

There is another idea afloat about such groups for young people of high school age, but more, perhaps, about that in a later letter.

SPEECH MAKING

Harold Fleming talked to the Macon, Georgia, Interracial Committee.

George Mitchell spent a week with a CIO summer school near Talladega, Alabama, with union representatives from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. Subject, civil rights. Some fireworks, but some teaching too. A few days later he talked to a similar gathering for the International Chemical Workers--AFL--at Junaluska. Local officials from all the Southeastern States, plus Maryland.

George Mitchell spent another week at Blue Ridge with the Southwide conference of the Southern YM and YWCA's. Similarly on civil rights. He spent a week-end also at Aaronsburg, Pennsylvania, at an interesting gathering of people from all over the country for bettering human relations.

INTERSTATE TRAVEL

The April issue of New South reviewed in detail a remarkable study of segregation in interstate railway travel done by the American Missionary Association staff at Fisk University. No sooner in print than we mailed copies, with covering letters, to leading officials and general counsel for each of the principal passenger carrying railway lines in the South. We've had courteous acknowledgments from presidents or vice-presidents or general counsel from the L&N, Frisco, RF&P, SAL, FEC, and B&O railroad companies, and most of the answers showed that the officials had indeed read what we sent them.

We sent copies also to the home offices of the principal passenger serving railway trade unions, including the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Railway Patrolmen's International Union, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, American Railway Supervisors Association, Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Colored Trainmen of America, and the United Transport Service Employees of America. Thus far, only two acknowledgments.

Though the issue did not relate directly to interstate bus transportation, we sent it also to officials of the principal bus lines in the Southern States. I think in many an office this issue of New South will have been the first tangible evidence that a citizen body in the South is aware of the November action of the Supreme Court, which, in effect, outlawed segregation in interstate railway coach travel.

ATTACK ON SRC

Those of you who came to the mid-May meeting learned of the accusations against the Council by the Rev. Blake Craft of Clayton, Georgia, in his publication called One Methodist Voice. The staff and various of the officers of the Council, particularly President Wright, spent a lot of time thinking out the best course of action. We will be sending you in a day or two news of the action taken by the North Georgia Conference of The Methodist Church in repudiating Mr. Craft, and thereby indirectly upholding the Council. Some other steps in re the libelous accusations from Mr. Craft's paper are in the wind, but we all feel greatly heartened by the firm support given us by The Methodist Church.

COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES

We are now within $250 of having in hand the full $4,000 needed to start the Commission on Equal Penalties. The remaining sums needed have been pledged, and we are trying to collect. We hope to launch the Commission soon.

SHREVEPORT SURVEY

Their survey is at last done. The New York Herald Tribune showed interest in it, and a T-V program was put on nationally about it. Shreveport seems to have done an excellent job, and it has had the usual consequence of producing plans for remedy and friendships for getting the remedies applied.

FUNDS

The John Hay Whitney Foundation sent $1,500 for Mrs. Tilly's work with the Fellowship of the Concerned. The Ford Foundation continued for '53 its assistance in publication of New South--$2,500. The John Rust Foundation of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, gave us a thousand for the Commission on Equal Penalties. The United Rubber Workers--CIO--increased their last year's gift of $50 to $200. We are shy of enough funds to carry through to the end of the calendar year, but the Board meeting made arrangements for a new finance committee, and we hope something can result from that.

PRAISE OF POLICE PAMPHLET

Race and Law Enforcement received an enthusiastic review in the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science. The review concluded:

"Although this pamphlet is primarily designed for Southern communities, it could be read and studied with great benefit by all municipal police departments throughout the country." Order and request for quantity prices received from Toledo Police Department, contemplating use in their police academy.

HODDING CARTER ON RACE IN THE NEWS

Board member Hodding Carter's new book, Where Main Street Meets the River, has a chapter called "Mrs. Means Married Woman." The chapter recounts the process by which he himself for his paper decided to use courtesy titles. He called us up, he said (actually, we remember that he sent a wire), and asked how many Southern papers were already using courtesy titles. Harold Fleming and Anna Holden stayed late that night and got up a list of such papers and sent it over to him. Carter in his book said that the day after his phone call, an air mail letter came in listing a hundred papers. He switched and held his breath. Two or three minor kicks. Complete and friendly cooperation from his linotypers and pressmen. And much praise from various people in his city.

THIS AND THAT

During May both Time magazine and Newsweek ran extensive articles on race relations. The Council was heavily consulted by staff members from both magazines in the preparation of the material used. Their editing (!), but quite a lot of facts which we, doubtless among others, supplied.

United Community Services of Charlotte, North Carolina, needed information on Negro hospital facilities in the South. Duly sent.

We congratulated Bishop Waters of North Carolina on his firm stand in re church segregation in his Diocese.

Strengthened our links with the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee in Washington.

Some assistance by letter to African students in New York seeking summer jobs.

Counsel to a Yale student on a couple of excellent manuscripts he has done lately on Southern matters.

Complaint re peonage. Turned details over to proper authority.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance report for May and June, 1953

MAY

Balance on hand, May 1, 1953		$ 13,532.83
Receipts:		
Contributions from Individuals	$ 194.00	
Contribution from Organization (United Auto Workers-CIO)	1,000.00	
Contribution from Churches (Episcopal-Woman's Aux. Diocese of Fla.-$15.) (Methodist-Glenn Mem. WSCS, Atlanta- $25.) (Christian Church, Edwards, Miss. - $25.)	65.00	
Contribution from Foundation (Christian Service Foundation)	100.00	
Members Dues	614.00	
New South Subscriptions	56.00	
Sale of Literature	26.00	
Total Receipts		2,055.00
		$ 15,587.83
Disbursements:		
Salaries	$ 2,499.98	
Social Security	37.48	
Annual Meeting	1,553.75	
Travel	24.49	
Office Supplies	183.04	
Postage	55.25	
Printing	186.39	
Telephone & Telegraph	67.39	
Special Services (Cleaning and repairs to office and furnishings)	125.00	
Rent	105.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	2.15	
Books & subscriptions	40.65	
Misc. expense	2.00	
Bank exchange charges	.45	
Payment in full note to Dr. Mitchell made in 1949	1,500.00	
Payment in full of interest in above note	39.79	
Total disbursements		6,422.81
Balance on hand, June 1, 1953		$ 9,165.02

JUNE

Balance on hand, June 1, 1953		$ 9,165.02
Receipts:		
Contributions from Individuals	$ 62.00	
Contributions from Organizations	208.43	
(United Rubber Workers - $200.)		
(Talladega College Students - $8.43)		
Contributions from Churches	275.00	
(Methodist - Div. of Home Missions- $250.)		
(Fisk Univ. Church - $25.)		
Members Dues	290.00	
New South Subscriptions	26.00	
Miscellaneous Literature sales	55.20	
Honoraria	200.00	
Total receipts		1,116.63
		10,281.65
Disbursements:		
Salaries	$ 2,649.98	
Social Security	28.98	
Travel	353.56	
Office Supplies	100.94	
Postage	18.35	
Printing	245.97	
Telephone & Telegraph	63.57	
Special Services (repair of typewriter)	11.00	
Rent	105.00	
Books & subscriptions	6.00	
Conference fee (Research Ass't.)	8.00	
Georgia Sales Tax	1.86	
Bank exchange charges	.65	
Paid to State Divisions	212.00	
Total disbursements		3,805.86
Balance on hand, July 1, 1953		$ 6,475.79

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AS OF JULY 1, 1953

Elliott Addressing Machine Co.	$ 3.31
Southern Bell Tel. Co.	17.70
Due to State Divisions (for June)	66.00
Total	$ 87.01

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST, JULY, 1953

TRAVEL & SPEECHES

George Mitchell

Spoke to A. F. of L.'s Kentucky Labor School. A week at Lexington. About 100 people. Pretty good, and willing to take more of civil rights than most would suppose.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul at Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pennsylvania, July 22. Sisters of the Holy Cross at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, July 23.

Clarkston, Georgia, Civitan Club, July 27. A section of the Town and Country Ministers group, Emory University, July 28.

Ten Italian touring trade unionists, auspices State Department, Lexington, Kentucky, July 15. One French ditto.

Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, "The South in the Last Decade."

Mrs. Tilly

Addressed a group of Methodist church women at Dahlonega and the Interracial Committee at Gainesville, Georgia.

Anna Holden

Attended workshop on intergroup education at the Catholic University in Washington, and the Institute for Southern Social Work Executives at Blue Ridge.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

Next thing we can do is get knowledge of the school issue before the South into the minds of good numbers of everyday people. The truth is that the school issue has been closely followed by the Negro community and has only been perceived in fits and starts by the white community. We suppose that State school superintendents and aides to governors and a few leading political figures in each State and the State attorneys general are busy cooking up attitudes on the whole matter. But not much seems to be done to get understanding of it in local places.

Taking a leaf from some work under way in Charleston, South Carolina, we thought we would try hard now to get biracial discussion groups going. Eight, Ten, or a dozen people who would meet three or four times late this summer and in the early autumn. In addition to the Charleston group, we have word from Mrs. Ruby Lyells, the Mississippi school volunteer, that her discussion group in Jackson is under way; Mrs. Tilly has plans for a preliminary meeting in Atlanta August 7; and discussion groups in other States are in various stages of preparation.

Harold Fleming is busy preparing three leaflets for the discussion groups to use. One goes over the whole matter in question and answer form; one builds up the precedents and cases now before the Supreme Court; and the last, in effect, rips pages from the self-survey manual relating to the schools and, in simplified form, shows the questions needing to be answered in each community about the white and Negro schools.

We arranged for seven or eight people from various of the Southern States to be present at a session in East Tennessee in mid-July for some briefing on this. They had a week's instruction from Irene Osborne, who has been doing a notable job for the American Friends Service Committee on the school system in Washington. Anna Greene Smith attended the workshop, and toward the end of the week Harold Fleming spent some time with the group on what should go into the discussion leaflets.

As soon as we can get material into print, we will be working with all our Council people in the States and with the State school volunteers to unroll as extensive discussion group program as we can. The help of all members of the Executive Committee is asked on this. Anna Greene Smith has sent out to heads of State Divisions and State school volunteers two newsletters reporting on progress thus far in the schools program.

On invitation, Harold Fleming met with the American Teachers Association at Orangeburg, South Carolina, on July 28. He conferred at length with the secretaries of State Negro teachers' associations on the Council's school program. The State secretaries promised cooperation and support, and the convention as a whole voted endorsement of the Council's plan.

SOUTHWIDE COMMISSION ON EQUAL PENALTIES IN COURTS OF LAW

The Doris Duke Foundation has agreed that its prospective contribution of a thousand dollars is available as soon as it can be matched. We are within $150 of matching it. That needed sum has been pledged, and as soon as we can collect on the pledges, the total sum available in cash for the Commission will be $4,000. That's not as much as we should have to unroll it, but we would begin. Marion Wright and George Mitchell have already begun some inquiries as to suitable persons to be on the Commission.

FACT-FINDING EFFORT FROM THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

Within recent weeks this Ford subsidiary has undertaken a short-run program of gathering facts on the school systems of the South. The Council has an agreed working relationship with this program, and we are extensively assured that the aid to it from a Ford Foundation source does not prejudice the Council's application to the Fund for the Republic for long-range aid. Indeed, what the Council can do in the way of follow-up and implementation fits very neatly into the other program for a quick report.

THE REV. MR. CRAFT'S OUTBURST

At the end of June the North Georgia Conference of The Methodist Church took note of the scandalous accusations of this Methodist minister in a paper he has been publishing called One Methodist Voice. He had struck hard against various leading local Methodist officials and in two issues abused them for harboring in a Methodist building the nefarious Southern Regional Council, which at one spot he said was honeycombed with Communist sympathizers.

The longstanding controversy with the Rev. Mr. Craft came to a dramatic clash on the floor of the Conference, which ended with a pitifully small claque of five or six still applauding Mr. Craft's position. We have already sent to members of the Executive Committee and to various Board members the press stories indicating that The Methodist Church held Mr. Craft in slight, if charitable, esteem.

KENTUCKY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS

George Mitchell met with the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Division at Frankfort. Roscoe Giffen, the State school volunteer from Berea, was present. The meeting talked mostly about how to launch the discussion group program in Kentucky. Mr. Tydings was present, just back from his African trip.

THIS & THAT

George Mitchell and Anna Holden completed an article for The Journal of Negro Education on "The Money Income of Negroes in the United States."

Supplied information on Negro police to Birmingham Jaycees.

CORRECTION

The Field Foundation, not the Ford Foundation (as reported in last month's Staff Activities) gave SRC a $2,500 grant to assist in publishing New South.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Finance report for July, 1953

RECEIPTS

Contributions from Individuals	$	11.00
Contribution from Church (Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church)		1,200.00
Members Dues		308.00
New South Subscriptions		31.50
Sale of literature		69.55
Honoraria		246.50
Sale of office supplies		45.18
Total receipts	$	1,911.73

DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries	$	2,466.66
Social Security		24.98
Rent		105.00
Travel		29.50
Postage		19.77
Special Services		22.00
Books & subscriptions		12.75
State School Volunteers expenses		90.24
Georgia Sales tax		.75
Bank exchange		.55
Purchase of mimeograph machine & mimeoscope		165.00
Total disbursements		2,937.20

Balance on hand, July 1, 1953	$	7,471.29
Receipts		1,911.73
	$	9,383.02
Disbursements		2,937.20
Balance on hand, August 1, 1953	$	6,445.82

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AS OF JULY 31, 1953

Southern Bell Tel. Co.	$	48.89
Mimeograph Co.		96.10
Elliott Addressing Machine Co.		5.64
Harper Printing Co.		15.45
Office Supply Co.		4.84
Tidwell Co.		5.15
Ivan Allen-Marshall Co.		1.08
Norfolk Journal & Guide		3.00
Due to State School Volunteers		46.80
Due to State Divisions (June & July)		122.00
Total	$	348.95

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC/
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
DECEMBER 7, 1953

STAFF ACTIVITIES OF INTEREST - NOVEMBER - 1953

**

TRAVEL and SPEECHES

In the beginning of the month, at Tuskegee for installation of President L H Foster, Jr.

November third to the student body and several classes at Talladega College.

Next day at Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee, for the student body and faculty; and on November five at Peabody College, same city, for a couple of seminars of educational administrators. Also visited Tennessee A & I University and spoke to a group there.

November seven: Mobile, to talk to Alabama State Meeting of NAACP, and

November ten: Miami for a notable dinner given by the first publicly sponsored human relations body in the Southern states - the Dade County Council on Community Relations. Several talks to classes at the University of Miami.

November 11-12: In St Paul, Minnesota, for the annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. The meeting gave me a chance to bring up to date on Council matters Reverend Vincent O'Connell, a former member of the Executive Committee.

On the eighteenth, in Atlanta for a final discussion group meeting with the Liberal Church; and

On the 22d and 23d at Washington, D C, for the Fortieth Anniversary Celebration of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Sat by Dr Charles A Johnson who enlightened me as to the identity of a couple named Robinson at our table: "That's Jackie!"

In the course of the Washington trip, called on the newly-elected Chairman of the South Carolina Division, Judge Richard Foster, of the Juvenile Court at Greenville, South Carolina. Saw among others Bishop W Y Bell at South Boston, Virginia, who took 100 copies of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS for his church group. Mr J Rupert Picott at Richmond, for the Virginia State Teachers Association, placed a goodly order of which I was able to deliver 450 copies from the back of the car; and in Washington, Mr Elmer Henderson, for the American Council on Human Rights, bought 200 to send out to its highly placed members.

In November HAROLD FLEMING went to Norfolk, talked to the Women's Interracial Council there, and discussed school segregation on a radio program. The Norfolk Council thrives. Mrs Vivian Carter Mason, who was one of its founders, was recently elected National President of the National Council of Negro Women.

Harold Fleming also:

Conferred at length with the editor of the Emory University JOURNAL OF PUBLIC LAW re: a projected special issue to be published immediately following the Supreme Court's decision on public school segregation.

Supplied information and analysis to church and civic groups concerned about the Georgia proposal to convert to private schools if the Supreme Court rules against segregation. Several of the groups publicly opposed the measure (which passed in the Legislature, nevertheless), and others circulated facts to their memberships.

Had several discussions with executive secretary of Atlanta's Metropolitan Planning Commission, looking toward machinery for reducing racial housing tensions.

A report on the study of bi-racial education recently conducted by the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education is being prepared by Harry Ashmore for publication some time early in 1954. Harold Fleming has made important contributions to the study. The report will make available additional information on public school segregation for SRC to translate into community action.

Some of MRS M E TILLY's activities for November included trips to Gainesville, Thomaston and Ben Hill, Georgia, for meetings of Interracial Committees; work with the Women's Society of Christian Service for the Methodist Church; a Georgia conference which subsequently released a statement against the "school give-away" bill in the Legislature; similar activity with the Active Voters; and an effort to get action from the Church Women of Georgia which resulted only in getting an analysis of the bill sent out to local units.

Mrs Tilly spoke to four church women's groups. Met with one of the classes at Emory University. Met with a group of Atlanta teachers.

The October round-up of staff activities should have carried mention of Mrs Tilly's trip to Atlanta City to the Assembly of United Church Women, with definite Committee assignments. She was put on a Committee for the United Nations evening.

ANNA HOLDEN received and filled an unusual number of requests for specialized information.

We sent out the attached to the 200 Chiefs of Police and Sheriffs who had cooperated with us on making up the September summary on Negro police in Southern states. This release brought in several new towns and counties we had not known of. The Chief of San Antonio, Texas, wrote back that of the various racial groups in his city the Negro community was the most law-abiding.

SCHOOLS AND COURTS

The two pamphlets on the Schools and the Courts continues to move gratifyingly. Here are some of the November orders:

Presbyterian Church in the U S A	2600
National Council - Protestant Episcopal Church	200
A F L - Washington, D C	1000
American Council on Human Rights - Washington, D C	200
National Council of Negro Women - Washington, D C	196
University of Kentucky - Ky School Board Association	235
Bishop W Y Bell, South Boston, Virginia	100
Tulsa Council of Churches	100
Women's Council on Interracial Cooperation - Norfolk -	100
Haskell Public Schools - Haskell, Texas	12
United Christian Missionary Society - Indianapolis	1100
Com on Christian Social Action - Evangelical and Reformed Church - Cleveland, Ohio	200
Southern Baptist Convention - Nashville, Tennessee	250
St Peters Episcopal Church - Rome, Georgia	75
National Board YWCA - Atlanta	200
New York University	20
A J C - New York	100

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS has had three printings of 5000 and one of 10,000 - the record so far for a SRC publication.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED

The American Federation of Labor, from its headquarters in Washington, sent us $1000.00. This could be attributed, in good part, to the Council's cooperation in staffing various Southern AFL Labor Schools. The William C Whitney Fund sent $1000.00 also. The Southern Presbyterian's sent in $200.00; and the Aaron E Norman Fund sent $100.00. Other sizable amount were; LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee, $26.00; Louisville Conference - Women's Conference of Christian Service - Methodist Church, $25.00; Dr Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina, $25.00.

THIS and THAT

Article for forthcoming SOCIAL ORDER. At the request of Father Raymond Bernard of St Louis, GSN did an eight-page screed on the present state of segregation in the South. Promised for January publication.

The Board is now complete and terms have been drawn by lot and all members notified. Complete list attached. The newspapers report the unfortunate death of Mr E W Palmer of Kingsport, Tennessee, which we regret exceedingly.

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Special efforts were made during the month to get the Council's needs borne in upon the Fund for the Republic through Congressman Brooks Hays and the Honorable John Sparkman, both of whom know the new president of the Fund, Honorable Clifford Case, former Congressman from New Jersey. Various others have been helpful in approaching the Fund for the Republic on our behalf.

FINANCE REPORT

KATHERINE STONEY has compiled the attached report of the state of the finances of SRC.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL — FINANCE REPORT FOR NOVEMBER, 1953

Receipts

Contributions from Individuals		$ 30.00
Contributions from Organizations		1036.00
A F L	$1000.00	
LeMoyne College Faculty	26.00	
History Club - A&I University	10.00	
Contributions from Churches		225.00
Bd of Church Extension-Presby Church in US	200.00	
Louisville Confer - WSCS-Methodist Church	25.00	
Contributions from Foundations		1100.00
Wm C Whitney Foundation	1000.00	
Aaron E Norman Fund	100.00	
Members Dues		252.00
New South Subscriptions		39.00
Misc Literature sales		725.09
Honoraria		150.00
Total Receipts		3557.09

Disbursements

Salaries	$ 2566.65
Social Security (Cost to Council)	14.77
Printing	586.31
Telephone & Telegraph	138.46
Rent	105.00
Office Supplies	61.62
Travel	45.63
Postage	20.07
Special Services	16.26
Georgia Sales Tax	6.07
Bank exchange	.30
Books & sub	.20
Total Disbursements	3561.34

Balance, November 1	$ 51.27
Receipts	3557.09
	3608.36
Disbursements	3561.34
Balance Dec 1	47.02

Accounts Payable		Accounts Receivable	
Stein Printing Company	$ 1433.33	Due for pamphlets	$ 674.40
Southern Bell Tel Co	44.82		
Office Supply	26.63		
Mimeograph Company	19.12		
Columbia Ribbon & Carbon Co	4.84		
Western Union Co	.81		
Elliot Address Machine	5.68		
Due to State Division	153.50		
	$ 1688.73		674.40

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLANTA, GEORGIA

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Abram, Morris B	Attorney	Healey Bldg - Atlanta, Georgia
Atwood, Dr R B	Educator	Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky
Barbare, Dr Ralph	Educator	Winthrop Training School Rock Hill, South Carolina
Bates, Mrs W F	Church Leader	125 Atkins Street, Little Rock, Arkansas
Birnie, Mrs Cassandra M	Attorney	864 Hunter Street, S W, Atlanta, Ga
Bonds, Ulysses S	Businessman	Madison, Arkansas
Christopher, Paul R	Labor Leader	216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tenn
Clement, A J	Insurance Exec	Station A, Box 36, Charleston, S C
Clement, Dr R E	Educator	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Clingman, Rt Rev Charles	Bishop	421 South Second Street, Louisville, Ky
Coker, James L	Manufacturer	Sonoco Products, Hartsville, S C
Davidson, Herbert M	Editor	Daytona Beach NEWS JOURNAL Daytona Beach, Florida
Duncan, O D	Professor	Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Okla
Friedman, S Thomas	Social Worker	Southwestern Jewish Community Relations Council, Houston, Texas
Gomillion, Dr C G	Educator	Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Griffin, John A	Professor	Emory University, Georgia
Hamilton, Mrs Grace T	Executive	Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia
Johnson, Dr Charles S	Educator	Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Johnson, Dr Guy B	Professor	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Lanier, Dr R O'Hara	Educator	Texas Southern University, Houston, Tex
Looby, Dr Z A	Attorney	419 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn
Mantinband, Rabbi Charles	Rabbi	808 Mamie Street, Hattiesburg, Miss
Mays, Dr B E	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baronne Street, New Orleans, La
McDowell, Dr E A	Professor	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Wake Forrest, North Carolina
Milner, Dr Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, North Carolina
Milton, L D	Banker	Citizens Trust Company, 212 Auburn Avenue, N E, Atlanta, Georgia
Moron, Dr A G	Educator	Hampton Institute, Virginia
Palmer, E W	Publisher	KINGSPORT PRESS, Kingsport, Tennessee
Parrish, Dr C H	Professor	University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky
Penick, Rt Rev E A	Bishop	802 Hillsboro Street, Raleigh, N C
Rayzor, Mrs J N	Civic Leader	3207 Groveland Lane, Houston, Texas
Reddix, Dr J L	Educator	Jackson College, Jackson, Mississippi
Richards, Dr J M	Educator	Columbia Theological Seminary Decatur, Georgia
Richardson, Dr H V	Educator	Gammon Theological Seminary Atlanta, Georgia
Robinson, Mrs E U	Church Leader	675 North Waters Street, Gallatin, Tenn
Shean, Rev M V, C O	Priest	Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina
Shaw, Charles A	Insurance Exec	Watchtower Life Insurance Company 2206 Dowling Street, Houston, Texas
Smith, J Edwin	Attorney	Scanlan Building, Houston, Texas
Spearman, Mrs E H	Church Leader	1511 Laurel Street, Columbia, S C
Stroud, Mrs Tommie	Civic Leader	3225 Maple Avenue, Waco, Texas
Sytz, Miss Florence	Professor	Tulane School of Social Work New Orleans, Louisiana
Thomas, Judge L E	Attorney	1035 N W Second Avenue, Miami, Florida
Tillman, Mrs J Fount	Church Leader	Lewisburg, Tennessee
Turnipseed, Rev A S	Clergyman	301 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama
Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta Street, Atlanta, Georgia
Wheeler, John H	Banker	Mechanics and Farmers Bank Durham, North Carolina
Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	Athens, Georgia
Williams, Paul D	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Rd, Richmond, Virginia
Young, Thomas W	Publisher	JOURNAL & GUIDE, Norfolk, Virginia

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(SENT OUT ON SRC LETTERHEAD. TABLE REFERRED TO IS REPRODUCED ON PAGE SIX OF NEW SOUTH, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1953 ISSUE)

November 20, 1953

Dear Sir:

For several years past you and the other Chiefs and Sheriffs in the Southern states have most kindly let us have on request the facts as to the employment of Negro police personnel.

We are grateful for your aid in this, and take pleasure in sending you the table compiled from the responses as of September, 1953.

Sincerely

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

ah
encl

December 14, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. H. C. Fleming

FROM: Florence B. Irving

This is a convenient time for supplying you with a brief progress report since December 12th marked the completion of a quarter's association with the Southern Regional Council. A considerable portion of this period was one of orientation in which it was possible to become better acquainted with the Council's objectives and its areas and methods of action. Quantitatively this seemed to have been an unproductive interval, but it was no doubt basic for a comprehensive understanding of the work to be done.

Initial activities included an examination of our newspaper clippings, materials files and pamphlets. It was necessary to classify the latter and effect an inventory and a physical transfer to newly acquired metal pamphlet files. The inventory disclosed that we have approximately fifteen hundred titles in our pamphlet collection. The classification was according to subject areas which you, John Constable and I decided would best fit our needs. In addition to the metal pamphlet files, catalogue units have been secured, and the construction of wall shelves to supplement our bookcases is planned.

A trip to the Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina was arranged for November 22, 1955 in order that I might confer with the staff on methods of handling our materials and the correlation of our system with theirs. Conferences were held with the Librarian, Dr. B. E. Powell, and with Mrs. C. Pierce, Reference Librarian, Miss Covington, Director of Subject Cataloguing, and Miss Merritt, Head of Technical Processing. Information on a number of valuable techniques and sources of information was gathered, and the cataloguing of our collection has been in process since returning from Duke University.

The visit to Duke University also afforded opportunities for talking with Dr. W. C. Davison, dean of the Medical School (and a member of the board of the Doris Duke Foundation) and Dr. H. Shelton Smith, a member of the Divinity School Faculty who works closely with the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen. Though Dr. Davison's time was rationed, he was cordial and quite interested in having first hand information on our activities. Dr. Smith was more interested in discussing the tenor of race relations in the South, making some optimistic prophecies, and praising the Council.

Considerable headway has been made in the clipping of the backlog of periodicals (as well as current ones) and the classification and filing of these items. Much of the credit for this is due to Miss Yvonne Southall who was transferred to the Research Office early in November (November 7th?) and who assists generally with the activities of the office.

Since Mid-November many of the letter requests for information have been turned over to the Research Office. An average of three per day have been answered during this time. Approximately half of these letters seem to emanate from students or persons who do not identify their association or purpose and merely seek specific publications of ours and/or guidance in obtaining desired information. Most of the other letters are from teachers, community leaders (apparently) and organizations that seemingly wish information which may promote thought, discussion, and action on pertinent questions affecting racial conditions in the South. Some of these requests require the compilation of a report from information we have in our collection or from local libraries. The necessity for individual research in each instance is reduced since I am attempting to keep current the bibliography and the lists in areas of employment, professional associations, interracial advisory committees, desegregated institutions, etc., maintained by the previous research assistant. In addition to the mail requests some telephone inquiries (from individuals, a local newspaper, press associations) have been handled. Also a few persons (such as Mrs.

Birnie, Dr. Richardson) have come directly to the office for information.

The Research Office services requests made by the staff of the Council. To date, the majority of these have come from Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Fleming and have included inquiries on such matters as desegregated public schools, integrated golf courses, dismissals of ministers, segregation laws, etc. The major report under way now (and practically complete) is the compilation of all civil rights cases involving Southern communities that have been heard in the courts since 1944. Items are also being considered for New South's "Clouded Crystal Ball" feature. Other miscellaneous duties have included writing publishers and organizations for publications and information desired by the Council.

GROUPS SERVICED DIRECTLY BY RESEARCH OFFICE

Methodist Publishing House, Dallas, Texas

League of Women Voters of Georgia

Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, Norfolk, Virginia

United Press

Atlanta Constitution

America's Textile Reporter

HIGHER INSTITUTIONS AT WHICH FACULTY OR STUDENTS WERE SERVICED

Mercer University

University of Georgia

St. Augustine's College

Meredith College

Yale University

University of Pennsylvania

State Teachers College (Lowell, Massachusetts)

East Montana School of Education

~~To: GSM~~
~~From: FBR~~
~~Re: Fly Report FFR~~

IN THE STATES

ALABAMA: Working quietly with seventy ministers across the state of Alabama to stand for integration. Working with student groups at University to ~~organize~~ for a peaceful ~~admission of Negro students next Fall.(confidential)~~ September, 1956.

ARKANSAS: Quietly working with more school districts to bring about a policy of desegregation. State Commission on Industrial Expansion director used ACHR material in speech warning of growing threat to industrial expansion because of non-compliance.

FLORIDA: Board assuming responsibility for fund raising. Staff working with "locals" and ministerial groups. Dade County Council on Community Relations (five years old and 400 strong) voted to affilate with Florida Council.

GEORGIA: Atlanta Council on Human Relations formed; has ~~strong~~ potentialities. Full day work-session on school problems held in Macon. Director speaking before status organizations.

KENTUCKY: Working on problem of ~~hiring~~ keeping teachers by merit not race. Cooperation from State Board of Education. Consultant service to desegregating districts. New director ~~proving a real strength.~~ good choice.

LOUISIANA: Joint Committee, similar to one in Washington, D.C., formed in New Orleans. With NAACP presently outlawed new responsibilities falling on Louisiana Council. ~~Negro reaction to LCHR improving.~~

MISSISSIPPI: Conditions in state make work all but impossible. Resignation of state chairman calls for "agonizing reappraisal" of SRC support of state organization. This underway.

NORTH CAROLINA: Closely working with Charlotte Council and local school authorities. Interview with Governor disclosed a policy of "hands off" local decisions but ~~hope~~ the Governor still hopes for "voluntary" segregation. We think varin hope.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Staff helping get the story out on WCC activities. Work in Orangeburg area to keep lid from blowing off. ~~City officials have asked SRC for information on Community Relations Council.~~

TENNESSEE: Office moved to Nashville; new state Chairman, Mrs. Mollie Todd, ~~prominent~~ civic leader. Consultant program active; seeking Executive Director.

TEXAS: A study, "Texas Schools in Transition" underway. Ed Kloppe, a pastor, made full time Executive Director. Advisory Committee in Austin more active in working with staff and board. Organized labor and Negro teachers still cooperating with Texas Commission.

VIRGINIA: Working with several communities which may move to desegregate this Fall. Organizing more "locals". Publishing highly informative news letter. Cooperating with other organizations of like-mind.

June 15, 1956

FDR:

May I have some account of your travels in April, May, and June of this year?

Quarterly report coming up June 30th.

eab/

ACTIVITIES OF FRED ROUTH IN APRIL, MAY, JUNE, 1956

A. Meetings with affiliated State organization Executive Committees or Boards:

Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky.

B. Meetings with John Hope's Consultant Service Program in South Carolina and Florida.

C. Speeches or participation at other meetings:

1. Southern Sociological Society, Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia.

2. Spelman College chapel talk - "A Brighter Tomorrow."

3. The AAUW of Birmingham, Alabama -- "New South A'borning."

4. Anti Defamation League meeting, Atlanta, Georgia -- "Immunizing Our Children Against Prejudice."

5. NAIRO Board meeting, Detroit, Michigan.

6. Talk to the Mayor's Coordinating Council on Human Relations, Detroit, Michigan.

7. Talk to Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority in Detroit, Michigan on "Bettering Human Relations in Our Communities."

8. Oglethorpe University chapel talk -- "New Demands on Our South."

9. Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union (Speeches in Los Angeles, San Bernardino and San Diego). "Desegregation Comes to Dixie."

10. Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, San Francisco, California -- "Desegregation Comes to Dixie."

11. Civic leaders luncheon, Seattle, Washington.

12. Unitarian Fellowship of Bremerton, Washington -- "A Report on the South."

13. University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma (ADL Conference on Human Relations) -- "Changing Patterns in the South."

14. National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, Shreveport, Louisiana -- "Human Relations Education."

15. UAW-CIO Labor School, Port Huron, Michigan -- "The Role of Labor in Attaining a Democratic Society."

16. Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia (Summer lecture series) -- "Socio-economic Changes in the South."

June 15, 1956

DT:

May I have some account of your travels in April, May, and June of this year?

Quarterly report coming up June 30th.

eab/

REPORT OF MRS. M. E. TILLY

SECOND QUARTER, 1956

Early in April went to Philadelphia to receive an Award from Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. I was on TV there. Went on to New York to make plans with the United Church Women, the YWCA and Methodist women for a meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Participated in the Annual Meeting of the North Georgia Conference Woman's Society of Christian Service, Griffin, Georgia.

Was a speaker at the Annual Meeting of American Civil Liberties Union in Washington and went on to New York, seeking funds for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Was called by the Churches of KeKalb County to assist them in making plans for a U. N. observance in every church in the county.

Met with Woman's Society of Christian Service Study Leaders of Atlanta East District to give information on integration of schools.

TRIP TO ALABAMA and LOUISANA: THe Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Birmingham held in a downtown Episcopal Church was splendid. At the State Meeting of Alabama held in the same city last year, it was evident there was little back history of communication between the races. The friendliness and fellowship this year was so appreciated by the Negro women they sang the hymn, "What a Fellowship, What a Joy Divine!"

That night I had a conference in New Orleans with the President of United Church Women of Louisana. The racial tensions, she revealed, are very tense with fear on both sides.

I spoke in a Methodist Church at Baton Rouge the next evening, an audience partly of students. The "Southern Gentlemen" were on hand and we had quite a banter to and fro, mostly in good nature. They quizzed on Bible references, etc. At the close the editor of the paper, "The Southern Gentlemen" apoligized for flashing a bulb in my face. Another man told me I was too nice to be on the wrong side. I replied that was my sentiments about him being a member of the "Southern Gentlemen".

I taught a class - six hours - two weeks on "Peace" to a group of women representing six Methodist churches in Southwest Atlanta and the same course at Brookhaven Methodist Church later.

Spent a week in June teaching three hours a day in the School of Missions of the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church at Gulfside, Mississippi. I also made one talk at chapel there.

June 22, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: GSM

From: HCF

Re: Quarterly report on information

It is hard to separate my "normal" from my "paranormal" functions, but here is an attempt:

INFORMATION

Publications

New South during the quarter now ending ran several noteworthy articles especially prepared for us. The April issue brought together facts and opinion on racial problems as a threat to the South's economic development; the lead article was reprinted by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and various other papers. The May issue published for the first time a uniquely strong speech by a chamber of commerce executive warning business leaders that they must give positive leadership in racial affairs. An article in the same issue by an Arkansas educator debunked the myth that downgrading of educational standards inevitably follows desegregation; this drew editorial comment in several Southern newspapers and will be of special value to teacher and parent groups. The June issue carries an analysis of "interposition" by Professor Arthur S. Miller, of the Emory University Law School, which is probably the clearest thing yet on the subject.

Also published: "Three Views of Desegregation," including statements by William Faulkner and Benjamin Mays, in cooperation with the Southern Historical Association and the Fund for the Republic. "What the Supreme Court Said," giving the texts and analysis of the decisions, is proving a popular program item with our state affiliates and other organizations.

Newspapers and Magazines

The usual number of reporters and magazine writers sought us out for information and advice. Among those requesting and getting special help were writers for various bureaus of the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Time, Life, Collier's, Newsweek, The Reporter, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Atlanta papers; also NBC Television News and the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

Materials Distributed

Through the state groups and otherwise, SRC distributed reprints of the New York Times special supplement on the South, the desegregation issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, a Reporter article on the Montgomery bus boycott by the Rev. Thomas Thrasher, the American Civil Liberties Union's annual report, the Bulletin of the Fund for the Republic, the Fund's several fact-sheets, and additional copies of "Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools."

Speeches and Consultation

The Assistant Director for Information spoke to an aggregation of teenagers at a YWCA camp and to a parents group of the Grace Methodist Church. Consulted on program with representatives of the Christian Congregationist Churches, Presbyterian Church Women, the American Teachers Association, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the American Recreation Association, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Fund for the Republic, and others unrecorded.

~~Research and Reference~~ The Record Keeper

[I take it Florence Irving is submitting a memo.]

Re attached

SPECIAL FACT-FINDING PROGRAM

Desegregation Survey

An inventory of specific instances of desegregation occurring since

May 1954 was completed during the quarter. With the addition of one temporary staff member, Mrs. Margaret Price, and the use of three short-term reporters in Missouri and Oklahoma, it was possible to cover reasonably well the 17 Southern and border states. Some 1100 usable instances were collected. The report of the findings, running to approximately 100 pages, has been completed and sent to the Fund for the Republic and David Loth, who directed a similar study of the 31 non-Southern states. At this writing, some form of joint publication of the SRC and Loth reports is being explored. In any case, we plan to publish a summary of the SRC findings -- probably in New South -- and release it to the press. The findings bear out the original assumption that an inventory of desegregation would produce an impressive body of material and could help to counteract the discouraging effect of recent negative developments.

Study of Negro Suffrage in the South

The aim of this project is to assemble for the 12 Southern states information on the present extent of Negro registration and voting, obstacles to full Negro suffrage, and the relation of disenfranchisement to county data on population, income, industrialization, and urbanization. The study is well under way in nine of the twelve states; in the remaining three, there are problems of personnel which we hope to solve shortly. In each of the activated states, a qualified director for the study has been secured on a part-time consultant basis, and additional personnel are used as needed. ~~An outline of the findings sought is attached.~~ This is ~~truly~~ a "crash" project, the deadline for fact-finding being the end of September; it is also the largest in scope, and probably the most important in terms of public policy.

Study of Southern Industrialization

In the controversy over desegregation, the industrialization of the South has come to the fore. SRC has commissioned Hammer and Company, economic consultants,

to gather information on all industries locating in the South in the last five to ten years, with respect to type, size, and ownership. This is a large operation, involving inquiries by mail or in person to dozens of chambers of commerce, industrial development agencies, and plant location firms. The data collected will be tabulated and analyzed in terms of their meaning for race relations. In this way, we hope to clarify the implications which new industry holds for racial problems and progress in the region. The deadline for the fact-finding is no later than September 1.

Field Study of Resistance Movements

We have employed a temporary staff member to gather first-hand information on the nature and leadership of the various pro-segregation organizations operating in the South. He is Paul Anthony, of Atlanta, a graduate of the University of Miami's Human Relations Department, who has had experience in both social science action-research and in business. Mr. Anthony has spent two weeks digesting the large body of material already available and is presently carrying on field research in Alabama. His findings will be available to SRC staff as he completes his field travel in each state. At the end of the project, he will prepare an over-all summary and analysis, which will be the basis for such publications and reports as seem indicated.

Field Study of Labor and Race Relations

Under a special financial arrangement with the trade union consultant to the Fund for the Republic, Mr. Benjamin Segal, a qualified Southern trade unionist has been engaged for a three-month period of field work. He is Morton Elder, of Birmingham, who has had many years of experience in workers education and other labor activity in the CIO. Mr. Elder is to gather information on the progress of Negroes in the labor movement, new problems arising out of the school segregation controversy, practices which affect equal opportunities

in employment, upgrading, and promotion, and effective methods for improving race relations within the union movement. This project is being carried out with the knowledge and approval of appropriate labor leadership.

June 15, 1956

HCF:

Some days before June 30th, and if you could, give me something in your normal capacity as informationary, and in your para-normal capacity of fact-gatherer.

eab/ attached

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

April 27, 1956

not to be carried in final report

OUTLINE FOR
SURVEY OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE
IN TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES

1. PURPOSE. This study is one of a series of fact-finding projects to be undertaken by the Southern Regional Council in the next nine months. The aim is to assemble, in various areas of Southern race relations, the facts which have a practical, "diagnostic" value in the present situation. The findings will be used variously -- in special publications, through mass media, and as aids to programming by human relations agencies. The present study is designed to document the status of the Negro vote in the South, in terms of size, proportion of the total, distribution, and extent and methods of disfranchisement. The information to be sought state by state is briefly described in the following paragraphs.

II. REGISTRATION

A. Number of Negro registered voters, by county. (Best estimates where official figures are not available.)

B. Ratio of registrants to total population of voting age, by race and by county.

C. Increase or decline in state-wide Negro registration between the following key years: 1940 - 1947 - 1952 - 1956. (See SRC's Race and Suffrage in the South and New South January 1953 for estimates for 11 of the 12 states for '40, '47, and '52.)

III. VOTING PERFORMANCE

Except where published studies already exist, this can probably only be estimated for the state as a whole and for selected localities. A racial comparison will be useful, if available estimates permit.

IV. LEGAL DETERMINANTS

What state constitutional or statutory requirements (voter qualification laws, poll tax, etc.) make registration more difficult? What administrative procedures or red tape in the application of these provisions serve a discriminatory purpose?

V. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

A discussion of these factors must necessarily depend largely on impressionistic data gathered through interviews and personal observation and experience:

A. To what extent and in what areas of the state do economic dependency of Negroes and/or social pressures serve as a deterrent to registration and voting? (Give illustrative examples, if possible.)

B. To what extent do apathy and lack of political consciousness appear to restrict use of the ballot by Negroes?

VI. OTHER DISCRIMINATORY TECHNIQUES

This section will be based on the same methods as V.

A. Overt violence or intimidation.

B. Cf. the following list, derived by Luther H. Jackson from Ralph Bunche's list of 1940:

1. Requiring one or more white character witnesses.

2. Applying property qualifications severely and requiring only Negro applicants to show property tax receipts.

3. Strictly enforcing literacy tests against Negro applicants.

4. Putting unreasonable questions on the Constitution to Negro applicants.

5. Basing rejection of Negro registrants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks.

6. Requiring Negro applicants to suffer long periods of waiting before officials attend to them.

7. Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks while those of whites are filled out for them by officials.

8. Evasion -- informing Negro applicants that registration cards have run out, that all members of the registration board are not present, that it is closing time or that the applicant will be "notified in due course."

9. Deliberate insults or threats by officials and/or hangers-on.

VII. ORGANIZED EFFORTS AND PROSPECTS

A. What organized efforts are under way in the state to increase or decrease Negro registration and voting?

B. What appears to be the immediate prospects for Negro suffrage in the state?

VIII. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

For the sake of simplicity and efficiency, the central office of SRC will relate the voting figures secured by the field studies to appropriate state and county data. For your information only, the following tabulations by race, by state and by county are contemplated:

A. Relation of voting figures to percent of population that is Negro.

B. Relation to counties gaining and counties losing population.

C. Relation to counties classified predominately urban and counties classified predominately rural.

D. Relation to percent of population that has achieved high-school and/or college graduation.

E. Relation to degree of industrialization (probably as measured by percent of work force employed in manufacturing).

F. Relation to economic status (probably as measured by per capita income).

October 1, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: FBR

FROM: GSM

We ought now to get in for the end of September Quarterly Report what we shall say about the states. What would you think of a minor essay from you on the subject of working through state organizations? Why we took it on; in what direction (not in what locality necessarily) it has succeeded; shortcomings observable in program; etc.?

Perhaps you could trot out some of the standards of evaluations (I detest the word) which all of this worked out. I would think it invidious thus quasi-publicly to adduce the evaluation of the states one by one. But you might by judicious reference to this one or that one illustrate strong points and weak points. Main thing I thought was that you would want to show that a central body like ours judges state programs by Board-staff relationships, Board involvement, money, membership, program, program comparison, program considered against the background of its difficulties, etc.

This little essay might well prepare the mind of the Fund for the Republic for some changes that loom ahead. I request no strategy, but merely an informed discussion of the method.

GSM/eab
(Dictated 9/28)

Personal files

MEMORANDUM

October 9, 1956

To: Dr. George S. Mitchell

From: F. B. Routh

Subject: Report on State Organizations

Students and observers of the Southern scene have long recognized the diverse nature of their region; the concept of a "solid South" has been recognized as false. Thus, when the Southern Regional Council sought to assist the process of adjustment to the Supreme Court's ruling, which declared segregation on the basis of race in the public schools unconstitutional, a decentralized approach seemed most promising.

The Southern Regional Council went about the task of establishing in the twelve states of the Southern region affiliated state organizations which would grow in autonomy and self-support over a three year period.

At the end of two and one-half years of effort in this direction it can be said that the work has not been in vain, indeed it has met with considerable success. There are twelve functioning state organizations, though it must be added that one has only recently started to move, and another, Mississippi, has not proved effective enough to justify further aid from SRC. In the remaining states, however, integrated lay Boards of Directors and professional staff have been of service to the process of desegregation.

In Kentucky, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, state affiliates have worked directly with school boards, either

state or local, to plan what might be done toward desegregating local school systems. In three of these states - Kentucky, Texas and Arkansas - the state affiliates have contributed to successful efforts to achieve desegregation. The Kentucky affiliate has been working, with some success, with the State Board of Education on the problem of teacher integration. The Arkansas Council did noble service in the Hoxie situation. The Texas Commission played a significant role in testifying before the State Board of Education's public hearings.

Several of the states, notably Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Virginia and Texas, have created and extended a group of local affiliated groups, thus reaching down to the grass roots level.

South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama have done a good job of documenting instances of economic reprisal and pressure against Negroes and whites who stood for integration.

In the hard-core area of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina the efforts have largely consisted of a holding action against the currents of prejudice and reaction. Yet even in this area there have been accomplishments. During the little more than two years since the Supreme Court decision, opposition has hardened in the region, and lines have been more closely drawn. Some people who were for "good" race relations under the old separate-but-equal doctrine have left the ranks of pro-integration organizations and are either silent or, in some instances, have joined White Citizens Councils or other resistance movements. In spite of this, the state affiliates continue to grow in membership and fund-raising ability.

On the negative side of the ledger, at a time when the needs of the region and individual states cry for full-time program activities, professional staff has been occupied with other matters. A great deal of effort has gone, by necessity, into purely organizational work; staff time has had to be given to membership recruitment; in too many instances state staff have been saddled with fund-raising. State organizations -- mainly with two professionals at most -- have been called upon to provide a wide range of needed skills.

The Central Office has developed a set of criteria for evaluating state affiliates. Heaviest weight is given to integrated Board and staff and to program effectiveness; other considerations include memberships gained, funds raised, public recognition, publications, and involvement of key people.

Increasingly in the past year state groups have run into resistance forces beyond their power to cope with. There has been a solidification of resistance across state lines -- it has become regional in nature and national in impact. The Central Office has been called upon time and again to assist the state organizations or local communities to help offset this growing monolith.

As we face the third and last year of the current grant the Central Office will seek to give the state organizations a further push toward autonomy and self-support. Special regional effort is needed to create a climate in which state groups can function. More effective means of meeting region-wide attacks by resistance groups must be devised. Further methods of offsetting the propaganda of the segregationists must be developed. While continuing to assist and cooperate with affiliated state organizations, the Central Office must strengthen its regional functions if the state groups are to have a chance at success and longevity.

FHR:mbe

October 9, 1956

HCF:

Sadly now time again for a quarterly report -- past time.

I think we have about worked out the vein of roundups of information activities.

Could you do some summarizing of public opinion situation in the South, plus some notions about suitable areas of counter measure? I wouldn't be specific at all.

eab/

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: ~~Essay on Information for Quarterly~~ Report

~~The State of Public Opinion~~

Few people who read the newspapers doubt that the "climate of opinion" with respect to desegregation has worsened in the South -- and for that matter in the whole country. It is commonly assumed that this negativism (or defeatism in the case of integrationists) is the result of a spontaneous grass-roots rebellion against the Supreme Court's edict. This is a big -- and unhelpful -- oversimplification. True, a majority of white Southerners, if they had their ruthers, would prefer segregation; true the raw material of prejudice and anxiety is plentiful in the white South; true, the South has, as always, a fanatical fringe ready to seize on an excuse for violence.

But none of this means that what happened was inevitable, or that there need be a lot more of it from now on. The neglected factor is leadership. As Louisville School Superintendent Carmichael pointed out on "Face the Nation," if Virginia had had the right kind of leadership, Richmond could have done what Louisville has done.

There needs to be much more thoughtful consideration of how "climates of opinion" are formed. Generally speaking, rank-and-file people take their cues from those in positions of authority, influence, and power: public officials, top political figures, preachers, educators, newspaper editors, business and industrial leaders, and so on. Nor is the Southern "climate" purely a result of Southern opinion leadership. National prestige figures

DL

and nation-wide mass media are also potent. (For evidence, consider the expensive and extensive efforts of Southern segregationists to project their viewpoint to the "North.")

There also needs to be more recognition of the complexity of opinion and attitude on race. Most people hold no simple, single-minded, coherent opinion on the subject; rather they have a number of vague, shifting, often contradictory notions of what their position should be. For example, I think it is safe to say that most white Southerners believe (1) that segregation is "best for both races"; (2) that the law should be respected; (3) that the public schools should be preserved; (4) that the Negro should have an "equal chance"; (5) that the South shouldn't appear benighted and bigoted to "outsiders"; (6) that Negroes don't want integration; (7) that Negroes will "take advantage" of whites under integration. This list of "beliefs" for any given individual could be greatly extended. What passes as public opinion at any given time reflects the depth, intensity, and balance of the various notions at the moment. And this, in turn, depends on how the situation is defined by those whose words are regarded as authoritative.

SRC's Information Program

Over the years, SRC has tried to exert a favorable influence on the balance between positive and negative elements in Southern public opinion. We haven't been so arrogant as to assume that we could alone have much effect on so vast a problem. And, as the challenge grows, we are even more convinced that simply dealing with the press and other public media ourselves is only a small part of our task. As an agency working and thinking full-time about

Southern race relations, we can usefully "cue" journalists, other agencies, and key individuals to effective opinion approaches. We have been doing some of this job, but we could and should do considerably more. The methods we are now using are generally sound, as far as they go; they can be quickly characterized as follows:

(1) Press relations. One of our strongest assets is such reputation as we have achieved for being a reliable center of information and interpretation for newspapermen and other writers. By supplying honest facts and analysis, rather than "loaded" propaganda, we can reach individuals whose writings reach millions.

(2) Television. Here is a medium on which we need to concentrate more of our thought and effort. A certain amount can be done through direct approaches to local TV stations. But because of the unusual sensitivity of television to the perils of "controversy," the local approach is severely limited in the areas of greatest need. In this respect, the centralization of the TV industry is an asset. Network programs that reach into every corner of the South are conceived and executed in New York and Los Angeles. We would be short-sighted indeed if we did not find more ways to develop our stake in nationally originated TV treatments of race relations.

(3) Publications. The SRC has never gone in for random or "shotgun" pamphleteering, and the present situation encourages this approach less than ever. Rather, we need to do an even more effective "rifleshot" job with our publications -- that is, putting the right material into the hands of the right people. We have fairly consistently sought to develop special articles, pamphlets, and leaflets that would carry weight with opinion-makers in various interest groups -- religious, economic, journalistic, educational, professional, and the like. Our greatest need in this area is to improve and

extend our channels of distribution.

(4) Special Fact-Finding. This should be distinguished from "research" (in both its academic and its popular usage) which has fallen into disrepute among action-minded people as being an abstract art. Our object is to assemble - and disseminate - specific bodies of fact that (a) make possible a diagnosis of practical problems and (b) point the way to effective remedies. Thus we seek to document recent Southern industrialization as a basis for persuasive economic arguments for desegregation - arguments that will command respect from economic leadership. Similarly we document the status of Negro voters in the South in order to focus attention on this vital key to progress and to guide the shaping of national policies to protect the ballot. In the case of the desegregation study, our aim was to contribute to a revival of confidence in the inevitability and workability of integration. The possibilities and effectiveness of this kind of strategic fact-finding are very great, provided we do an adequate job of disseminating the findings.

(5) Clearinghouse. The SRC is looked to by a host of organizations and key individuals for counsel. By giving this function more staff time and skill we can greatly increase the outreach of SRC's information and insights. In this way we can enlarge our contribution to the effort to bring all of the nation's positive resources to bear on the urgent domestic problems of segregation and discrimination.

HCF:mbo

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: Quarterly Report, October-December, 1956

The information staff's already full schedule was increased by several far-reaching developments during the quarter. Clinton, Tenn., erupted for the second time in early December, presenting the gravest test yet of the enforceability of the courts' decisions. We thought it wise for SRC to have at the scene of the disorders a staff person who could serve both as observer and adviser to the press. Accordingly, John Constable flew up. He spent much of his time with the newspapermen -- a useful vantage-point for first-hand observation -- and was able, in turn, to give them helpful background.

The Supreme Court's final decision in the Montgomery bus segregation case also claimed a large share of attention. Two weeks before the court's desegregation order became effective, we sent out a background memorandum to more than a hundred editors, alerting them to the coming showdown and summarizing the developments which led up to it. Our information approach was tied in with field work in Montgomery, as Fred Routh will report.

PRESS RELATIONS AND PUBLIC INTERPRETATION

Following are some noteworthy instances of work with the media during the quarter. Others are reported under "FACT-FINDING".

* Promoted and assisted an Associated Press news feature on social science findings re segregation and race relations; the resulting story should run nationwide shortly.

* Lengthy briefing session with the Christian Science Monitor's editorial writer who handles matters racial.

* Enlisted the good offices of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in getting the facts for Life about the Causey family of Choctaw County, Alabama. (Following their appearance in a Life picture-text story, the Negro family suffered economic reprisals and have had to be relocated.)

* Following the publication in U. S. News of the widely noted (and deplored) McGurk article, worked with a group of social psychologists on the development of a counter-statement; the statement was signed by 18 leading social scientists and (thanks mainly to Joseph Lyford) received wide publicity.

* Opened up the information files and the collective knowledge of the staff to John Bartlow Martin, who is preparing a three-part series on pro-segregation forces for the Saturday Evening Post.

* Harold Fleming and John Constable wrote a Public Affairs pamphlet, just published under the title "What's Happening in School Integration?".

* On an October New York trip, HCF spoke on invitation to the assembled staff of the Fund for the Republic.

* Additional newsmen briefed and otherwise assisted ranged from an editor of the New Statesman and Nation to an editor of the Columbus (Ga.) Ledger.

INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION

Partly as a result of the Tuskegee Meeting (reported elsewhere), SRC's information and advice have been increasingly sought by other agencies. We have cast up facts and materials for the YMCA and YWCA projects on campus race relations in the South. We prepared a roundup of economic reprisals for the AFSC's Rights of Conscience program. In staff conferences, we worked out detailed coordination with the AFSC's North Carolina desegregation project and the Anti-Defamation League's various programs in this field. Harold Fleming represented SRC at two inter-agency meetings resulting in the establishment of a national Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

Greer

RESEARCH AND REFERENCE

In addition to managing the clipping files (intake: approximately 500 clippings per month) and other reference materials, Research Assistant Florence Irving has been heavily engaged in statistical analysis of the voting survey findings. In preparation for Mrs. Tilly's Southwide meeting of church women, she also compiled the complete record of pro-segregation measures passed by Southern states. The normal flow of mail requests for information were handled. Among the more interesting inquirers: a white Alabama minister who had organized an interracial discussion group; the director of planning in St. Petersburg, Fla.; a college president; a group seeking employment of Negro policemen; the director of records at Tuskegee Institute, seeking data for Tuskegee's celebrated Annual Report; and personnel of the Presbyterians, U.S.A., who are preparing a study manual on race relations.

NEW SOUTH

The three issues of NEW SOUTH since the last quarterly report dealt with several of the most emergent issues of the period. William Gordon, an able Negro journalist, contributed a first-hand account of the bus boycott in Tallahassee, Fla., currently front-page news. "The Right of Dissent" by South Carolina editor Jack O'Dowd put into sharp focus the threat to basic liberties posed by pro-segregation intolerance in the deep South. A summary of church pronouncements on segregation in the October issue was in heavy demand and (unfortunately) was completely out-of-stock within days after publication. Scientific findings on race and intelligence, designed to combat the "master race" revival, were summed up in November.

FACT-FINDING PROGRAM

Integration North and South, containing the report of SRC's desegregation survey, was published in October by the Fund for the Republic and received remarkably wide publicity. Ten thousand copies of the booklet were printed; SRC is assisting

in its promotion and distribution. We have drawn on the survey material for a variety of information and program uses.

Survey of Negro Suffrage. The fact-finding phase of this twelve-state project has been completed and we will soon finish a regionwide analysis of the findings which we will publish and release to the press. A preliminary news release on November 4, giving Negro registration figures state by state, had good press treatment. The U. S. Department of Justice requested and was given a full set of the state reports, as part of the current Federal appraisal of the right to vote in the South. Newspaper features on the Louisiana, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Georgia studies have appeared or are in prospect.

Survey of Pro-Segregation Organizations. This was the first significant study of the dev lopment, leadership, and methods of the Southern "resistance movement." A summary special report (mimeographed) by Paul Anthony has been distributed to appropriate agencies and individuals; the Methodist Women's Society for Christian Service ordered several hundred copies for use as program material. Further reports and a special issue of New South on the subject are in process. Meanwhile, the survey findings have already had considerable press treatment. They were the subject of a lengthy feature story in the New York Times, a well publicized NAIRO speech by Fred Rotth, a forthcoming article in Phylon, and an impending series in the New York Post. Paul Anthony, who did the field fact-finding, has made a number of speeches and has briefed a variety of newspaper men and magazine writers. John Bartlow Martin has drawn heavily on these findings for his Saturday Evening Post series.

Staff activities report

File

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Activities of Mrs. Tilly since February 1, 1957.

1. Fellowship of the Concerned State Level Workshops in Georgia and Alabama.

2. Led Workshop on Human Relations for students, Emory Junior College, Oxford, Ga. and also for an all-day session of a district of Women's societies, representing 26 churches.

3. Represented Southern Regional Council at Southeastern Jurisdiction Annual Meeting of the Women's Society of Christian Service, Knoxville, Tennessee.

4. Taught 10 two-hour classes a day for a week for churches in area of Covington, Kentucky.

5. Made Program for annual meeting of United Church Women of Georgia.

6. Participated in a two-day conference called by two Bishops of the Methodist Church, (acted as Secretary).

7. Served on leadership team of the National Women's Conference on Inter-group relations in Washington, D. C. sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League.

8. Teaching at Summer Confs

June 3. 1957

Memorandum

To: HCF, JC

From: FBI

Re: Research Office Activities, January-May 31, 1957.

A great portion of time has been spent in the clipping of periodicals and the maintenance of the clipping, materials and pamphlet files. Occasional help with clipping has been received from various persons in the office and regular help from John Constable. Also, Mrs. Harriett Bond and Miss Frances Carnes provided temporary and part time assistance. Clippings still approximate the thousand per month mentioned in an earlier memo, and at least half a work week is required for adequate care of current clippings. Our clippings files are nearly current, and in good condition if compared to the early part of the year.

From January through April, steady and fairly numerous requests for information were received and answered. There have been fewer requests in May. Requests have come from students, teachers, ministers and church boards, labor groups, intergroup agencies, writers, government, and citizens apparently interested in problems of desegregation.

Some of the students writing from colleges outside this region identify themselves as Southerners, but it is interesting to note that there is a slight increase in letters from students at white southern colleges such as Duke, Meredith, Hollins, University of Virginia, University of North Carolina. Teachers writing have been of both college and lower levels, with most college teachers being political scientists interested in Negro voting and registration. Intergroup agencies serviced have included the American Friends Service Committee, the YMCA, and branch and regional YWCA's. Writers and media serviced directly by the research office have included Sam Lubbell, David Koonce, Douglass Cater, John Martin, William Bates, Newsweek, New Republic, and the Newsfilm Project of the Fund for the Republic. Inquires from the Library of Congress, the Democratic National Committee, a Puerto Rican agency and a Southern Rhodesian indicate that SRC has wide recognition.

The research office has continued to make files and information available to SRC staff members. Also, persons visiting the office have been assisted. These included Attorney Walden's secretary who was gathering information for Mr. Walden and Rev. Borders preparatory to their testimony in Civil Rights hearings.

Some other activities have been the preparation of a consultant's briefing statement for North Carolina and an article for New South. What's Happening In School Integration and our publications list were distributed to nearly 100 of the

persons who attended the 1956 Fisk Institute of Race Relations. Subsequently, several acknowledgements and orders were received..

The Negro registration figures for counties in the South were put in proper form (subject to any revisions suggested by HCF) for inclusion in the voting report. Early in the year an explanatory memo and the registration figures were prepared and received some distribution. The college list and the summary of segregation laws have been revised, and at least 300 copies of the latter have been distributed.

A number of recent reports have been requested by the research office and staff members should know of their availability. These include current directories of state and local officials, State Department of Education reports, several recent reports from the U. S. Office of Education, the text of the proposed Civil Rights bill, and the latest population estimates (by county and race) for most southern states.

I attended the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington on May 17th as one of the Council's representatives.

For Executive Committee, 4-17-57

File under Program Report, Staff Report, or what have you

HCF

1. Fund Raising -

   Two NYC trips (pd for) - Individuals & Foundation Consult.

   Danger: summer doldrums

   Diversion from program, staff drain

2. Occasions

   ALES (w/EV)

   Amer. Traiditons Dinner

   YWCA Conf.

   Arden House Conf.

   Civil Liberties Clearinghouse (nat'l ldrship theme)

3. Staff Commendation

STATES (FBR & CHP)

1. Coming state staff conf.
2. State Financial plights.
3. La. on provisional status.
4. FBR to Presby USA clergy mtg on soc. action - Charleston
5. Orlando clergy (50) in March, Fla. local sponsored.
6. Ala. Council statewide mtg ministers May 3.

INTERAGENCY

1. Charlottesville Confab
2. Mass Media committee meetings
3. Nashville conf. of religious ldrs, Apr. 23-25

CONSULTANT PROGRAM

1. Forthcoming consultant conf. - broader orientation
2. Four consultant projects:

CONSULTANT PROGRAM (CONT.)

a. Bryson City - Turpin & Coleman

b. Jacksonville - Area ldrship (60)-bus,park, sch. syst.

c. Memphis (Lemoyne) - library, zoo, buses, schs - 3 yrs

d. New Orleans - La. Council admin. cotee

LABOR

1. ALES
2. Labor conf. Mar ~~31~~ 13 & 14: 22 pres., 11 unions, 2 AFL-CIO committees. Over half southern.
3. Ltrs to Sou. labor ldrs on SRC svs & maters.
4. Individ. confs - NEGRO IAM local, AFT re: Atl.
5. EV to be in confs - so far, UAW, ILGWU, Rubber, Brewery
6. Preparing "Unions & Pro-seg Groups" (PA)
7. Wk with state affiliates on more relations
8. EV permanent?

KOINONIA (EV, et. al.)

1. Press info
2. With other agencies on ins., boycotts, fed.
3. Assistance on defense

WOMEN'S WORK

(See attached)

INFORMATION

1. Press
   Al Friendly (series, edit., Washn contact)
   Koonce article (plus Newsweek)
   Bob Bird, NYHT
   BAird & Gilstrap, CSM
   LOOK Applauds & KKK piece
   Redbook

   Chemical Week
   Atl Const - elections
   Profile of HCF

2. JC & Wells chapter for John Dewey Soc. book.
3. WSCS distributing SRC packets to summer conf. ldrship

4. Maters. for Civ. Lib. Clghouse, etc.

5. Voting project

RESEARCH ASST.

1. Volume - need for asst.

2. Voting figs. & requests for

3. Requests - Library ofCong., Lubell, Strong, Key

4. Information on seg. legis.

5. Mailings: PA pph, promotion

FBR's Travels and Travails - 1957

January

15 - Daytona Beach, Florida. Florida Council annual Board Meeting.

28 - New York City. Meeting of religious educators at FFR office.

31 - Atlanta, Georgia. Met with Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. Public meeting.

February

3 - Atlanta, Georgia. Spoke to Intercollegiate Student Christian Fellowship. Morehouse College.

16 - Atlanta, Georgia. Spoke to Atlanta Chapter, AAUW. "South and Integration."

24 - Charlotte, N. C. Meeting of North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

March

1 - Miami, Florida. Met with small key-leadership group - to strengthen community support for desegregation.

4-5 - Charlottesville, Va. Interagency Co-op effort to pool resources.

12 - Orlando, Florida. Interracial ministerial group. Speech. 55 present. Spoke to local chapter, Florida Council.

14 - Atlanta, Georgia. Attended SRC sponsored Labor Conference.

25 - Charleston, S. C. Strategy Conference, Presbyterian Church, USA, Atlantic Presbytery.

April

5-6 - Jacksonville, Florida. With consultant team Jacksonville leadership group.

9-10- New Orleans, La., Met with State Board of La. Council. Salvage operation.

12-13- Memphis, Tennessee. With consultant team, Le Moyne College Community Conference.

17-18- Atlanta, Georgia. SRC Executive Committee.

23-24- Nashville, Tennessee. Conference on Christian Faith & Human Relations.

25 - Atlanta, Georgia. Spoke at annual banquet Alpha Kappa Delta (honorary Sociology), A.U.

26-27- San Antonio, Texas. Annual meeting of Texas Commission on Race Relations.

May

3 - Montgomery, Alabama. Off-the-record meeting with 45-50 white ministers.

4 - Talledega, Alabama. Spoke to state-wide Student Ecumenical Conference.

7 - Washington, D. C. Spoke to National Convention, Womens Division, AJ Congress. 1,500 delegates.

20 - Atlanta, Georgia. Spoke to Jewish War Veterans Post.

21-22-Atlanta, Georgia. State Staff Conference.

24-25-Atlanta, Georgia. SRC Consultant Conference.

28-29-Atlanta, Georgia. Interagency Conference.

INFORMATION

FOREIGN VISITORS

Otto ~~Gobiusx~~ Gobius, representative of Amsterdam, Holland, Telegraph
G. K. Reddy, Foreign Correspondent, Times of India
Dr. Paavo K. Kastari, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Helsinki, Finland
Roger Argentin, Montreuil S/Bois, France
Marcel Blonde, Paris, France
Paul M. Bour, Montbeliard (Doubs), France
Rene J. Dufaud, Paris, France
Michael J. Lerolle, Paris, France
Andre L. Lucas, Clamart, France
Andre M. Philbert, Paris, France
Lucien Rouet, Asnieres, France
Right Honorable Tom Fraser, Labour Member of Parliament from the Hamilton Constituency of Lanarkshire, Scotland
Mrs. Mary Saran, Secretary of International Council of Social Democratic Women on editorial Board of Socialist Commentary
Abraham Soferman, Uraquay, South America (to work with U. S. State Department Information Program)
Dr. Richard Lowenthal, The London Observer, London, England
Baruch Ber, Tel Aviv, Israel, Newspaperman
Anthony Delius, Capetown, South Africa, newspaperman
Herbert Dr. Von Borch, Washington ~~correspondent, Die~~ correspondent of Die Weldt, Hamburg, Germany
Mrs. Gladys Weigner and Bernhard Moosbrugger, Swiss writer-photographer team working on book on American life
Marcel ~~Baufrere~~ Baufrere, French Press Agency, Paris, France
Michael Millgate, England
Otto von der Gablentz, Political Science teacher, Habelschwerdter Alle, Germany
Ian G. Borrie, Waneanui, New Zealand
Walter Pollack, Linz, Austria, newspaperman
John Cornwell, The New Zealand Herald, Auckland, New Zealand
OLLE PETRINI, Swedish Newspaperman

Mass Media representatives, publications, and organizations

William Howland, Time magazine, concerning segregation and religous aspect
Jim Soderland, Wall Street Journal, about industry in South
Max Gilstrap, Christian Science Monitor
Joseph Baird, Christian Science Monitor stringer, concerning Koinonia
Clark Mollenhoff, Look magazine
Jerry Landauer, Washington Post Times-Herald
Robert Bird, Herald Tribune, New York
Associated Press
United Press
U. S. News and World Report
William Emorson, Newsweek
The Reporter
New Republic

Mrs. Harriet Harmon Dexter, Harper's Publishing Co., concerning book
David Koonce, Washington Star
Andre Fontaine, Redbook magazine
Presbyterian Life
America

Interviewed students from Emory University; Gammon College, Atlanta; Haverford College, DePaul University

Margaret Price continued work on voting survey.

21 cities integrating buses news release

News releases concerning TV films circulated including "Clinton and the Law," Edward R. Murrow's See It Now; "A City Decides," integration in St. Louis; and "The South and Segregation," a documentary by the Fund for the Republic Newsfilm Service.

Distribution of two films, "Desegregation in Baltimore" and "Commencement," to various human relations organizations and student bodies in the South.

Wrote chapter in conjunction with Dr. Guy H. Wells on "The Supreme Court Decision and Its Aftermath" for John Dewey Society Yearbook.

Regular New South publication.

Work with Koinonia including one trip to Macon Council on Human Relations

Distributed packets of materials for possible use as summer conference material to Methodist, Fisk Race Relations Institute, United Church Women Student organization, Y.W.C.A., Student organization, Y.M.C.A., and others.

Compiled list of names for possible complimentary copies of America's Tenth Man

Special materials compiled for Information Service included "Summary of Recent Pro-Segregation Legislation," "Pro-Segregation Groups in the South" (two revisions), and "The South and the Supreme Court's School Decision, A Chronology".

Compiled list of persons to receive Petal Paper

Interviewed Harold Smith, United States Information Service, stationed in Delhi, India

Worked with South Carolina Council on Human Relations to supply ~~materialx~~ ~~on~~ positive material on ~~intergati~~ integration in Washington, D. C., for newspapers in Sumter, S. C., following a speech by John Bell Williams, senator from Mississippi.

DRAFT FBR: October 4, 1957

REPORT
OF
SRC's FIELD SERVICE DIVISION

There has been a changing emphasis in the work of the field service division of the Southern Regional Council during the past six month period. This period brings to a close the affiliate relationship between SRC and the state organizations to which it gave birth three years ago. Most of the energy, time, and effort of the field service division during these three years have been spent preparing the fledgelings for leaving the nest; the past six months have been spent completing that job.

Concurrently with this undertaking, the field service division has more and more turned to other activities. Much time and thought has gone into assessing and analyzing the currently emerging needs of the region. It has been increasingly evident that the forces of opposition operate on a region-wide basis and, therefore, must be met on a broader basis than the old style state-by-state approach.

SRC's Consultant Service Program reflects this change of emphasis. During the first year of its existence its chief role was that of working with the staff and board members of the affiliated state organizations. More recently, CSP has been working with citizens' groups and key individuals, not associated with SRC. A major portion of this effort has been directed toward the states where desegregation is pending. Thus, we have put considerable resources into workshops and quiet contacts in Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee. As communities face up, either by necessity or choice, to the problem of desegregation, their leadership tends to seek responsible trained consultant aid. SRC's Consultant Service Program is getting a good reputation as such an aid.

We have intensified the work, begun more than a year ago, of interagency cooperation. SRC has been asked by other agencies working in the South to serve as secretariat of the interagency cooperative effort. Occasional meetings and frequent consultations with other agencies have been the result. Southern agencies

and southern staff members of national agencies agreed to meet with the Consultative Conference on Desegregation in Washington, D.C., September 16-17. At this meeting the Southern "delegation" presented the following recommendations to CCD:

1. Plans be made to have Southern staff representation at all CCD Annual and Executive Committee meetings.
2. An agency, specializing in legal work, should establish a chain of sympathetic lawyers across the South to assist Southern agencies with legal problems growing out of state litigation and executive orders.
3. There is need for interagency cooperation in fact finding. This should be action oriented fact-finding, not research for the sake of research. There is a need for facts to be presented to the new Commission on Civil Rights.
4. Church groups should consider ways in which they can reinforce children and parents who are going through the desegregation experience.
5. There is need for police training in riot prevention and mob control. Agencies should cooperate in making such training available to, and wanted by Southern police forces.

SRC's Labor Consultant has been active during the past six months working with summer labor schools representing a considerable diversity of international unions. Our interest here is to help members of organized labor work out for themselves the solutions to the racial problems which confront them. More and more it is becoming evident that those political figures who oppose desegregation are the same ones who supported the so-called "right to work" laws in the state legislatures. Union leadership, with enlightened self-interest, is beginning to raise questions about following such political leadership in any situation. The response from union leadership and rank and file to SRC's Labor Consultant has been heartening. Work with labor must be done by individuals familiar with union practices and sympathetic to labor's goals.

SRC's work with church women continues at an increased pace. Mrs. Tilly, that indefatigable worker, has held meetings with church women in seven states; she has attended endless summer Bible Schools; she has taught at numerous church sponsored institutes. The church women of the South see themselves as the conscience of the region. This is a conscience that won't be stilled and can't be still. Time and again the church women have spoken out, pointing to the moral issues involved in the controversy which rages about them. In Georgia, they called for an end to violence in the Koinonia situation; in Montgomery, they rode the buses on a non-segregated basis; in Florida, they met to find ways to help the Church assume its rightful role of leadership in social change.

The rapidly changing and developing situations in the Southern Region call for a wide range of skills and considerable flexibility on the part of the field service division of the Southern Regional Council. There is always the danger of running off in all directions at once. We have sought to keep our activities in focus by an integrated approach to the problems of the region. No one part of the program is seen as an isolated effort; its relation to the rest of the program is constantly evaluated. In this manner it is believed SRC can best contribute to peaceful social transition and can best help the good willed, but silent, people of the South out of the valley of indecision.

FBR:fcl

EFV — Good. Tell Discuss. HCF

Strictly confidential

MEMORANDUM

November 27, 1957

EFV's visit to Jacksonville re AFSCME local situation - November 25, 1957.

EFV had been notified by Segal that John Caldwell, ~~National~~ Education Director of AFSCME, might be in touch with Via regarding their local union in Jacksonville. Caldwell did call on November 18. The situation as originally described was that the local of 1200 city employees was all white and that there were some 800 Negro workers who wished to join the union. The white local said that they would disaffiliate rather than have an integrated union. The National Executive Board had discussed this problem and had voted not to issue a ~~support~~ separate charter but also agreed not to issue a direct order to the white local to integrate. Caldwell wanted to make use of an educational or ~~other~~ conciliatory approach that might bring forth a satisfactory solution. Via agreed to supply some community contacts in Jacksonville who could provide constructive community background ~~to Caldwell~~ and ~~the AFSCME Director, Shorty Rowe~~ who might be able to give some specific help with this problem. He also agreed to come to Jacksonville and meet with Caldwell and the AFSCME Regional Director, Shorty Rowe, and if advisable with leadership from the white ~~and~~ and/or Negro groups. Via did meet Rowe and Caldwell in Jacksonville on November 25. With some further exploration additional facts were brought forth.

The white local is important in the city's politics. Its president is on the dog racing commission and holds one other political office; ~~and~~ he is credited with being influential in all city elections. The local serves as a real political base for him and he was in no mood to welcome ~~the~~ a threat either to the local or to his own political base. Similarly, the issue of how the Jacksonville situation was solved had become an internal political question for the union. The national president, Arnold Zander, had been challenged regarding this situation and further challenges were expected. This left the national

EFV in Jacksonville November 25, 1957

union staff looking for a solution which would not disrupt the local but which could be defended before pointed national critiesism.

Caldwell had been out of town for several days prior to Via's arrival and they had but a half hour together before the meeting arranged by Rowe began. Via was consciously, and wisely, excluded from this meeting. His advice to Caldwell had been largely in terms of not letting the line of settlement become too rigid prior to getting the kind of agreement with which the national union could live. This position was shared up with some predictions of the dire consequences which could ensue from an improper settlement and, perhaps, from any settlement less than an integrated local union. The possibility of Via's coming into the Jacksonville situation had been known by regional director Rowe and maybe by one or two of the local white leadership. This may have been something of a threat in the situation and his materialization on the scene possibly had some catalytic effect on the developments that took place.

The meeting involved the top leaders of the white city local and the county local. They came to a basic agreement and then arranged meetings with the two city commissioners directly responsible for the departments in which the Negroes are employed. Via's understanding of the agreed upon settlement is as follows: a) that an organizing drive will take place among all the unorganized workers for the city government: b) that all such workers will become members of the one local group: c) that separate membership meetings will be held: d) that the Executive Committee will have proportional representation: e) that the bargaining committee will have proportional representation: f) that the grievance committee will have proportional representation: g) that the delegation to the central labor union will have proportional representation: h) that the Negro group will receive a portion of their dues to be under their exclusive control.

Caldwell and Rowe felt that this was a major move away from the position of the white local leadership of only three weeks ago and that it was such a sub-

stantial move that it could be defended as a proper settlement before the National Executive Board.

The president of the white local, Thomas Porter, and the other leadership which had been consulted, were not willing to undertake the organizing campaign among Negro employees prior to the settlement. Now they are ready and willing to proceed with the campaign and to give it guidance. Porter has been extremely successful in building the white membership up in the past few years. He is recognized as an organzier and leader of some ability. The new organizing campaign will have the blessings of the two city commissioners mentioned earlier, but both of these men gave the assembled union representatives stern warnings about any move toward real integration. In most of the departmental situations where Negroes are working there are white supervisory employees who are already members of the local. These men will add their weight to why the Negroes should join. On these bases, plus some specific grievances, plus the very great pull of a promise to fight for civil service standing for Negro employees, a successful organizing drive is anticipated. The predicted success by the local white leadership is that they will secure 400-600 Negro members and several hundred white members within the city and a lesser number from each group within the county. Before Via left Jacksonville the county local president had called Caldwell to congratulate him on having moved Porter so far and had agreed to send a letter expressing his approval of what had happened to president Zander.

The main consultation engaged in by Via was with Rowe and Caldwell "after the fact" and was in the form of criticism of the settlement reached. Recognising that progress had been made, that the situation was a truly tough one, and that any strong action entailed fairly serious calculated risks, he explained to the two union staffers that he felt his role at the point he was consulted was most appropriately that of a "needler" and as one who was willing to

anticipate some of the potential problems in such a settlement. Via's main tack was as follows: that the settlement was still less than the ideals of national union policy, that any failure to give full participation was a denial of representation on its face and must be carefully watched to prevent a great variety of discriminations, that ~~such~~ discrimination was inherent even when the white group leaned over backwards to give protection to the Negro group, that once the Negro group was organized and realized what its rights and privileges should be that it would constitute a possible source of agitation, and unless there was to be careful watching and programming for advances beyond this original settlement that they could soon expect at least as much difficulty both from whites and Negroes as they had anticipated currently from the white group if "forced to integrate". This was said in the context of a social situation which is undergoing more rapid change than most white staffers realise, especially when they are confronted with the strongest resistance to change. Rowe and Caldwell admitted the possibility of such future difficulties, claimed that they would be watchful and prodding ~~keep a watchful and prodding eye~~ in ~~on~~ the Jacksonville situation, ~~and~~ Via was urged to spell out what would continue to be needed in the situation if this settlement is carried through and send these recommendations to president Zander himself.

EFV was in touch with several SRC contacts in Jacksonville in the attempt to get some judgment on the temper of this community. In talking with Davisson Dunlap and Canon McCloskey he was able to show that there were changes of attitude even in Jacksonville and that there is a small group of people, but important ~~even~~ to the labor movement, who would not welcome improper settlements. The union staff guys could see that this was one other area, along with organized Negro groups, which could threaten the "peace" of the situation if the current settlement were allowed to become fixed.

EFV in Jacksonville November 25, 1957

Via does not feel that his consultation was of any real use in the actual settlement rached, with the possible exception of whatever push his presence gave to those doing the negotiating. It was perhaps of value to have forcefully put forth the cautionary notes indicated above right at the time the settlement was being made, to have sensitised the national staff person prior to the meeting, and to have opened up the channel of communicating these concerns to the union presdient directly. Beyond this he did establish friendly relations with the regional director and there is still the real possibility of being re-consulted on this or other situations. There have been several areas in which EFV has been active where the AFSCME is looking for some advice of the sort that SRC and its contacts can provide.

EFV is not wholly convinced that Caldwell was not at least partly taken in by the local leadership. The visit to the commissioners went almost too smoothly in the direction of that kind of agreement which the white leadership had intended to settle for and the basic lines of settlement seemingly had been agreed to prior to the lengthy session that took place on Monday. I doubt if Caldwell could really have avoided this given the conditions under which he was operating. We have yet to see whether or not the situation is watched closely and given guidance and whether even this settlement is acceptable to the National Executive Board.

EFV:fcl

To HCF

January 24, 1958

Memorandum

To: JC

From: Research Office

Re: Report on activities of Research Office, November 1, 1957 to January 15, 1958

During the three month period covered in this report there has been a marked decline in the number of information requests received in this office and a considerable slackening in the volume of newspaper clippings in our field. During November, information requests were received in the large quantities mentioned in our last report; the volume of requests received in December and early January decreased by at least 50%. Such requests are largely from high school and college students and teachers, and it is probable that the decline reflects activity periods in the school calendar, although a counter-reaction to the intense interest precipitated by the Little Rock situation could be responsible for some public boredom with desegregation activity.

Assistance to the SRC staff has been the most time consuming research function. The following projects, however, are being prepared for publication in special report form:

1) 1957 addendum to the chronology, The South and the Supreme Court Decision
2) Background reports on Dallas, Texas; Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Newport News, Virginia.

Certain continuing lists have been updated in the past month: Desegregating Institutions of Higher Education, a listing of some indices to progress in the South, and representation and membership lists.

Among the agencies and media requesting specific information were: The Atlanta Housing Authority, a member of the city parks department, the Atlanta Urban League, TIME-LIFE, (Brigitta Marmolin — name of newspaper?). [There are others - request is usually taken by another member of the staff and I am not told name of publication.]

MEMORANDUM

16 July 58

To: Harold Fleming
From: Fred Routh
Subj.: SRC Field Services' areas of concentration and action pending therein.

This memo is written to bring you abreast of the current and proposed activities of the Field Services Division of the Council, with special reference to the work of the Assistant Director.

I. Consultant Services Program.
  A. Virginia. Supervisory and liaison work with John Hope, Bonita Valien, John Alexander, and Harry Walker.
    1. Field trips to Virginia communities as required.
    2. Relating Mrs. Tilly, Mrs.Ennis, and Emory Via to this project.
    3. Office related work.
  B. Dallas. Continuing contact with developing situation.
    1. Correspondence with Gus Falk, Maceo Smith, and others.
    2. Follow-up with John Hope, Bonita Valien, and CH Parrish.
    3. Possible field trip to the Dallas area.
  C. Other special uses of Consultant Program as developments warrant;possibilities:
    1. Merit Employment, N.C.
    2. Staff-Board orientation:
      a.New Orleans, b.Kentucky, c. Tennessee

II. State Organizations.
  A. Follow-up on State Staff Conference at Fisk.
    1. New financial-reporting form.
    2. Reinstitute regular, frequent staff oriented newsletter.
    3. New memo to state staff on quarterly reports; when due, etc.
    4. Invite, on rotating basis, state staff to Interagency meetings.
    5. Possibilities of critique on quarterly reports.
  B. Continuing contacts and liaison.
    1.Field trips to Annual Meetings and critical Exec.Com. meetings.
    2. Office work to maintain contacts and keep files up to date on each state organization.
    3. Relate work of other Field Services personnel to state orgs.
  C. Serve as Clearing House for state organizations.

III. Interagency Cooperation.
  A. Work with SRC's Exec.Dir. in secretariat capacity.
  B. Attending Interagency meetings.
  C. Work in Interagency cooperative field projects.
    1. Virginia; 2. Dallas; 3. Others that mey develop.

IV. Supervising Field Services Personnel.
  A. Consultants--through John Hope.
  B. Program Associate.
  C. Labor Consultant.
  D. Director of Women's Work.
  E. Intern.
  F. Secretary.

V. Representative Function. Representing SRC at conferences, meetings, etc.

VI. Fire Fighting. Covering critical areas where help is needed and time is available. September may be a heavy month for this function.

VII. Foreign Visitors. In cooperation with other staff members, briefing, talking-with, and assisting foreign visitors to the office.

VIII. General Administration. As "number two" man on the SRC team, sharing in the staff decision making and the administration of SRC policies.

IX. Other Field Work. To supervise, engage in, encourage such other field work enterprises as SRC may undertake.

STAFF REPORTS

January - May 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

RESEARCH

General:

Albany - Howard Zinn - January 8, 1962
The Unequal Badge - Elliott Rudwick - January, 1962
Executive Support of Civil Rights - March 13, 1962

Employment Studies:

Chattanooga: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. The second of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities. - February, 1962.
Atlanta: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. The third of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities. - May, 1962.

L-Reports:

L-31 - A reprint from the Wall St. Journal - "Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South." - February, 1962
L-32 - A refutation of Carleton Putnam's book, "Race and Reason: A Yankee View." - March 9, 1962
L-33 - A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." - March 9, 1962

Miscellaneous:

An employment study of opportunities for the Negro in Miami. Mimeographed without SRC imprint for the Florida Council. Revision of same material also to appear in New South, May, 1962.

Reprint from Fortune - "The City and the Negro" - March, 1962.

Surveys have been made of desegregation of
Hospitals
Hotels
Cultural Facilities
For the hospital survey, questionnaires were sent to every hospital with an intern program connected with medical training centers in the South - 64 hospitals.

For the hotel survey, questionnaires were sent to 11

hotel chains, 30 hotel associations, and contacts (either a Council on Human Relations, Urban League chapter, or NAACP chapter) in the same cities.

For the survey of cultural facilities, questionnaires were sent to the mayors and contacts in 20 southern cities - these cities selected because they represent the major population centers.

A tabulation of the results of the hospital survey was given the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations to assist it in its efforts to desegregate Grady Hospital.

The survey on cultural facilities is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of New South.

Publications and/or Reports in Progress:

The Negro and Crime
State Commissions on Human Relations (Ben Muse)
Desegregation of Schools: Atlanta, Memphis, and Dallas (Newsom)
Desegregation of Catholic parochial schools (L-Report - B. Patterson)

Studies Committed:

Economic Status of Negroes in South (V. Henderson)
Agricultural Aid Programs and Voting Participation in South Carolina (Ira Kaye)

Other Activities Completed:

A conference on voting research was held in the SRC offices on May 1 and 2, 1962, attended by 14 academic men prominent in the field of voting research in the South.

James Moss

FIELD ACTIVITIES

The state Councils on Human Relations continue to show growth and increased vitality and effectiveness. These factors are due both to improving climates in many of the states and to sound and dedicated leadership. As of May 15 the total membership of the state Councils stood at 6,338. This compares with a total of 6,171 in July, 1961. During the last 12 months six of the state Councils have shown substantial improvement.

The largest is Virginia, with a membership of 2,100. The second largest is now Tennessee, which has grown from 581 to 781 during the last year, followed by Florida with a membership of 700.

During the first quarter of the current fiscal year, the state Councils have raised $19,541.00. This compares with $14,224.00 raised during the comparable period a year ago.

In addition, three of the state Councils have received special foundation grants this year. Last fall the Georgia Council received a grant from the Field Foundation to make

possible the employment of a second staff member. The Rev. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., formerly president of the Savannah Council, is currently serving ably in this capacity and giving the Georgia Council benefit of biracial professional staff. The Tennessee Council also received a small grant from the Field Foundation to strengthen its work for the next two years. In May, the Virginia Council was notified that the William C. Whitney Foundation had determined to grant $3,500 for each of the three years beginning with 1962. The VCHR plans to employ a Negro professional staff member as associate director for the coming year and hopes that sufficient funds will be found to continue the position into the future.

On May 3 some 55 persons from throughout Mississippi gathered on the Tougaloo College campus in Jackson to organize a new Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Although the group was harassed by adverse press and TV publicity and by agents of the State Sovereignty Commission and White Citizens Council, it determined to move ahead and raise a standard of constructive progress in Mississippi. Selected as chairman was Dr. Dan Beittel, President of Tougaloo College and SRC board member. Elected as vice-chairmen were Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg, SRC board member, and Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr., President of Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point, Mississippi. The group authorized the appointment of a constitutional committee and plans to move ahead with local activity in all parts of the state, looking toward another and larger meeting in the fall.

New local interracial groups have been organized in recent months, particularly in Georgia and Virginia. Since last fall the Virginia Council has organized local affiliated groups in Fredericksburg, Williamsburg, and in Bluefield, West Virginia, right across the border from Virginia. The Georgia Council has recently organized in Rome, Brunswick, and Albany.

Other notable activities of the state Councils include:

1. The involvement of both Georgia staff members in the critical Albany situation. At two points during the crisis the director of the Georgia Council was able to arrange new negotiations.

2. The presentation of able and prominent speakers. Carl Rowan, Assistant to the Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has spoken to the Georgia and Arkansas Councils. Berl Bernhard, Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights, has spoken to the Tennessee and Virginia Councils. Secretary of Labor Goldberg has agreed to speak to the Tennessee Council in the near future. Ralph McGill spoke recently to the North Carolina Council. Dr. Ralph Bunche is scheduled to address the Richmond Council and Dean Rusk has tentatively agreed to speak to the Richmond group in the near future.

3. The North Carolina Council has met several times recently with the Governor to press for progress beyond tokenism and for the employment of more Negroes in state departments. The NCCHR also made a public statement in behalf of broader school desegregation which received wide publicity.

4. The Virginia Council has organized a state interagency meeting involving some 75 organizations and agencies with some human relations concern. The group will meet periodically. John Feild, Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, will address the meeting in late May.

5. The Houston Council sponsored a seminar for 50 selected high school students representing various ethnic, racial, and religious groups.

6. The Florida Council was able to play a helpful role in advising and negotiating in Cocoa, Fla., where a tense situation concerning recreational facilities was solved with the appointment of a Mayor's biracial committee, which recommended the complete desegregation of the facilities.

7. The Atlanta Council published a survey of the first year of school desegregation in Atlanta. The document received widespread notice and was recently quoted in the New York Times.

8. The director of the Alabama Council has been extremely active in the current crisis situation in Birmingham and is one of the few persons in the city with access to Negro leadership and white persons in the business and civic leadership of the city.

Activities of SRC Field staff since January have included:

1. Several trips to Albany, Georgia, at the request of the Georgia Council to assist and supplement activities of the Georgia Council there.

2. A trip to Pensacola, Florida, to advise a citizens group there concerning preparation for peaceful desegregation. This trip involved also meetings with the school superintendent and school principals, white and Negro.

3. Several trips to New Orleans to offer suggestions to groups there preparing for desegregation next fall and to explore the flickerings of interest in the organization of an interracial council in the city.

4. A trip to Charleston to consult with white and Negro leaders concerning the boycott situation and to explore ways of strengthening interracial cooperation there. This trip was at the request of the SCCHR, which does not have a local organization in Charleston.

5. The planning and direction of the annual State Staff Meeting, which was held at SRC February 15 and 16.

6. Several trips to Birmingham to advise with the director of the Alabama Council concerning the constructive steps that might be made in that situation.

7. Supervision of a pilot project to attempt to reach Black Belt areas through radio in conjunction with the Friendly World Broadcasting Company and Mr. Edwin Randall.

8. Participation for SRC in the regional meeting of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta April 27 and 28.

9. Assistance to the organizing committee of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and participation in the organizing meeting on May 3.

10. A series of speeches to six political science and sociology classes at Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss., May 2.

Paul Rilling

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

While awaiting approval of Internal Revenue on our request for tax exemption, contact was established with various federal agencies, private foundations, organizations, and others interested in voter registration in the South. In a letter dated March 22, 1962, SRC was informed by Internal Revenue Service that if we "operate the project strictly in accordance with the representations made . . . the activity will not adversely affect your present exemption from Federal income tax . . ." News of the tax ruling came while Leslie Dunbar and Wiley Branton were in New York for conferences with participating agencies, and the group agreed to a March 29 news release.

Grants have been received from Taconic Foundation of $250,000 for a two year period; $75,000 from Field Foundation for one year; and $124,000 total for a two year period from the Edgar Stern Family Fund. This gives VEP $262,000 for the first year's operation.

Proposals for a two year campaign have been submitted by NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and NUL, and representatives from each met with VEP in Atlanta on April 17. SRC Research and VEP held a conference in Atlanta on May 1 and 2 to discuss research problems involving the voter project, which was attended by a dozen or so political scientists and other scholars from over the South. All in attendance promised continuing cooperation to the Project research.

VEP decided to launch Ninety Day Programs in states where registration deadlines could still be met for summer primaries and made the following grants: CORE - $8,625.00; SCLC - $11,500.00; SNCC - $5,750.00; NAACP - $17,250.00; and NUL - $5,750.00. CORE will be working in Baton Rouge, La., Jackson, Miss., and in the 6th Congressional District and in Clarendon, Sumter, and York Counties, South Carolina.

NAACP will work in Jackson, Miss.; Shreveport, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and Monroe, La.; High Point, Fayetteville, Charlotte, Rocky Mount, Wilmington and Edenton, North Carolina; Beaufort, Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston, South Carolina; and Memphis, Fayette County, Haywood County, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Clarksville, Tennessee.

National Urban League will be working in Winston-Salem and Richmond.

SCLC will work in Shreveport, La.; Chowan County and Elizabeth City, North Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina;

Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and in the 4th Congressional District of Virginia.

SNCC will work in Orangeburg County, South Carolina and in Jackson, Hattiesburg, Marshall County and the old 3rd and 4th Congressional Districts of Mississippi.

The first VEP grant was made to the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee on April 12 in the amount of $2,000.00, with a supplemental grant on May 15 in the amount of $1,600.00. A grant was also made to the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs on April 27 in the sum of $2,500.00

VEP requires participating agencies to deposit the proceeds of our grants in a separate bank account and to make disbursements from same only when supported by vouchers. Agencies are required to coordinate their registration efforts where more than one agency is working in the same area. Plans are now being formulated for a long range program in 11 Deep South states. Immediate attention is being given to "crash programs" in New Orleans and Nashville.

Wiley A. Branton

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Short Statement of SLP Activities since January 1, 1962

The activities of the Southern Leadership Project followed a somewhat more selective pattern of travel but continued in the main along the lines of previous efforts. I have personally concentrated on South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; Mr. Brewbaker has visited school authorities in the more critical situations.

Mr. Brewbaker took part in a workshop on desegregation problems in Chattanooga January 16 and attended the annual meeting of Virginia school superintendents April 16. He was invited to the latter by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He has conferred with school authorities in Spartanburg and Greenville, S.C.; Atlanta and Savannah, Ga.; Mobile, Ala.; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.; Tallahassee and Pensacola, Fla.; and Raleigh, N.C.

I have given somewhat more time to desk work and counseling with my colleagues in Atlanta on general SRC problems. I have collaborated with the newly active Catholic human relations movement, visiting three Catholic bishops and conferring with a group of advisers to Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans. I have also cooperated increasingly with the Department of Justice and the Commission on Civil Rights.

I have been especially concerned in recent months with the need for emboldening the Southern clergy to witness

forthrightly for the Christian attitude in race relations. After much discussion of the problem with Dr. Dunbar and Rev. Will Campbell, of the National Council of Churches, it has been decided to engage a minister consultant who would be identified as a representative of the National Council of Churches, but who would be financed from this project. Such a minister would be expected to travel in the South visiting and talking with Protestant ministers, especially in the rural districts.

Benjamin Muse

INFORMATION ACTIVITIES

We've had 36 foreign visitors since Jan. 1, for stays ranging from two to seven days and have arranged about 44 full days' programs for them, including an increasing number of home dinners with the help of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations. The 36 do not include drop-in visitors we talk to, show around the office and mail or give publications to, nor 24 Ohio students with whom we conferred and for whom we arranged appointments.

I've made nine speeches (or will have by May 22) - at Oberlin College, Daytona Beach, the Indiana Civil Liberties Union and two womens clubs and the Senior Citizens Club in Atlanta.

New South promotions have been mailed to five lists of possible subscribers, with little return.

We are rather pleased with our New South book section, when we have room for it. Jan wrote to a lot of publishers asking for review copies and we've had books from Random House, Norton, Dial, Harcourt Brace, Simon and Schuster, University of North Carolina Press, Charles C. Thomas, Houghton-Mifflin, Louisiana State University Press and maybe some others.

We've cast about for some distinguished and authoritative writing for New South and wangled some good pieces from names like Lillian Smith, Louis Lomax and Nedra Tyre. We don't count Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright, because they have to do for us, anyway. New South lately seems to take more editing and letter-writing as we're getting in manuscripts and even poetry to be considered and usually rejected.

I did a little literary consultation and editing for fellow laborers in the vineyard, SNCC and SCLC, which may have been more offensive than helpful, because I haven't heard thanks or you're crazy or pea turkey from them since.

I spend about every fifth day cleaning up my well-ordered mess in search of some mysterious document you seem to think I'm sitting on, a highly constructive activity which is,

however, perhaps not too susceptible to appraisal and value judgement.

We had a great literary tea for Lillian Smith March 31 at the Biltmore Hotel, a gladsome mingling attended by some 600 of all colors. We sold 110 books and Miss Lil figured she autographed over 200. The Ku Klux Klan came and picketed. We think this was good for the town, us, the Georgia and Atlanta Councils, and Miss Lil.

Margaret Long

DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK

The 'rolling chair' has traveled many miles to doctors' offices, clinics, and meetings.

February:

The Atlanta Fellowship of the Concerned had a program at the Atlanta Library during Brotherhood Week, with about 200 present.

March:

Attended the Annual Meeting of North Georgia Women's Society of Christian Service, Augusta, Georgia.

April:

Attended the Spring Student Conference at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, which lasted three days, and spoke to the student body.

Spoke to the Augusta Council on Human Relations.

May:

Spent the week of May 14, as a Special Guest of the Woman's Division of Christian Service, in its 6th Assembly of Methodist Women, in Atlantic City. Over 10,000 women were in attendance.

I have been to Washington, D.C. twice - once for the Board Meeting of the ADA, and later to attend the annual meeting. The biggest job I have had is to make a comparative study of the social action program of the Methodist Church and the present civil rights action of the Federal Government.

In addition to the above, I taught a district-wide class - Atlanta West District Woman's Society of Christian Service, Fair Oaks, Marietta, Community Bible Study each month, a Forum class of young people.

I have met four times with executive committees of

the United Church Women as we planned a day on "The Family," held at a private home in Lithonia, Georgia, and planning for the fall meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held on October 30-31.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

File - Staff reports or Memos

Report of EV's Field Trip to Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee

In Nashville, Via talked with Matt Lynch and Stanton Smith, who are Vice-President and President of the Tennessee Labor Council. Lynch feels that the labor movement is doing little more than holding its own on civil rights questions, which to his mind is a form of going backwards.

The labor movement has not been working positively for better race relations in recent months. However, Lynch does feel that Arthur Canada's group from Chattanooga is about shot. He also indicated that he personally had information that would aid him in a direct approach to Canada to see that he stayed neutral in any further disturbances. In a recent state labor school at Clinton there were in attendance at least one KKK member, one Negro woman, and one of the Clinton defendants; these people actually ate lunch together during the course of the school. Lynch gave a very optimistic report on the prospects for up-grading and general employment opportunities for Negroes in Tennessee industry.

The main trouble spots in Lynch's eyes are those areas where other states tend to spill over into Tennessee, such as Chattanooga and Memphis. Lynch indicated that Negroes in increasing numbers are participating in the Republican primary, which he feels removes them from the real election. He estimates that there are some 70,000 Negro voters in Tennessee and admits that this is a conservative figure.

The pro-segregation groups in Tennessee are split politically and will support different candidates for governor. He feels that the different pro-segregation groups tend to neutralize each other politically. Lynch characterizes the recent legislative session as one which passed more "integration" than "segregation" legislation.

There are about 700 locals in Tennessee. Lynch bears legislative responsibility for the state labor body; Smith acts as president and also is in charge of educa-

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suggesting persons to be contacted outside of the state labor organization itself; he is reluctant to make suggestions of any persons on the staff of the various internationals.

EV spent a good bit of time with John Hope II and with Herman Long at Fisk. They went over some of the details of the Fisk Institute, including expenses breakdown and program, as well as materials that would be distributed or otherwise available.

Hope and Via had an extended conversation about the possibilities of an inter-agency move in the area of Merit Employment. Hope had previously done some sounding out of persons in this regard; his efforts were directed primarily at a later conference of a high level sort between the agencies and other leaders who should be interested in this field. Via discussed with him the possibilities of an informal meeting of selected persons from the various agencies to take place sometime during the summer or very early fall. Hope had already discussed his ideas with Mayes Behrman and Herb Hill. It was agreed that the group that Via had in mind might meet first and as part of its undertaking make some plans for the kind of top-level conference that Hope had in mind. Possible attenders for such a meeting would be Herb Hill, Mayes Behrman, Henry Catchings, Emory Via, John Hope, and M. L. King, Jr., or someone whom he designates from the Southern Leaders Conference. It was felt that the sooner this meeting could be called, the better; the new ~~interest~~ interest which King has been able to stimulate in Nixon is not only something which could possibly could be capitalized on, but we need to make certain that there is some sort of concerted practical local level action to back up this interest and to stimulate it anew. Hope had also talked with Tartt Bell and Thelma Babbitt. Via stopped by the offices of the Southern Education Reporting Service. He met Don Shumaker there and was shown about the premises, including how the filing system was set up. He spent several hours there going through files on labor and ~~[illegible]~~ race. This would be a good file to

In conversations with Matt Lynch, he indicated that the WCC had backed the moves for the licensing of labor organizers.

Estimated union membership in Southern states, source unknown; North Carolina and South Carolina, 9%; Mississippi, 15%; Georgia, 16%; Texas, 17%; Virginia, 17%; Florida, 18%; Louisiana, 20%; Arkansas, 21%; Tennessee, 22%; Kentucky, 24%; Alabama, 24%.

Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, 206 Hayes Building, 1710 Hayes Street, Nashville, Box 122, Nashville, Tennessee. Listed as members of the advisory board of this group are Earnest Reese, Jr., of the Fayettville Cotton Mill and A. G. ~~Heirsohn~~ Heirsohn, Jr., from Severville, who's with the Cherokee Knitting Mills. Both of these plants have strong anti-union histories. There have been about a half-dozen failures of union campaigns in the Cherokee Knitting Mills.

Although there is no official representation from the Tennessee Labor Council in the Nashville Community Relations Council, one of the officials of the labor body does participate in the Nashville Community Relations Council.

Southern Crafts, Inc., James E. Price, President, P.O. Box 1083, Birmingham, Alabama.

With the UAW in Memphis working on the IH Plant, Carl Moore and a guy by the name of Strickland.

News items which EV may wish to check at later date to be found at Southern Education Reporting Service: Chattanooga Times, August 13th, 1955, Firm Race Stand Sought of Labor; August 18th, Restraint Urged on School Issue; January 8, 1956, Teachers Union Hits Integration; February 8, 1957, Pressman's Wire Hits Race Mixing. Birmingham World: October 14, 1955, Kentucky CIO to Press for Employment Law. Memphis Commercial Appeal, February 19, 1957, Labor Clause Urged in Civil Rights Bill. Richmond TimesDispatch, approximately 4/20/57, Dalton Asks Labor Help to Save Schools. Raleigh News and Observer, February 10, 1957, Segregation Tensions Affects Unions, by Sterling Sodermann. Charleston News and Courier, October 4, 1956, New Labor Unions Seeking Charter in South Carolina Dedicated to Segregation.

Birmingham News, September 14, 1956, All-White Labor Group Favors Law on Right-to-Work (this is the statement by the Southern Crafts, Inc., in favor of state Right-to-Work Laws).

The Orangeburg Citizens Council (name of a publication) for February 13, 1956, referred to "Negrophile Walter Reuther." The White Sentinel for March of 1956 carried a picture of James Carey and attacked him for his stand on integration. Asa Carter's The Southerner, Volume I, No. 2, March, 1956, had a full-fledged attack on an Institute conducted by the inter-racial committee of Jefferson County Coordinating Council. It was attempting to label the sponsors and associate sponsors by listing them by name. Included in this list were the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the Alabama State Federation of Labor, the Bessemer Industrial Union Council, the Birmingham Industrial Union Council, and innumerable churches and colleges. The Arkansas Faith for November, 1955, carried an article headed, "White American, Inc., Not Opposed to Laboring People." It paid tribute to L. D. Poynter, of Pine Bluff, as a courageous and untiring president of White America, Inc., a pioneer of organizations in Arkansas to defend traditional way of life. ~~He Poynter~~ Poynter was listed as a member of the Railroad Brotherhood, "...and certainly cannot be accused of anti-union activities when he denounces the heads of the CIO for 'misrepresenting' their Southern membership by trotting in double harness with the pro-Communist NAACP." The article goes on to say, "We are indebted to Mr. Poynter for the picture of the Moscow educated Walter Reuther, President ~~to~~ of the CIO, presenting the non-Negro President of the NAACP a gift of $75,000, part of which represents dues and assessments extracted from the paychecks of Southern workmen, to be used in their infamous scheme to destroy the very way of life cherished by the Southern workmen." The Southern Conservative from Fort Worth, Texas, May, 1957, Ida M. Darden, Editor, attacks all those Democrats who oppose right-to-work provisions. It had a strong pro-McCarthy article on the occasion of McCarthy's death. One article was headed, "Beck is Minnow in Labor Rackets." One quote in a letter to the paper went as follows: ~~/1/1/~~

"It's a fact that we can't deny that crooked labor union leaders have a strangle hold on the Federal and state governments which will not be prized loose until big labor is subjected to the same regulations and restrictions imposed on big business." This paper seems to take a more subtle approach to handling the racial issue - less agitational. From Virginia the Defenders News and Views for May, 1957, had an article which looked with favor on the recent Wisconsin Court decision on the Brickmason's discrimination case. They said in part, the Court "...upheld the right of labor unions to bar Negroes from its membership if it so desires."

Adolph "Ace" Benett, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, 611 Palmetto Street, Chattanooga, Tenn., phone: Amherst 6-2815. This is the address of the CIO Union Center; a Steelworkers, CWA, and OCAW local also have offices there. Talked with John Popham. He was discouraged as to the possibilities of desegregation in Chattanooga this year. He made general observations about the lack of a middle class in Chattanooga and the split between working people and the upper crust. He feels that the upper class is still striving for status and a kind of "Old Southism" in terms of family background and connection, that many of these people go to private preparatory schools in Chattanooga, of which there are a great number according to Popham, and that they stand little chance of being integrated. He does not feel that this is the kind of situation which will cause the working classes to accept integration in public schools readily.

Talked with George Hull, photographer for Chattanooga Times, past officer in the ADA locally, active in the Newspaper Guild. Hull felt that most of the KKK activity in this area was not regarding race but attempting to get conformity with other aspects of the moral code. The Rossville, Ga., situation was described by him as "ugly."

He feels that Rawson Schoolfield, the judge involved in local politics, is a very smart guy. Although he may at times be intemperate and perhaps is cynical, he is a real factor to be reckoned with. Hull feels that Schoolfield plays around

with and gets the Negro vote through a kind of protection system, even though he takes such a strong anti-integration stand.

Hull feels especially the need for organized support for the public officials. He would point to preachers and to white women as sources of strength that would be listened to if they could develop leadership which would speak out.

The preachers in the community have had some liberal-conservative split over the question of religion in the schools. In Chattanooga, this seems to get primary backing from the Presbyterians who reputedly "control" the religious instruction. Evidently the Baptists are disaffected on this point.

Hull says that St. Paul's Church is the only place that will serve interracial meals in town. He suggests that Phil Livingston, an M.D., is a principled liberal who should be talked with especially in terms of possible support in his own profession and what steps the medical society has taken, if any. Hull also represents his wife as an intelligent gal who was a past head of the League of Women Voters. Evidently Livingston is the doctor who secured a number of Chattanooga doctors signatures to a petition for the support of Adlai Stevenson, much to the surprise of many Democrats nationally.

Hull indicated his willingness, in fact volunteered, to call together a small group to meet with Via next time he's in town. He would hope for a discussion of general liberal feeling and also some look at the labor movement itself in the Chattanooga area.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Attached:

The J. Cantable

info. report for 77R.

INFORMATION

Publications

A basic part of the Information program is the publishing of the Council's monthly magazine, New South, and special pamphlets. Through its publications, the Council disseminates information to Southern and national opinion-makers, business, educational, religious, and civic leaders, and the interested public. The bulk of the approximately 6,000 subscribers to New South are Southerners.

Council publications are used by opinion-makers in a variety of ways, which include: (1) material for conferences; (2) basis for articles and editorials in the news media; (3) classroom material and by students for school papers; and (4) by individuals for personal education.

New South and other publications of the Council contain both factual and interpretive material for its readers. Many of the Southern newspapers carry only sketchy accounts at best of the positive happenings in the segregation controversy in the South. New South tries to bring an expanded and true picture of these events as they happen (examples, "Experiences of an Integrated School," New South, February, 1956; "Bus Integration Spreads," New South, January, 1957, see publications exhibit). Interpretive materials with a positive approach are contained both in New South and in special publications (examples,"What the Supreme Court Said...," "Next Steps in the South," and New South, April, 1956. See publications exhibit).

New South and other publications of the Council contain original work of staff members of the Council and various leaders throughout the South and reprints of articles from other publications.

The Council publications are well-received by a large number of representatives from both Southern and Northern news media. This is evidenced by a recent editorial in the Atlanta Constitution which stated: "The Council (has) earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual

materials." (2/1/57).

Press and other Media

The Council furnishes factual and interpretive material for representatives of regional, national, and international news media. Council material reaches news media through personal interviews, publications, letters, and news releases. In one brief period, representatives of publications and organizations seeking advice and/or information from the Council included: The Saturday Evening Post, the Christian Science Monitor, the Associated Press, the New York Post, the Wall Street Journal, Time, Life, the New York Times, Newsweek, The Reporter, The Nashville Tennessean, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, the Washington Star, NBC television news, Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now," New Statesman and Nation, U. S. News and World Report, and the Canadian Broadcasting System.

An excellent example of the Council's news releases is the recent one concerning the peaceful integration of busses in 21 Southern cities. This release received wide and favorable attention in the South and nation. The Washington Star commented: "...The report of the Southern Regional Council... is more important, actually, than the accounts of friction in other communities. For this is the way in which effective desegregation will come to the South." (See Press and other Media exhibits).

In addition, Council members occasionally write factual and interpretive articles for other publications and organizations. Recent examples of this phase of the Council's work include: "Resistance Movements and Racial Desegregation," by Harold Fleming, Annals, March, 1956; and "What's Happening in School Integration." (See Press and other media exhibits). The Council's Director of Information is co-authoring "The Supreme Court Decision and Its Aftermath," a chapter in Education of the Negro in American Democracy to be published by the John Dewey Society.

Research and Reference

The research and reference department of the Council provides a firm foundation for all of the Council's activities.

The personnel of this department maintains a reference file concerning racial developments in the South through newspapers clippings, periodicals, mail surveys, and personal interviews. For example, it is estimated that this department clips and files approximately 1,000 newspaper clippings each month.

In the course of a year, the Council services hundreds of information requests. These are done both through mail and by personal interviews. Such requests are many and varied. They come from such sources as publications, libraries, human relations organizations, newsmen, students, and many other individuals and organizations. (See Research and Reference exhibits).

An example of how this department serves the various activities of the Council is the SRC consultant program. Before any of the Council's consultants go into an area for workshops or other programs, they are supplied with an extensive brief concerning racial developments in the area. These briefs include laws, pro-segregation activities, positive and negative aspects in race relations in the past, and a variety of other items helpful in evaluating a community. (See Research and Reference exhibits).

The research and reference department is also invaluable in providing material for articles in the Council publications. For example, a current project is concerned with up-dating an earlier Council survey which listed libraries in the South which serves both races. This material when pulled together, not only provides substance ~~material~~ for articles but serves as examples which other communities use to indicate that democratic procedures can be used in the South.

This department also serves as the foundation for projects under the Council's fact-finding program, which is discussed under the following section.

Fact-Finding

The Council's fact-finding program includes a variety of projects. One such project is the recent survey which uncovered more than 1,100 instances of integration that took place in the South during the two-year period immediately following the school decision. These findings, published in Integration North and South, have been widely distributed and have received favorable comment from the press. (See Fact-Finding exhibits).

Another one of these projects was a survey of Negro suffrage, documenting problems and progress in the exercise of this basic right. A news release concerning the initial findings of this project was released prior to the 1956 general election and received good coverage in the press. (See Press and other Media exhibit). In addition, many information requests have been addressed to the research and reference office concerning this project. (See Research and Reference exhibit).

A third project under this program is a three-month field study of the pro--segregation groups, their history and trends. This material has served as a basis for an article in New South, (January, 1957), a special report by the Council, and as background material for news articles. (See Fact-Finding exhibit).

Other parts of this program include studies in the trend in Southern industrialization and its relation to the racial picture and an evaluation of labor and race relations. As indicated some of these special projects have been widely treated in press reports and have been used as the basis for other works. Additional findings will be available in the near future.

Foreign Visitors

The Council has received an increasing flow of foreign visitors during the past several years, particularly since the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation. This was only natural in view of the attention, at home and abroad, focused on Southern race Relations in the wake of the decision. Visitors from Asia and Africa have had a particularly acute interest in the way in which the United States is measuring up to its democratic principles at home. They as well as Europeans have wanted to visit the South where the redefinition of the Negro's status has had the greatest impact.

In planning the iteneraries of these visitors, the U. S. State Department, the Governmental Affairs Institute, and similar public and private agencies have looked to the Council as an information center and clearing house for such visitors.

The Council's personnel is well-equipped to give these visitors a detailed and balanced picture of developments in the South.

The personnel of the Council not only briefs the visitors through personal interviews and published materials, but arranges tours of the city and visits to other organizations and to homes of both races. In this way, visitors not only get a word picture of Atlanta and the South;but they are also able "to see for themselves" what is happening in race relations in the South. Often the Council's work extends beyond the Atlanta visit of these people. This is accomplished by arranging visits to other key persons and organizations in the South and by continued correspondence when these visitors return to their own countries. (See Foreign Visitors exhibits.)

D R A F T - FFR Request

Field Services

Following the January, 1957, reorganization of the Central Staff on a more functional basis, the various divisions of work with state groups, women's groups, labor groups, other agencies and community consultation were pulled together in a general department of field services. No attempt has been made to over-structure or institutionalize a Department of Field Services, but rather is this a functional approach to the friendly coordination of the Council's external activities.

Building and Servicing State Affiliates

In twelve Southern states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, the Southern Regional Council has sought to build, maintain, and service affiliated organizations. Recognizing that there is no solid South of racial attitudes and believing that local solutions to the Supreme Court ruling would vary, it seemed wise in 1954 to build state-wide organizations which would be closer to the realities of this diverse pattern than would be a top-heavy centralized organization. The major functions of the central operation were seen as advising, counseling, and assisting these organizations and as gathering, organizing, and disseminating information. This, we then believed, was the most practicable approach to dealing with the many problems of transition faced by a rather reluctant South.

SRC's efforts to build self-governing, self-supporting state organizations have met with varying degrees of success.

In two cases we have failed. In Mississippi, conditions in the state were so oppressive that many of the persons who should have constituted a Board of Directors were unwilling to do so. The good people who did serve were powerless in the face of overwhelming official and public opposition. The state even

refused to issue a charter of incorporation. In Tennessee, a state rich in human relations resources, we were unable to bring together a group of people who would assume the responsibility of functioning as a Board. In both these states, however, professional staff was able to make some contribution in helping local people recognize that a problem existed and the necessity of finding some solution.

In Louisiana, North Carolina, and Texas, the state affiliates were slow getting off the ground. In Louisiana the state organization has pretty well limited itself to three areas of activities: Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, and New Orleans. Two important contributions have been made, however: the creation of a joint-committee in New Orleans similar to the one which worked so effectively in Washington, D. C., and the publishing of Research in Action, a monthly ~~magazine~~ report on human relations ~~research~~ in Louisiana. In North Carolina the building of a new, widely representative Board has given new hope for that state. Their monthly publication, The Human Relations Bulletin, has helped keep together and inform the progressive people of the state. Workshops for local community leaders have been another important step in the right direction. In Texas, the employment of a new, more aggressive Executive Director has given real impetus to the organization. Work with school officials, labor leaders, and church leaders has sparked the drive toward integration.

In three of the hard-core states, organizations have fought a holding action worthy of commendation. The Alabama affiliate worked to prevent violence and help bring about peaceful acceptance of bus integration in Montgomery; it was the guiding spirit in the creation of the Mayor's Human Relations Committee in Mobile; it worked to expose the forces of opposition in the Miss Lucy affair; it has earned the respect of the Negro and progressive white communities in the state. In Georgia the state organization has helped to preserve the retirement funds of public

employees who disagree with the state administration; strong local units have been created in a number of communities with most notable success in Atlanta and Macon. The group has ~~fought for~~ defended the principle of freedom of speech ~~and freedom of~~ assembly. Its state consultants have worked in a dozen or more communities to help local people face and measure their problems. The South Carolina organization has done a superb job of documenting economic reprisals and getting the story out to the national press; work has been done with church groups and women's groups; at the 1957 annual meeting the City Manager and the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Columbia, the state capital, participated. This organization enjoys the confidence of the Negro community and the more enlightened white community.

In Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia, the state organizations have done a job that has won them the praise of twentieth century minded people and the begrudged recognition of the opposition. In Arkansas, the state organization was largely responsible for keeping the Hoxie schools integrated. Without engaging in litigation, lawyers were found who defended the school board against White America, Inc. Much careful work has been done on a community by community basis. In Florida, work with church women has reached an impressive scale. Newly formed Community Councils are grappling with human relations problems in a dozen cities. Several school boards are being cultivated. In the Old Dominion, the Virginia Council pushes on toward integration. In Charlottesville the local chapter has dealt effectively with John Kasper; in the Arlington area 100 persons have formed a new, aggressive local; in Richmond local members participated in the now famous Richmond Ministers' Statement.

In Kentucky the state affiliate has progressed to work on problems of merit employment, "open" union policies, nurses training and a host of other problem areas. Close cooperation with state and local governments has developed and the Council has hopes of major backing by industry and labor.

The pro-segregation forces now operate on a regional basis and as we now work and plan for ~~no~~ our future operation, more emphasis will be placed on meeting the opposition through the Central office. At the same time, state by state and community by community, we must help the South adjust to the more democratic patterns of behavior now demanded of it. To do this most effectively, state organizations must be supported through advice and direction in program and through continued, though lessened, financial assistance. Central field staff and the consultant program largely depend upon the local contacts of state affiliates for invitations to assist local committees and community groups.

Consultant Service Program.

Under the leadership of John Hope II an experienced consultant team has been developed from among the most noted Negro and white social scientists in the South. Workshops have been held with Boards of SRC's state affiliates to help them realistically grapple with the problems which face their states. Each of these Boards has expressed their appreciation for the practical approach of the consultant team which worked with them.

We are now moving into the area of consultant services to communities through local agencies and groups. SRC consultants have met with key leadership persons in Nashville, where the basic question was, "How do we prevent the pro-segregationists from seizing control?" Following the advice of SRC consultants, local leadership has thus far been successful in holding the line and in mustering some members of the power structure on the side of progress. In "Piedmont City," N.C., we provided two consultants to work with the school board in an off-the-record session. A letter from an official of the American Friends Service Committee bears testimony to the effectiveness of this team, "(your) choice ... couldn't have been better. He really disarmed them of any apprehensions they had about the experience. The discussion with the school board and superintendent was frank, open, and extended." Meetings with local leadership in Jacksonville, Florida, and Memphis, Tennessee, are scheduled for early April. (Note - to be incorporated in final draft.)

We are receiving more inquiries about Consultant Services from other communities. As more communities face up to the realities of the situation, we expect this consultant service to them to be one of the decisive factors in paving the way to peaceful, successful integration.

SRC's Labor Program

Throughout its history the Council has had close contact with the union movement in the South. Union officials have served on its executive committee and on the boards of its state affiliates. Union sponsored educational programs have made use of Council personnel and materials.

In recent months the Council has added a labor consultant to its staff to work with unions on race relations problems that affect them. The labor consultant acts as a liason between unions and the Council, its state affiliates, and other agencies interested in human relations. Union educational programs, staff conferences, and other meetings will make use of the services of the labor consultant in providing resource persons and materials. The Council's labor program keeps abreast of the developing race relations patterns within unions throughout the South; similarly, the changes in employment patterns, especially as they affect union attitudes and actions, are of interest to the Council. The labor consultant collects information on the activities of "hate groups" as they affect unions.

A matter of high priority in this portion of the Council's work is reaching union staff persons to help them understand what is happening in the South in race relations, how these changes are related to present and past socio-economic conditions, how to keep the union forum open for a reasonable consideration of racial issues, and how to proceed positively in the current situation. The Council already has concluded the first conference to bring selected Southern union staff people together to appraise the current situation and to discuss freely the problems with which unions are faced in meeting racial issues. National union personnel with a special interest in civil rights were also in attendance. The conference itself was

planned and conducted in close cooperation with the Trade Union Consultant of the Fund for the Republic.

SRC's labor consultant will continue to develop materials for specific union use and to see that good materials in the human relations field are distributed to Southern unionists. He will work with regional staff meetings, helping them explore the problems and possibilities of handling racial problems and issues; already considerable time is being spent on an individual basis with union personnel to get them to think afresh in this area and to prevent their frustration over racial issues which too often receive the blame for all the ills of the labor movement in the South.

Unions in the South are important to any move toward an integrated society. They can furnish some of the basic experiences of democratic practice; only through a happy resolution of the dilemmas of some unions and managements will equal economic opportunity become a reality. Also, many persons can be reached through union channels who otherwise would not be touched by positive forces in the South.

Work With Women's Groups

Under the leadership of the indomitable Mrs. M. E. Tilly, SRC has long worked with Southern women concerned about their South. "The Fellowship of the Concerned" has won the respect, if not the admiration, of even the pro-segregationists. These women, a number of years ago, largely were responsible for stopping lynching.

This past year a South-wide Workshop was held with over 100 in attendance, representing national or regional denominational boards -- Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant, from ten states. The theme of the workshop was: "The Challenge of the Supreme Court Decision." This has been followed-up by state-wide meetings in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, with more scheduled.

Work has also been carried out on the local level with community, labor, and church leaders, and on college campuses. A large part of each summer finds Mrs. Tilly teaching at religious institutes, camps, and workshops.

Clearing House and Coordination Functions

SRC has long served as a clearing house of, and source for reliable information on the Southern human relations scene. More recently SRC has sponsored two meetings of South-wide human relations agencies. The first was held at Tuskegee Institute in October, 1956, and to it came the Southern agency-grantees of the Fund for the Republic. The second was held at Atlanta University in January, 1957. Participants at this meeting included the Tuskeegee group plus agencies with field staff and responsibilities in the South who belong to the Consultative Conference on Desegregation (CCD). Four key cities were picked for concentrated effort - Charlottesville, Virginia; Greensboro, N. C.; Miami, Florida; and Nashville, Tennessee. Local representatives of the agencies which met at Tuskegee and Atlanta University are increasing and extending their cooperation in these communities.

In Charlottesville, Va., field staff members of half a dozen agencies congregated in early March. After being briefed on the local situation they went out into the community to contact their local constituency and bring them back to a closed general session. To the amazement of all agencies, all but one of the local constituents thus brought in were members of the local chapter of SRC's Virginia affiliate. However, the insights of field staffers from the various agencies added to their thinking and sensitivities in the field of human relations and community action.

The days are so full and the evenings often are fuller still, yet to make a report on engagements, the hours of studying, planning working - the summary seems little. I taught three study classes each 8 hrs. on "Missions U S" - a study challenging church women to accept "a mission" to our country. Taught a week at School of Missions, Emory University and made the exhibits for the school. Was the n. speaker for one evening.

~~Held~~ a two-days
Retreat for the
United Church women
of Georgia at a camping camp. The pre-
paration for this
required many hours.
All the denominations
were represented.
Dr Malcolm Calhoun
and Dr. George Mitchell
threw out the challenges
of these days to us.
At the evening session,
there was so much
freedom, the women
plainly laid before us all
their prejudices —
Sherman's march through
Ga, protection of our
daughters, etc. To each,
some one had an
answer. The tenseness
disappeared - It was

a great spiritual
experience for all of us.
I made nine talks
to various groups.
much of my time
was spent in planning
for the workshop for
the Fellowship of the
Concerned - Oct 30-31

Summary Report of the Labor Consultant's Activities from Jan. 1 - May 31.

A total of 55 interviews were held with 44 union leaders or staff persons.

Personal or other contact with the staff of the following state affiliates: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana. The first five of these contacts has been either extensive or fruitful. Contact with the other five has been quite limited. ~~until now~~.

The labor consultant has had contact with other agencies to interpret the role of SRC, the role of the labor consultant, or working jointly on other concerns such as Koinonia. These agencies have included the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Labor Service, the Fund for the Republic, the Montgomery Improvement Association, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Foundation for Political Education, the United Church Women, the Friends World Committee, the YMCA, the NAACP, F.O.R., and A.D.L.

EV talked with a group of 30 DePauw students. He attended and participated in the Talledega Ecumenical Student Conference. He talked at some length with a Wesleyan College class in American Minorities. He attended the annual conference of the American Labor Education Service; he talked with many individuals there, and was a program participant in one of its workshops. Via attended a region-wide FOR conference on Pacifism in Social Action. He addressed a student group at Saint Mark's Methodist Church.

EV participated in the move to get subscribers for the Petal Paper and submitted some 15 names of union persons to receive copies of the Petal Paper. Each of these persons received some sort of follow-up from EV.

The following foreign visitors received ~~some~~ special attention from Via: Mary Saran, England; Paavo Kastari, Finland; the French team on automation, composed of labor, management, and government representatives; Abraham Soferman,

USIS, Uruguay; and Mr. Beaufrere, France.

A number of representatives of the press were talked with either regarding problems of labor and race in the South or more generally about the Southern scene. These included Jim Soderland of the Wall Street Journal, Robert Byrd of the Herald-Tribune, and Mr. Patterson of the Atlanta Journal.

About 25 union leaders have been "solicited" for subscriptions to the New South. A number of exchanges have been made between New South and labor periodicals.

Reports have been sent to Ben Segal on incidents relative to race and unions and summary comments on the Jewish Labor Committee survey findings.

The process of collecting materials pertinent to Southern labor movement and especially as related to race relations issues has continued. This activity has been done in cooperation with the Information Division, but a great deal of the specifically labor material, especially from the union periodicals, is collected by EV.

In March the Southern Regional Council sponsored a labor conference which went into the problems relative to civil rights and race relations faced by unions in the South. Some 22 persons representing 11 different international unions and two AFL-CIO departments attended this conference.

EV attended and participated as an instructor at the Summer School of the International Chemical Workers Union.

Some time and energy have been spent with the various people concerned with the JLC survey in the attempt to get this report finished and to make some decisions as to how the material would be handled.

A great deal of time, ranging from one day to five days a week, has been spent on activities related to the situation at Koinonia Farm. This involved innumerable interviews with persons from the Farm, interested agency personnel,

interested citizens, the press, and those concerned with the legal aspects of this case. A chronology of events was prepared in cooperation with JC and distributed to interested parties. Copies of the Grand Jury Presentments and copies of Koinonia's answer to those Presentments were distributed.

Some work has been done in cooperation with the Director and his Administrative Assistant toward securing financial support from various union groups. Some national officers and other staff personnel have been supplied with a variety of materials produced by SRC.

The interviews mentioned in item 1 of this report have varied from talks with regional officers about what is to be expected in their own industry and union in terms of employment opportunities and moves for Negro up-grading to talks with international officers about locals that have disaffiliated from the union, to simple reporting to responsible staff persons about racial incidents in their union, to conversations about how certain aspects of racial problems either are being or will be handled by staff persons confronting local union situations. Direct contact has been made with representatives of some 21 international unions, with five departments or committees of the national AFL-CIO, with two regional officers of the AFL-CIO, and with two state labor bodies.

End Report.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOW IT BEGAN...

As the successor of the Southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Regional Council goes back, in friendship and reputation, to 1919. A group of leading Southerners representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations, met in 1943 to discuss the problems and promise of the region. They decided that a strong new regional organization was needed, in which Southerners themselves could join together in a cooperative effort to solve their common problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

HOW IT WORKS...

Through an office in Atlanta it carries on Southwide activities under the direction of its membership and executive committee. Its officers and members are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

Through independent state Councils on Human Relations in eleven Southern states, each of which has its own membership, governing board, officers, and staff. These state organizations provide each Southern state with a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The Southern Regional Council and the independent organizations are non-profit, non-political and non-denominational.

WHAT IT DOES...

Through careful study, collects the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and other public services. Makes the facts and their significance widely available through pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and speakers.

Publishes a monthly magazine - New South - which provides editors, students, and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the region.

Assists state Councils on Human Relations in planning and carrying out programs suited to local need.

Advises private and official agencies.

Through staff and consultants, and in cooperation with state Councils, works in the community with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and others to find democratic solutions to local problems.

WHAT YOU CAN DO...

The Southern Regional Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a constructive effort to overcome them.

There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found. However, general membership - which is available in the state organizations - is limited to persons living in the South.

Here is how you can play your part in this forward-looking effort:

If you live in the South, join your state Council on Human Relations, which cooperates with the Southern Regional Council. This entitles you to receive New South and other publications of the regional office.

If you prefer, you may become a non-member subscriber to New South.

OFFICERS

President

James M. Dabbs
Mayesville
South Carolina

Vice Presidents

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Albert W. Dent
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Paul D. Williams
Richmond
Virginia

Chairman, Executive Committee

Rufus E. Clement
Atlanta, Georgia

Counsel

Joseph Haas
Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Director

Harold C. Fleming
Atlanta, Georgia

WHAT THEY SAY...
about the Southern Regional Council

An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency.

RALPH McGILL

A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom.

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN

One of the earliest vehicles of liberal influence in the South was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, organized in 1919... The tradition established by the commission has been ably promoted by its successor, the Southern Regional Council...

C. VANN WOODWARD

The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's - or from the nation's concern.

HODDING CARTER

Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests.

NEW YORK TIMES

The Council has been working with marked success. Its activities today need national status and attention to make them visible and audible above the dust and noise.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs.

CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Friday 10 Sept 54

Staff Meeting

Met at Grace Hamilton's house Univ. Pl. Atlanta Ga.

Present: Geo. Mitchell, Harold Fleming, Grace Hamilton, C.H. Parish, Earl Brewer, Bob Menefee, John Griffin, Fred Routh

Content: summary reports given by C.H. Parish, Bob Menefee, and Earl Brewer on their summer travel for the Council. Relation of Central Office to state organizations was discussed. The state orgs. to be semi-autonomous — but Central office to pay salaries etc — give assistance and guidance — help professionals on community organization.

agreements reached.

I. Steps in setting up State org. were listed:
1. Set up state wide representative committee.
2. Pick paid staff.
3. Check state wide and local problems
4. Check state wide and local resources.
5. Seek to encourage locals
6. Encourage members to work thru existing organizations
★7. affiliate local groups — must meet our criteria.

II. Instead of a co-exec. secy for each state as originally planned use consultants as needed. where Exec Secy is of one race consultant shall be of other.

III. Parish & Routh to go to Alabama on the 16th & 17th of this month to meet with State people

IV Review of State org. showed that (A) work was started in: S.C., Ga., Ala., La.; (B) almost ready to get under way were: Fla., Ky., N.C., Texas, & Va. & Tenn. that the slow starters are: Ark, and Miss.

V. C.H. Parish to be "Consultant" on Program develop. and work with Fred Routh on same as need arises.

Staff meeting Friday 10 Sept 54
at Grace Hamilton's.

7 B R

What do we know of developments in the Region which has meaning for the program of the SRC - state organizations - central office - during 1954-55 ?

Re ; state organizations - interests, needs, form of organization, services needed, etc.

Re : Central office functions - information and education materials - subject matter areas for New South - "publications" needed -

What priorities of needs seem evident ?

What priorities for services seem evident ?

What other organizations are contributing to meeting the needs ? Can the SRC 's effectiveness be increased by cooperation with any of these ?

Considering the Court's decision on public schools, what bearings does its impact have on the SRC's program plans - What is the "state of the States" ?

Virginai	* GSM , AH
N.C.	CHP - Menafee - AH
S.C.	CHP
Fla.	CHP.FR
La.	
Texas	CHP - GSM
Ala	CHP
Ky	CHP - GSM - Menafee
Tenn.	CHP - Menafee
Ark.	CHP - HF
Miss.	CHP

Next

SRC STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Cross sectional representation of the state -

A. Mass Media of Communication
- Papers
- Radio
- T.V.

B. Labor
- A.F. of L.
- CIO
- Independents

C. Business
- Industry
- Banking
- Retail Merchants

D. Religious Groups
- Catholic
- Jewish
- Protestant

E. Racial Groups
- Negro leadership
- Indians

F. Ethnic Groups
- Puerto Ricans
- Mexicans
- Island People

G. Education
- Public Schools
- Parochial Schools - Pvt. Schools -
- Colleges and Universities

H. Government
- Law Enforcement
- Executive Branch

I. Other Good Will Agencies

MEMORANDUM

November 1, 1954

TO: GSM, HCF, FBR, CHP, MET, KS, AH, File

FROM: GTH

RE: MEETING OF STAFF OF SRC STATE AFFILIATES - Nov. 9 - 11

ATTENDANCE: The following state personnel is expected for the meeting of November 9th:

		(Negro Assoc.)
Alabama	Hughes	
Georgia	Wells	Pitts
N. Carolina	Jones	
S. Carolina	Spearman	
Louisiana	Vigo	
Virginia	Emerson Smith	
Texas	~~Sutterman~~	
Ky.		

FBR and I have talked about our hopes for the meeting and we make the following suggestions as to areas needing attention and for procedure.

1. Brief description of the historical background of the SRC, and the basis of assistance by the SRC to state organizations "to help establish ongoing, self-sustaining state race relations agencies." (GSM would do this.)

2. A description of the region. This will be done by the staff members present from states with comments about the states not represented contributed by members of the SRC central staff -- FR, CHP, GSM. We suggest the following order for state reports: 5 minutes -

Virginia E. Smith
North Carolina Jones
South Carolina Spearman
Georgia Wells
Florida FBR
Alabama Hughes
Louisiana Vigo -
Tennessee CHP - FR
Kentucky
Arkansas -
Mississippi - FR - CHP
Texas - Sutherland -
Oklahoma -

Each state representative would be asked to answer the following questions in his comments:

What are the forces influencing the social climate of your state?

What organizations and/or institutions are influencing the climate?

November 1, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: GSM
FROM: GTH

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONTENT AND PROCEDURE SRC MEETING, NOV. 10

Report of the President

Report of the Executive Committee — Loyalty Matter —

Report of Executive Director -- followed by introduction of staff and continuation of staff reports.

Central office information and education service - HCF.

Program planning and aid in administration - GTH.

Program development (state organizations) - FBR and CHP.

Special ~~projects~~ Program — Church Women - Mr. R. T. - equal penalties, Brewer, Menefee

Action upon changes in SRC by-laws

Action upon procedure for approval

State organization by-laws

Financial report

Report of Nominating Committee

Elections

Meeting with Chairman & State Chairman re — Loyalty. (?)

Memo, Nov. 1, 1954, From GTH, Re Meeting of Staff of SRC State Affiliates

How do you see the role of your state organization in this situation?

3. A review and census of problems and/or questions needing answers.
Program Development - Self Survey - Process - etal.
It is likely that the period from 10:00 through lunch will be needed for this part of the meeting.

We have listed the following topics as ones upon which time should be spent during the afternoon. (We would expect questions within these areas to be raised during the period spent on Item 3 above.)

1 ~~Race~~ Press relations and publicity (HCF)
2 Principles of budgeting and financing
3 Bookkeeping and finance reporting procedures (KS)
6 -New South promotion
5 -State organization membership promotion
7 -Relations with other organizations
4 -Program resources available and/or needed - ~~Self Survey~~ -
Communication - inter-organizational.

My suggestion is that we talk over this plan to determine other consultants who might be invited to work with the group on some of these matters, in addition to the SRC members who, of course, would be involved in the areas of their particular competence. (GSM, HCF, CHP, FBR, MET, AH, GTH) These periods could be handled like "workshop sessions."

The evening period (7:00 to 9:00) following dinner at Atlanta University with Mrs. Rachel Davis duBois will be regarded as part of the staff's consideration of program techniques which they may find helpful (the Gokales have been invited to participate in this period and to have supper with the group).

The schedule at present in terms of time and place is as follows:

Tuesday, Nov. 9 — 10:00 to lunch
Lunch
2:00 to 4:30
(Nominating Committee at 2:00, GSM and GTH involved)
Dinner
Evening period - 7:00 to 9:00

All meetings to be held at the Atlanta University School of Social Work building -- place of dinner to be determined.

Wednesday, Nov. 10

Thursday, Nov. 11 — 10:00 to 12:30 - a completion of staff meeting through lunch, AU School of Social Work

(Annual meeting of Georgia Committee also scheduled for Exhibition Room, AU Library on this day.)

Monthly State Org. Reports

1. Any changes of officers & State and Bd. Members -
   all present members -

2. Program developments -

3. Press Notices with clippings - SRC -

4. Progress if any with local chapters -

5. Appraisal of State situation -

November 8, 1954

OUTLINE OF CONTENT OF AFTERNOON SESSIONS OF STAFF

1. Reporting Procedure

   Program - FBR and HCF

   Finance - KS

2. Tax Exemption Procedure - KS and HCF

3. Press Relations and Publicity - HCF

4. State Organizations - Membership and Program Development

   New South Circulation - KS and HCF

   Resources available and/or needed - AH, FBR and HCF

5. Relations with other Organizations

   Church Groups - Mrs. MET

Copy: GSM
HSF
GTH
MET
FRB
AH
KS

November 8, 1954

OUTLINE OF CONTENT OF AFTERNOON SESSIONS OF STAFF

1. Reporting Procedure (Needs more work)

   Program - FBR and HCF, GTH

   Finance - KS

2. Tax Exemption Procedure - KS and HCF

3. Press Relations and Publicity - HCF

4. State Organizations - Membership and Program Development

   New South Circulation - KS and HCF

   Resources available and/or needed - AH, FBR and HCF

5. Relations with other Organizations

   Church Groups - Mrs. MET

Mrs. John McCall

Copy: GSM
HSF
GTH
MET
FRB
AH
KS

Mrs. Rolf Hughes
Mr. Brookes

FINANCE REPORT OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS FOR APRIL 1955

Income to state organizations from local sources

	Contributions	Memberships	Misc.	Total
Alabama	$ 20.10	$ 176.00	$7.40	$203.50
Georgia	64.00	113.00		177.00
Kentucky		108.00	56.10	164.10
Louisiana		39.00		39.00
Mississippi		93.50		93.50
North Carolina	5.00	60.00	10.95	75.95
South Carolina	11.00	33.50		44.50
Texas	80.00	71.00	25.75	176.75
	$ 180.10	$ 694.00	$ 100.20	$ 974.30

Disbursements to state organizations from Fund for the Republic grant

	Salaries and S.S.	Local Expenses	Misc. (travel)	Total
Alabama	$526.99	$ 1,000.00	$ 35.00	$ 1561.99
Florida			115.62	115.62
Georgia	637.50			637.50
Kentucky	1001.00			1001.00
Louisiana	637.50	800.00		1437.50
Mississippi	425.00	500.00		925.00
North Carolina	628.99	600.00		1228.99
South Carolina	526.99			526.99
Texas	637.50			637.50
Tennessee			31.07	31.07
Virginia			28.07	28.07
	$ 5021.47	$ 2,900.00	$ 209.79	$ 8131.23

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North Carolina	5.00	60.00	10.95	75.95
South Carolina	11.00	33.50		44.50
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	$ 180.10	$ 694.00	$ 100.20	$ 974.30

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Tennessee			31.07	31.07
Virginia			28.07	28.07
	$ 5021.47	$ 2,900.00	$ 209.79	$ 8131.23

NOTES ON SRG STAFF MEETING

Thursday A.M. - November 11, 1954

Agenda: An agenda was discussed on the basis of what State Directors needed as further information.

Subjects mentioned were:

Organization of state board

role of the director

communication with Atlanta headquarters

public relations

Organization of State Board

"Remember what you do early lasts so long." (GEM)

Important to be closely Church-linked.

"Unless we have the support of the churches, our point of view will not triumph in our lifetime."

Minimum church representation should include

Methodist

Episcopal

Catholic

with Rabbi, if available (PR)

Race representation highly important.

Advise with proper Negro leaders not only Negro but also on white membership. It is necessary to have white members whom Negroes regard as "sound", i.e. fundamentally just. A man who seems to be a valuable leader to the white community, may be regarded as a liability by the Negro community. Other minority representation desirable, where it can be found, as in Texas the Mexican.

Organizations can be useful in carrying out much of the work of the director, and should be on the board.

The Urban League is valuable.

The Anti-Defamation League is most useful as a service organization, especially materials.

Organized labor can be most helpful, as in Atlanta, where uniquely, AF of L and CIO support SRC.

But avoid any appearance that SRC or State Commissions represent labor (HCF)

Businessmen desirable for respectability and influence, (lawyers, newspaper man) but be careful they do not become an inhibiting force.

Legislators. "It may be well to get a one or two legislators on the board with the view that Commission may eventually become a State agency." (GSM)

"The art of building and using your board is the most valuable of any." (HCF)

ROLE OF THE DIRECTOR

A small executive committee is good, easier to work with.

Use existing organizations to accomplish purpose and be happy to give them credit.

Become known as a service and information agency, and from there a catalyst for others who need advice or help.

"Always approach anyone who you wish to act--not directly--but through the man who put him in his job." (GSM)

COMMUNICATIONS WITH HEADQUARTERS

Write Fred Routh

Send financial matters to Katherine Stoney

Requests for material can be forwarded without comment to Anna Holden

Narrative report each month should not be statistical, but should reveal

everything of importance that has transpired.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The public is susceptible of believing either side if that is what they hear. Our job is to get our viewpoint to the public "fastest with the mostest."

A viewpoint should be presented:

1) with identification with audience's background.

e.g. "Negro teachers for white children would hardly be more of a liability than the traditional Negro mammy."

2) with evidence that audience's position is not threatened.

Community Self-Survey's are good. SRC has form booklet.

What if State Council is attacked by McCarthy-type smear?

Strong citizen support, including strong Negro support, is an answer.

(There may be malicious effort to confuse SRC with Southern Conference for Human Welfare and its successor Southern Education Fund. Set up in Birmingham in 1938, probably some communist pulled wires in the background, but it merely stated what liberals and many decent people believe. Present leadership seems to be sincere, non-communist. Their sin seems to be poor taste and lack of sensitivity rather than Communism. They scream about a lot of things. Sometimes someone is needed to scream.)

Staff meeting 1:30 p.m.
November 12, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

RE: Price of SRC publications to state organizations.

1. Issues of New South through the year 1954 at 10¢ each to all comers. Issues of New South after January 1, 1955, at a new rate to be figured then.
2. All other publications of SRC to go to state divisions in bulk orders at cost. Orders of one, two, or three copies of pamphlets to be at published price for the public. The distinction here is the addition of clerical cost in this office.

- - - - - -

NOTE:
1. It has been undertaken to send each month 10 extra copies of New South to each state director for whatever use he wishes to make of them.
2. When it is appropriate, send material on consignment to state organizations for sale of literature.

GSM

Copies/C.H.P.
F.R.
G.T.H.
H.C.F.
A.H.
K.S.

File: Staff meetings

M E M O

TO: Staff

From: PA

HCF ✓
FBR ✓
JC ✓
EV ✓
GSA ✓
RHA ✓
BC ✓
EB ✓
MET ✓
MM ✓
FC ✓
FBI ✓

RE: Staff Conference 1-16-57

Several matters were discussed with the following arrangements agreed on:

1. Checking in and out with receptionist
   (a) when leaving the office - with estimate of return
   (b) check in on return
   (c) when leaving town give receptionist, as well as other logical persons, destination, hotel, estimated time of return, etc.

2. Long Distance calls
   (a) receptionist will make long distance calls when requested.
   (b) whether placing the call or not, receptionist will keep record of long distance call if requested to do so.

3. Use of Intercom
   (a) to communicate with other staff members, through receptionist
   (b) to communicate with receptionist

4. Use of buzzer
   (a) buzz receptionist when calls are to be held, and again when they may be continued
   (b) two buzzes - when you are occupied on other line and cannot receive incoming call

5. Staff members agreed to maintain personal "activities" files which will serve as a up to date record for quarterly reports and related activities. File may also be useful as a source of information to office during absence of particular staff member.

6. Staff members agreed to make greater use of central files, cutting down separate filing systems.

7. FBI requested more promptness in forwarding materials to her which are to be filed. Materials and files from the research office should be included in this category.

January 17, 1957

PA:

In addition to the monumental collection of lists that you have assembled, we should probably compile a list of key people of one sort or another. I think particularly of Maxwell Rabb of the White House staff, and Judge Elbert Tuttle of Atlanta, and Morris Abram, who is not presently officially associated with SRC. Various others will readily come to mind.

HCF/eab

NOTES ON STAFF MEETING
April 28, 1958 - 3:00 P. M.
SRC Conference Room

Present: MET, EFV, JC, PA, MG, MF, BC, BC, FBR

MET - Reported on Mississippi generally. She is encouraged by what she found. The WCC has suffered a number of set-backs; Negroes exhibit less fear than at any time in recent years; the Methodist churchwomen are moving ahead; the move to increase Negro voter registration is proceeding betthr than she had expected. Most everyone with whom she talked felt encouraged by recent developments.

EFV - Reported on Virginia. North Virginia has active groups working for desegregation - the move should come this fall. Charlottesville feels it can duck the issue one more year; Richmond seems calm; Norfolk and surrounding areas don't think desegregation will be affected this fall. There is no United Church Women or Council of Churches in Norfolk.

JC - Reported on recent contacts with press - these contacts indicate two areas of interest - Negro voter registration and recent incidents of violence. The survey of desegregating waiting rooms continues. We have had recent inquiries from a number of the members of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives. We have received a $10,000 grant from the Field Foundation for a second go-round on our fact-finding project on Negro suffrage.

FBR - Detroit Trip - speech to Religion and Labor Conference of Greater Detroit. Good reception to speech; good discussion following. Most important, long talk with Mrs. Mildred Jeffrey of UAW. She expressed surprise at small UAW donation to SRC - hopes to get it enlarged. Wants copy of SRC Annual Report to give to Walter Reuther personally so it will get read. → sent - 4/29/58

PA - Nothing to report.

MET & EFV - Mrs. Tilly has received $2,000 from the Ella Lyman Cabbot Trust. There is the possibility of further funds perhaps as early as Thanksgiving.

MF - Reported that HCF had received a good letter from Harris Wofford re: suppling materials for the C. R. Commission library and getting New South into hands of members of Commission.

Notes on Staff Meeting - 2

EFV - We've had call from Ruby Hurley re: recent violence and what can be done to prevent further acts of violence and intimidation. Suggested procedure, get Jacksonville groups to decry action.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEMORANDUM May 16, 1961

To: Professional Staff

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Re: WEEKLY STAFF MEETINGS.

The weekly staff meetings will be held henceforth on Friday mornings instead of Tuesday -- time is the same, 9:30 AM

:

cc: Benjamin Muse

October 2, 1961

All Staff LWD

Staff Meeting

There will be a staff meeting tomorrow morning, October 3, at 10 a.m.

Please initial and circulate.

SEA FOAM BUND

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 20, 1961

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: Staff Meeting

Leslie Dunbar called a staff meeting for 9:30 a.m., November 20, 1961,

The following business was expedited:

1. Announced that billing for New South is under way. Subscription lists from A.D.L. have been requested; also it was suggested that New South list be sent to state councils for membership solicitation.

2. That our care and hospitality for foreign visitors hereafter be limited to those persons who are interested in southern problems.

3. Moss reported for the Research Department, and that a number of things were progressing toward publication.

4. Les requested that mail be acknowledged promptly even though it would have to be answered at a latter date.

5. Personal staff responsibility was defined; personal life and community responsibility vs. responsibility to SRC, which must be protected from unjust criticism, identification with the Council is inevitably made for each of us.

Constitution - OCT-25'61 PA personal file

Eugene Patterson

State Department Fails Again

Some editors visited Atlanta this week. They came from such diverse countries as Pakistan and India, Korea and Nigeria, Norway and Burma, Israel and Egypt, South Africa and Sierra Leone. The State department wanted to show them America.

At dinner they asked questions. With eyes blank and brows furrowed, these brown, black and white men tried to grasp the race problem of the South. I put it to them this way:

"You have heard in your homelands, from Communists, that meaningful reforms cannot occur gradually under capitalism, but can only occur by revolution and overthrow of capitalism. Marx believed this.

* * *

"Khrushchev and Mao Tse-Tung are telling this to discontented peoples everywhere. (Khrushchev has expressed belief that measures short of blood and violence can, in some places, engineer the revolution, but Mao believes with Lenin and Stalin that it can only come through blood and war. That seems to be what they're feuding about.) Nevertheless Khrushchev and Mao both tell you that only through Communist revolution can you achieve reform; that capitalism just won't permit meaningful reform."

* * *

The Indians nodded. The Pole's eyes sparkled.

"Well, we have disproved communism in this city where you are sitting—Atlanta, Georgia. Apprehension, difficulty and doubt were bound up in racial change here. So white Georgians certainly were tempted to deny the aspirations expressed by the Negro minority rather than face the uncertainties of change.

"But under freedom, and through the democratic processes of a capitalist society, we have desegregated schools, colleges, lunch counters, buses, trains, planes, terminals, libraries, golf courses, auditoriums—all within a handfull of years, all in peace and dignity. These are reforms. They are meaningful. They came without bloodshed and revolution. And they are the most difficult reforms I can think of because they touch on deep beliefs and emotions. Yet they were achieved, in peace, under freedom. You are sitting in a city that has disproved communism."

It registered. The audience was obviously impressed with the blow Atlanta has dealt to communism.

The next morning the black editor from Sierra Leone, a highly educated African dressed in green and white tribal robe, was refused a cup of coffee in a Forsyth Street restaurant.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

1961-62 LEADERSHIP CLINIC

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR DETROITERS

SECOND SESSION

Presiding	Miss Mary Brand Chairman, Leadership Clinic Committee
Welcome	Dr. Robert M. Frehse Chairman, Coordinating Council on Human Relations
Introduction of Speaker	Dr. Frederick B. Routh Executive Director, State of Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission

THE SOUTHERN VIEW

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council

Questions	Miss Mary Brand, Moderator

Sponsored by: THE COORDINATING COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS of the DETROIT COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

January 8, 1962

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. John Cathcart
515 Robertsville Road
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cathcart:

Finally, a schedule on the trip to Oak Ridge. I will arrive in Knoxville on the 16th on Delta, Flight No. 438 at 2:10 P. M. I understand limousine service is available to Oak Ridge and should be along in mid-afternoon. I will depart from Knoxville the next morning at 11:00 O'clock.

The invitation to stay at your home is generous and I accept on the assumption that you will feel free to make a hotel reservation for me, if this proves more convenient for you. (As it very well may in light of my travel schedule.)

It probably sounds ominous but there is not even a snapshot of recent vintage.

I look forward to seeing you on the 16th and will follow whatever instructions you send me.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

#438 Delta

12:40 pm —

2:10 pm —

16 January - Tuesday

#617

11:01 •

11:50 •

17 January △ Wednesday

Dear Paul, We're delighted that you are able to come next week and are looking forward to meeting and hearing you. Thought you'd like to see a copy of the news release. We also have posters up & will put an ad in local paper--but still can't guarantee a crowd in this crazy town. You will arrive in time for the dinner at 6, won't you? I'm mad that you sent no picture for news releases!

January 6, 1962

Cele

Please publicize the following story at your earliest convenience:

Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant of the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, will speak in Oak Ridge on Tuesday, January 16. "Winds of Change in the South" will be the topic of this public address, which will be sponsored by the Oak Ridge Federation for Equal Public Services. Mr. Anthony will discuss progress and problems in Southern race relations, emphasizing the areas of most and least change and evaluating the methods involved.

Mr. Anthony has spent the last six years with SRC, which is dedicated to "attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South." In line with SRC's tradition of scholarly study and periodic reports on the Southern scene, Mr. Anthony has authored several articles on White Citizens' Councils and other "resistance" groups. A native Virginian, he studied at Lynchburg College and obtained his degree in sociology at University of Miami, later doing graduate study at the latter, as well as at the New School of Social Research in New York. After a period as a public school teacher in Lynchburg and service in the Information and Education Section of the U. S. Air Force, he worked as Southeastern representative for the Wall Street Journal before joining SRC.

ORFEPS is a federation of 17 church and civic groups working together to attain removal of racial barriers in places of public accommodation in Oak Ridge. Current members are: 1st Baptist Church, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Oak Valley Baptist Church, Catholic Women's Club, Jewish Congregation and Ladies Auxiliary, 1st Methodist Church's Commission on Christian Social Concern, 1st Presb. Church ~~Spurgion~~ Spurgeon Methodist Chapel, Unitarian Church, B'nai B'rith, Natl. Council of Jewish Women, Community Relations Council, Cosmopolitan Club, Ebonettes, UN Committee, and YWCA.

Rev. Moultrie McIntosh, President of the Oak Ridge Ministerial Ass'n. and pastor of St. Stephens' Episcopal Church, will introduce Mr. Anthony and moderate the question and answer period afterwards. Refreshments will be provided by the Catholic Women's Club. The public is cordially invited to attend the lecture and discussion which will be at 8 p.m., January 16, at First Presbyterian Church.

Program Chairman Mrs. William Boudreau announces that a "Dutch-treat" dinner is being arranged at the Holiday Inn at 6 p.m. January 16 for those who would like to meet Mr. Anthony before the lecture. Those wishing to attend are requested to phone Mrs. Boudreau (483-7840) by Thursday, January 11, to make reservations.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Axel Meyer, 482-1526
103 E. Irving Lane
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

ORFEPS NEWS

Oak Ridge Federation for Equal Public Services — December, 1961

1st Baptist Church	CCSC 1st Methodist Church	Community Relations Council
Mt. Zion Baptist Church	1st Presbyterian Church	Cosmopolitan Club
Oak Valley Baptist Church	Spurgeon Methodist Church	Ebonettes
Catholic Women's Club	Unitarian Church	UN Committee
Jewish Congregation	B'nai B'rith	YWCA
Jewish Women's Auxiliary	Natl.Council Jewish Women	

Chairman: John Cathcart; Co-Chairman: Roberta Shor; Research: Sig Lindenbaum; Secy-Treas.: Levon Phipps; Program Chairman: Eleanor Boudreau; Newsletter Editor: C.Meyer

COMING ORFEPS EVENTS

Public Discussion — "Winds of Change in the South"

Speaker: Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta

Tues., Jan. 16 — 8 p.m. — First Presbyterian Church

Mr. Anthony, sociologist and native Virginian, is an authority in this field, having served 5 years with Southern Regional Council, pioneer organization in the study of Southern racial patterns. In outlining progress and problems in Southern race relations, Mr. Anthony will emphasize areas of most and least change, evaluating the methods involved in each.

Rev. Moultrie McIntosh, incoming Chairman of Oak Ridge Ministerial Association, will introduce Mr. Anthony and moderate the discussion period afterwards. The Catholic Woman's Club will provide coffee.

Please Delegates, see that this Newsletter is distributed early to interested persons in your group and that Mr. Anthony's talk is announced through appropriate channels in your organization. We are deliberately putting the NL out early to give you ample opportunity to get the word around. The rest is up to you!!

Annual Meeting and Election of Officers

Tues., Jan. 30 — 8 p.m. — St. Mary's Catholic Church

Slate of nominees proposed by Nominating Committee:

Chairman: Cele Meyer	Publicity: Laurette Verbinski
Co-Chairman: Margaret Phillips	Newsletter Editor: Lerona Burrus
Sec'y-Treas.: Viola Erickson	Membership: Robert Lyle
Program Chairman: Joan Silva	Speakers Bureau & Research: John Cathcart

Additional nominations from the floor will be welcome, provided that the nominee agrees. Due to the increased size and activities of ORFEPS, the Committee, you will note, has proposed a Steering Committee of 8 instead of the 6 called for in our Constitution. The Committee, therefore, proposes the following Constitutional Change to be voted on at Annual Meeting:

Change Section 5 a) 4) to read: "Five additional members of the Steering Committee."

Let's have all member organizations represented at our Annual Meeting.

OAK RIDGERS LEND HELPING HAND IN OLIVER SPRINGS

Erika and Barry Lichter, relative newcomers to Oak Ridge, took on a tremendous job in instituting a tutorial program in their home for the students of Oliver Springs Elementary School for Colored Children. The Lichters believe that they could not have done less, in view of the extremely limited facilities of the one room, one teacher, eight grades "school" provided for these youngsters jointly by Anderson and Roane Counties. Located on a dead-end, dirt road near Oliver Springs, this barren, rundown, poorly heated and poorly lighted structure is in marked contrast to the modern elementary school provided for whites in Oliver Springs. It is certainly not what one would expect to find in our County! Unheard of, of course, in this school are all the extras provided in other local schools, such as lunch programs, art, language or music enrichment programs, film strips, educational t.v. etc.

Professionally trained teachers assisting at the Saturday tutorial sessions are: Mel King, Mrs. Anthony Klein and Mrs. Alvin Quist. In addition, students of ORHS's Future Teachers Association have, under guidance of Carol Bailey, taken this on as a special project. Further volunteers with teaching skills will be welcome.

REFLECTIONS AT THE YEAR'S END

The tally for 61 reveals gains in achieving equal public services with regard to house theaters, but a general holding of the color line in other areas of public accommodation to where it stood at the end of 1960. A partial exception is bowling alleys, with Oak Terrace Lanes permitting mixed teams to play under official company sponsorship. Holiday Inn, Walgreen's and McCrory's have continued their successful policy of serving all the public equally. These public-spirited businessmen merit our support.

No progress has been reported at Oak Ridge's segregated Drive-in Theater, laundramats, barber shops, Davis Bros. Cafeteria, or other eating establishments following Davis' lead.

On the other hand, many of our churches have gone all-out to make known that their doors are open to all--and their functions have become increasingly integrated. Most of the summertime programs for children in '61 were integrated. The Oak Ridge School Board has pledged itself to a policy of trying to insure that youngsters feel equally welcome regardless of race in all school programs. Following the suggestion of Councilman Franke, City Council instituted measures to have the odorous City Dump cleaned up, with efforts being made to relocate it away from the immediate environs of the Scarboro residential community.

And we in ORFEPS have forged deeper bonds of friendship and understanding across religious as well as racial lines through joint efforts and talks in '61.

PLEDGE OF COOPERATION FROM THE CATHOLIC LADIES

Agnes Burns, loyal delegate from Catholic Woman's Club (who by the way sees that coffee is served at ORFEPS functions), is delighted with the enthusiastic response by clubmembers to her recent report to them on ORFEPS activities. Thank you, Ladies, for your Pledge of Cooperation. The help of each of us is badly needed if we are to achieve our goals. See you at the Public Discussion on January 16!

Gerda Witkamp reminds us all to mail in our pledges and/or contributions for the Peter Bynum Memorial Scholarship Fund.

RESOLUTIONS FOR '62

Mayor Robert McNees: "Oak Ridge has made progress during the past year in eliminating racial barriers from places of public accommodation. City Council endorsed a policy of equal public services and, to help bring this about, made our hardworking Mayor's Committee on Race Relations a permanent body.

May I ask in 1962 the goodwill and cooperation of each citizen in insuring that no one, American or foreign born, need feel embarrassment in Oak Ridge because of his race? Our role as the home of a great national laboratory deepens our responsibility in achieving this goal."

Rev. Moultrie McIntosh, Chairman, Oak Ridge Ministerial Association: "In 1962 we need to press forward on all fronts to confront discrimination whenever it denies the full exercise of personhood to anyone because of race or circumstance. We need a positive approach. This calls for patience, love and courage. We cannot be vague and general, but must deal with particular situations in which injustice and discrimination are taking place.

As citizens of a free nation, we cannot do otherwise. More important, as children of a loving God, we cannot stand by and see sacred personhood denied its God given fulfillment."

Bill Ramsay, Chairman, Community Relations Council: "Each of us must recognize the personal responsibility we have, not only for our own life, but for the patterns of life of which we are a part. One of the great challenges of our time is the need to change the patterns of race relations in our community, region, nation and world.

CRC hopes to encourage recognition of this responsibility and to provide opportunities for its expression. We will continue to work toward improvement of equal economic opportunities, equal public services and equal patterns of education. In cooperation with other community organizations we will work to eliminate any patterns of human relations in Oak Ridge which inhibit the full development and expression of any of its citizens."

John Cathcart, ORFEPS Chairman: "Let's resolve to do all we can to put ORFEPS out of business in '62. This would mean lowering of racial barriers in our still segregated restaurants, laundramats, drive in movie and barber shops. We are progressing in O.R. but at a snail's pace compared to the rush of world events. Time is running out for the white man to correct his unjust treatment of non-whites. The colored peoples of the world are running out of patience. It will indeed be a tragedy if, by the time the white man learns to love, the black man has learned to hate. Policies of discrimination such as ours cannot help but instill feelings of deep resentment in those against whom they are directed.

Changing basic social patterns cannot be accomplished as a leisure time activity. To be effective, we must give priority to our work in ORFEPS. If a few hundred, a few dozen, or even just a few Oak Ridgers would really put ORFEPS first in 1962, we might put ourselves out of business. What more important task could we dedicate ourselves to than eliminating this cancer which is destroying our most valuable asset, the human spirit? For the sake of all of our children, let's resolve to do away with discrimination in Oak Ridge in 1962!"

GOOD NEIGHBOR GOTT

Until the Holiday Inn opened in July, 1961, its manager, Bill Gott, would not let on what its policies would be. A certain young man in Scarboro remembers with acute discomfort having to force down two dinners that evening. Not really expecting to be served, he had eaten a large meal at home before going to the Inn for dinner. This proved to be a big mistake! Bill Gott chuckled recently when hearning for the first time of Archie Lee's plight that evening.

Actually, Oak Ridgers from all walks of life have indicated "Nothing but approval" of Holiday Inn's policy of serving all the public equally. A mutually positive relationship has developed between Oak Ridgers and genial Bill Gott. He was soon involved in the Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees and Masons. So fond did he become of his new town that when he was promoted recently to the job of Regional Director for Holiday Inns, Bill chose to maintain his home here. As he puts it, "I like Oak Ridge and its policies." And there is no question in his mind that the "Oak Ridge policy" is one of equal service to all the public.

Mr. Gott comes to Oak Ridge from Roanoke, Virginia, being a native of Alvion, Mich. He and Mrs. Gott and their 2½-year-old daughter Susan live in a Redwood apartment and attend St. Stephen's Church.

"SILENCE HERE....VOICES THERE"

Hats off to the committee at First Baptist Church for the effective brochure which they recently distributed all over the state last month, dramatizing the contrast between the Silence of church people at home and the Voices from missionaries all over the world pleading for elimination of racial barriers in this country.

For three years the Convention Action Committee of First Baptist has labored to get their State Convention to take a stand against segregation in Baptist-supported hospitals and schools. The brochure was used this year in lieu of direct action from the floor in the hopes that it would have more long-range effect.

Working with Rev. Galloway and Committee Chairman Granvil Kyker are Mrs. W. S. Rule, Mrs. Thurmon C. Whitson, G. B. Seaborn and R. C. Kinnamon. If you haven't seen this brochure, we suggest you pick one up at First Baptist.

Season's Greetings

515 Robertsville Rd.
Oak Ridge, Tenn.
17 Dec. 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Research Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are all very pleased that you have agreed to visit Oak Ridge and give us a report on the current status of human relations in the South. Your talk is scheduled for 8 PM, 16 Jan. at the First Presbyterian Church here in Oak Ridge.

We are most anxious to do all that we can to publicize your talk. Our usual procedures involves getting out posters, a newsletter announcement, phone calls, and finally publicity in the local paper. I know that you said that you didn't have a photograph of yourself immediately available, but we have found that newpaper articles attract much more attention if they are accompanied by a picture. Would it be asking too much for you to search your files and make sure that you don't have even a snapshot of yourself around!

I hope that while you are in Oak Ridge you will plan to stay at my house. If you will let me know what your travel plans are, I'll furnish you with detailed instructions as to where I live.

Again, we are all looking forward to hearing you, and in the meantime, let me wish you a happy holiday season.

Sincerely,

John Cathcart

John Cathcart

Pending

November 30, 1961

Mr. John Cathcart
515 Robertsville Road
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cathcart:

This will confirm the arrangements made on Tuesday. I will be in Oak Ridge on Tuesday, January 16th for an evening meeting; regrettably Paul Rilling cannot come.

As to the title of the speech, perhaps something as general as "Progress and Problems in Southern Race Relations", with the content emphasizing the areas of most and least change with some evaluation of the methods involved. If there is some area of more interest that would be suitable I should appreciate your guidance.

Biographical information is enclosed. I regret that a picture is not available but this may help rather than hinder any publicity efforts!

Early in the year I will let you know my travel plans, and would appreciate specific information on the time and place of the meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb
Enc. 1

January 22, 1962

Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Coveyon
93 Outer Drive
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Coveyon:

The brief visit in your home was a pleasant one and I want to thank you. If any information develops on Haywood or Fayette Counties we shall certainly share it with you. If you are ever in Atlanta I do hope you will drop by the office.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

January 22, 1962

Mr. John M. Cathcart
515 Robertsville Road
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear John:

Again, my thanks for your good hospitality. I hope that the occasion will arise when I can reciprocate here in Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

January 22, 1962

Mrs. Margaret Anderson
Guidance Director
Clinton High School
Clinton, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

It was a pleasure meeting you in Oak Ridge the other evening. You are being added to our general mailing list and I hope the materials you receive will be of some value.

We should know very soon about Dr. Robert Coles' interest in coming to Oak Ridge. I am hopeful that he will.

We greatly admire your work and hope that you will call on us if we can be of any possible help in the future.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

January 22, 1962

Mrs. Cele Meyer
103 E. Irving Lane
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Cele:

My thanks for everything from your coffee to the "Winds of Change" title.

I have an appointment to talk with Bob Coles thisafternoon and if anything comes of it you should hear from him soon.

Do call on us if we can be of any possible help.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

P.S. Have talked with Bob Coles. He would be pleased to come to Oak Ridge if Provided that expenses were available for Mrs. Coles as well - who is working closely with him and provided that he can spend some time talking with teachers, parents, students, etc., so that he can learn from the Oak Ridge type situation. This I think you would want anyway. At this time I step aside to let you too communicate directly. Best.

Dr. Robert Coles
35 Lombardy Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga. (or S.R.C.)

January 24, 1962

Dr. Frances R. Cousens,
Director of Research
Michigan FEPC
900 Cadillac Square Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Fran:

Have talked with Bob Coles about a possible trip to Detroit. Assuming that his wife can also be included (with expenses) and that some extra money (which he needs) is involved, he would be quite interested. In fact, I think he would be interested enough to spend some days there speaking and consulting if you made it possible for him to learn as well as talk.

Saw yesterday's Detroit Free Press and the indications that you moderate tokenists are determined to outdo us down here.

Thoroughly enjoyed meeting you and our conversations. Appreciated your warm hospitality and hope you will present me with an early opportunity to give you the Atlanta tour.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

P.S. Dr. Robert Coles
SRC
or
35 Lombardy Way, N.E.
tel: 873-4485

103 E. Irving Lane
Oak Ridge, Tenn.
1-24-62

PR ✓
file → PA

Dear Paul,

It was great having you with us last week--our efforts here needed just that sort of shot in the arm. Hope that you were as big a success in your speech on Thursday.

I am sending you the write-up and editorial from the Oak Ridger on Winds of Change. This boy Dick Smyser aint too bright but this seems to be a new low in muddle-headedness even for him. Except leaving out some words and one whole line (typographical error) and adding a phrase, he carried the article as I wrote it--but it didn't mean much to him, judging from the editorial, which appeared the same night.

What I am wondering is, whether you think it worthwhile to pass the editorial along to one of the ladies active in HOPE (isn't that the group that labored in Atlanta to bring about public support of keeping the schools open?). From our point of view here, it would help, I think, to have a factual answer to Smyser's question as to what the difference was in Clinton and in Atlanta--and how this was accomplished (not by threat of the stick!) It occurred to me one of the leaders of the group who helped make this possible might be interested in informing Oak Ridgers of what was involved.

John tells me you and he heard a lot at the Cove-you's after the meeting about the ~~school-board~~ possibility of the school board's doing a study (or requesting CRC to) of the effects of discrimination in our schools on minority groups. That's not exactly what they call it, but Al Brooks says that's what they mean. I hope when you speak to your "Staff Psychiatrist" about our interest in having him come here, you'll be able to convince him that there is fairly widespread interest but not much real information on this subject which he has been finding out so much about.

Any of those old SRC reports or studies lying around on your shelves, you can feel free to send to us. I wish there was some way to get the Oak Ridger to carry a summary when they come out.

Thanks again to you and SRC for the wonderful job which you did in Oak Ridge. And good luck in all of your good work. We enjoyed getting to know you personally and hope that we will be seeing you again one of these days.

Sincerely,

Cele Meyer

'Should Be A Utopia' — (front page)

Speaker Challenges Ridge Racial Progress

"We hear a lot throughout the South about the progress Oak Ridge has made in the area of race relations, but I find upon coming here that, as in Atlanta, the reputation is ahead of the fact," Paul Anthony, young race relations worker from the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, told an audience of more than 100 Tuesday night.

"A town of 30,000," he stated, "only 5 percent Negro, with a high educational level, large number of government jobs and a history of government participation in planning and construction of housing should be a Utopia in the field of race relations," he said.

Anthony's address at First Presbyterian Church was sponsored by the Oak Ridge Federation for Equal Public Services. About 37 persons attended a dinner in the speaker's honor beforehand at the Holiday Inn. The guest list at the dinner and the meeting included citizens from Oliver Springs, Clinton and Knoxville as well as some members of the Mayor's Committee on racial relations, members of ORFEPS' 17 member organizations.

The Rev. Moultrie McIntosh, pastor of St. Stephens Episcopal Church, introduced Anthony. the Catholic Women's Club provided refreshments afterwards.

The "winds of change" seen by Anthony in the South include increasing compliance of Southern schools with the 1954 Supreme Court decision, change in the posture of state governments and political leaders (many now actively court the Negro vote, he said), the new stands by business leaders such as those in Atlanta, and the whole student protest movement.

While recognizing some points of difference among Negro groups he discounted the accuracy of a recent Time Magazine report of a serious split between the young and older Negro leadership.

International challenges to America and pressures from the Kennedy administration were described by Anthony as further accelerating the current rate of change in the South. He pointed out also how "the winds sweeping the South" are spreading to other areas of our nation where there is racial discrimination.

(Continued on page 10, No. 1)

Number 4

From Page One

he was trans- eah, Ky., outh, n-

them are not aware of the requirements of the agency agreements, that they be so informed.

• Number 1

— From Page One

"The mothers' protest in Illinois and the 'wade in' at Lake Michigan were doubtless inspired by the wave of student protest throughout the South," he said.

Despite all this change in recent years, Anthony characterized as "ominous" the relatively slow educational process of Southern white communities as compared to the increasing impatience building up in Southern Negroes. Unless these two forces can be reconciled, he predicts that tragic situations will continue to develop, such as those already seen where violence erupts and communities close their school systems and close recreational facilities rather than integrate them.

The current "vogue of tokenism" in the South is, according to Anthony, a "hideous thing".

In "tokenism," he said, adults ask children to fight their battles. Southern Regional Council, he explained, has been so concerned about what happens to a handful of children put into a hostile school situation that it has engaged a psychiatrist to study the reactions of Atlanta's eight Negro students now attending white schools.

A member of the audience asked Anthony about how a community can move from "tokenism" to real acceptance [of integration] by all of its citizens. Anthony emphasized the importance of individual courtesies and action by individuals and groups such as PTA's in insuring that democratic practices prevail in the community and its various institutions. He stressed the value of community wide groups such as ORFEPS as a "vast umbrella of support".

"In the final analysis any change in society has to be brought about by the people in every community and hamlet of that society," he said.

John Cathcart, chairman of ORFEPS, announced that ORFEPS' annual meeting will be held at 8 p.m. Tuesday Jan. 30 at St. Mary's Catholic Church, at which time officers for the coming year will be elected.

Dick Smyser, Editor

What Do The South's Winds Of Change Mean?

"Winds of Change in the South."

That was the title of a talk here Tuesday night sponsored by Oak Ridge Federation for Equal Public Services

What are the "winds of change"? Indeed there are these winds, but precisely how do they blow, and what have been their effects?

It is exceedingly obvious that there was a difference in the way integration was accepted this fall in Atlanta, in Memphis, in Dallas — in other cities much more "Deep South" than Littlle Rock, Nashville and Clinton.

But what does this difference represent?

Does it reflect a really significant change of attitude relative to the merits of integration? Does it represent true moderation or more just expediency? Does it represent conformance with law and order or rather more subservience to a show of police power?

It would be our hope that there is now a more positive, tolerant feeling toward the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954.

It would be our hope that there is a growing group of those who believe in the gradual dispensing with old traditions of segregation.

It would be our hope that there is, indeed, a new respect for obeyance of law regardless of one's personal feelings regarding the law—a respect built more on regard for principle than regard for night stick.

However, we are not convinced and we often are concerned for people with whom we even may strongly disagree.

We are not upset one moment for those who perpetrated or otherwise support or supported violence or rank use of legal manuevers to circumvent the adjustment. We do, however, have concern for those who may still feel deeply, sincerely that the whole transition is unwise—wrong—but who may now feel that they have been forced into silence.

We are concerned for them the same as a decade ago—five years ago—we were concerned for those who equally as deeply felt the need for the change that is now occurring but who feared then, as their opposite number may fear now, to speak out.

Civil rights are exceedingly precious. However, for all the wrongs of the past that are being righted now by the "winds of change," there is still room for concern that new wrongs do not take their place.

February 5, 1962

Mrs. Frances R. Cousens
Director of Research
Fair Employment Practices Commission
129 Mason Building
Lansing, Michigan

Dear Fran:

I am distraught that Bob Coles is not already on his way to Detroit. You Northern Integrationists are all alike.

Anyway, he's excited about the prospect.

I hope you will be in Atlanta soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mr

JOHN B. SWAINSON
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

129 MASON BUILDING
LANSING, MICHIGAN

900 CADILLAC SQUARE BUILDING, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
TELEPHONE: DETROIT WO 2-6680 — EXT. 43 LANSING: IV 5-8144 — EXT. 453

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WILLIAM W. LAYTON
DIRECTOR, LANSING OFFICE
GERALD D. WHITE
LEGAL COUNSEL

Please Reply: Detroit Office

February 2, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
9 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of January 24th which indicates that you delivered on your promise to talk with Dr. Coles about a trip to Detroit.

I have checked with the committee in charge of arrangements for the Wayne State University program which I had in mind for Dr. Coles and learned that their program for the current academic year is all set. I have no intention of foregoing the real pleasure of having Dr. Coles visit our city in view of the significant contribution that I am sure he can make and will continue my attempts to bring him here.

I hope that it will not be too long before it is possible for me to accept your kind invitation to visit Atlanta and talk with members of your staff. With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Frances R. Cousens
mlw.

(Mrs.) Frances R. Cousens
Director of Research

FRC:mlw

cc: Dr. Robert Coles

MRS. RAYMOND ANDERSON
616 EAGLE BEND ROAD
CLINTON, TENNESSEE

February 19, 1962

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you so very much for your kind letter of January 22. I shall look forward to receiving some of the materials from the Southern Regional Council. If there is a subscription rate for such materials, please inform me.

We enjoyed your talk in Oak Ridge, and I was certainly glad to hear such an informative explanation of the many problems. Most of all, you generate hope that we are making progress.

Thank you again for your letter. If Dr. Coles comes to Oak Ridge, I shall make every effort to attend the meeting.

Sincerely,
Margaret Anderson

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

March 5, 1962

Reservations Desk
Hotel Sheraton Carlton
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly reserve a single accommodation for Mr. Paul Anthony for the nights of March 28 and 29 and confirm at your early convenience.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Administrative Secretary

bp

March 21, 1962

Mrs. Cele Meyer
103 E. Irving Lane
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

I note that Paul Anthony wrote you we would send along the new publications list when it was ready. It is, and here it is.

Also enclosed is a very recent L-Report dealing further with the police in the desegregation area. I thought you would be interested in it since you had received others on the same topic.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (2)

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
secretary

March 7, 1962

Mrs. Cele Meyer
103 E. Irving Lane
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Dear Cele:

Under separate cover we are sending you four copies each of: The Chattanooga and Houston employment studies, The Unequal Badge, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, and New South, September 1961. More are available if you need them.

Frankly, I don't remember what materials I sent to Larry Chase. However, we are now mimeographing an updated list of publications available. As soon as possible we will mail you a copy. From that, if you will indicate the materials of interest to the speakers bureau, we will send a reasonable number without cost.

Am happy that the Coles visit has been arranged, it should be helpful.

Best.

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

103 E. Irving Lane
Oak Ridge, Tenn.
February 28, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Larry Chase was very grateful for the packet of materials which you sent him from SRC as background material for his talk with the local Toastmasters' Club. He and Mrs. Chase have agreed to join ORFEPS' Speakers' Bureau. What I am wondering is whether you have additional copies of these excellent reports which you could send to us for sharing with other members of our Speakers' Bureau. In addition, the employment studies would be of particular interest to the members of our Community Relations Council Employment Committee (under ~~spensersh~~ chairmanship of Mrs. Betty Maskewitz, 113 Potomac Circle).

In a recent conversation with me, Rev. Fuller, leading Scarboro minister who has thus far not become involved in the fight for equal rights, shared his concern over the very poor law enforcement in that neighborhood. He decided to talk with the police chief and city personnel chief about hiring Negro policemen. I'd like to have a few copies of "The Unequal Badge" to circulate locally.

People are still quoting you--and we're now looking forward to Bob Coles' visit to stir up some further thought and discussion (and action, we hope) on the local scene. Many thanks for putting us on his trail.

Yours truly,

Cele Meyer

Cele Meyer

PA file

Mrs. James J. Selvage
2416 Dellwood Drive, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

9 May 1962

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I want again to tell you how much your talk meant to me + to many. Many more of the women there at the meeting on Monday than revealed their reactions. I was concerned about the two stupid questions that were expounded + knew too well, how discouraging such stupidity is especially after you

had spoken so brilliantly + frankly + with such wisdom + impartiality + justice. But at luncheon I directly asked a lot of women what their reactions were + most of them told me they were deeply impressed + in agreement with you. And when I was annoyed with their silence at the time I wanted them to speak out, they said, "But what could any one do say!"

It was a privilege to have you come to us. I'm not at all sure that I think the modern church merits such

a privilege. Yet I know you did increase our understanding + enlarge our horizons - yes, even among the most elderly + reactionary + limited ones.

Thank you many times for coming + for all you are doing + with such dedication and courage.

Sincerely,

Jean Selvage

LWD ✓
✓J ✓
MJ-file

MEMORANDUM

July 10, 1963

TO: Josephine Wilkins
(cc: Les Dunbar)

FROM: Paul Anthony

RE: Program Needs--Summer of 1963 and Thereafter

IMMEDIATE:

(1) The most immediate need is to develop as much support as possible from the South for President Kennedy's civil rights proposals. According to the administration, there are enough non-Southern votes in Congress to pass the civil rights bills (though this may not be true on the public accommodations bill). The key to passing the legislation rests not with getting Southern congressmen to support the bills, but to decrease the amount of opposition they give to the measures. The Wall Street Journal reported this week that Southern congressmen were getting surprisingly little mail against the bills. If impressive support--of a genuine grass roots nature--could be marshaled for the bills, many Southern congressmen probably would be inclined to offer only token opposition.

The Southern Regional Council cannot actively engage in this program, though there is no reason why interested individuals cannot do so. Mail campaigns from each Southern state are needed, personal associations with Congressmen should be used, a few key Congressmen with some liberal bent--such as in Miami, Atlanta, Nashville--should receive indication that support of these measures is endorsed by a significant number of their constituents. (A group in Great Neck,

New York, is trying to get a full page ad in the Sunday Washington Post, listing some hundreds of Southerners who endorse the bills. A genuine Southern effort of this sort, perhaps running each Sunday for some weeks, would probably be very helpful.)

The Kennedy proposals represent no panacea, but the recommendations are helpful and it would be very harmful to the national mood if these proposals failed to pass. The long range "program" significance of the passage of these bills is probably considerably more important, in fact, than the contents of the bills themselves. It is for this reason that this is a major need during the time from now through September.

I can see several ways in which your skills and imagination might be put to very good use in this situation.

(2) A number of the "lesser" cities (as opposed to the major cities of Atlanta, New Orleans, etc.) face the prospect of school desegregation this fall. In every instance of school desegregation local community preparation groups have been helpful. In some (i.e., Atlanta) their presence has been essential. Many of the communities now facing this crisis are, in effect, "rushing" into potential crisis with little or no sound preparation from groups res presenting broad community support. (Savannah, presently in serious trouble, is now under court order to desegregate in September. The current crisis is taking attention away from the need to prepare for September and will, in itself, make September more difficult.)

Among the cities which will, or may, face September school desegregation are: Savannah, Macon, Columbus, Rome, Brunswick, Jacksonville, Tallahassee, Tampa, Daytona Beach, Mobile, Birmingham,

Huntsville, Charleston, Jackson, etc.. (This is far from a complete list but will give a good idea of the scope of the matter.)

We have funds and consultant skills available. As you know, we were instrumental in encouraging a group in Mobile and have done well there. Whatever happens in that city, a responsible, sensible, well directed group is working hard to prepare that community. In Huntsville we tried with little success. A group exists, but is poorly led and generally ineffective and beyond our reach. We have helped in Jacksonville and that group is doing a good job. We maintain relationships--at great distance--with the group in Jackson and--as with the rest of Jackson--that situation is very serious. On Friday, I go to Birmingham to try to be of help there--or to try to start the process of being helpful.

This program is helpful; its value has been demonstrated. Our greatest problem is the amount of time needed to get to each of these communities, to meet the right people, to build the confidence necessary to be of help. Thereafter, our consultant program can take over and--with much luck--things go smoothly. Real top people are needed to extend our staff services in reaching into more of these communities. We might explore this.

(This "immediate" need goes beyond that. The list of cities yet to follow this pattern is large and many will have more problems than most of those presently affected. Also, there is every reason to believe the "community education process" which goes on is one of real "grass roots" significance. Certainly, it is the most effective educational by-product reaching large groups of people that I have observed in any of our programs.)

(3) Employment and--closely related to that--school dropouts are other immediate and high priority items, though I see less tie-in with your interests in this area. If my opinion is incorrect, we can explore these areas in more detail.

(4) The state Councils on Human Relations need great strengthening in the areas of local financial support and memberships. (This may seem far removed from the items above, but I feel there are reasons why this is a high priority and immediate item.) In this area, somewhat as with stimulation and assistance to community preparation groups, the skills required are uniqae and there simply is not enough staff time to devote to these matters.

If the potential exists, and I believe it does, it is long past time that we got these Councils financially on their feet. I would hope we would still have funds for a grants-in-aid program, but funds to assist in and stimulate special program activity, not "life-or-death" funds for the minimum operation.

The membership situation is very sad. In state after state--500, 800 members. Our strongest state Council has approximately 2,000 members after nine years of staff-directed operation. Ironically, now more than ever these groups need to speak from a base of strength--to represent people in significant numbers. Even more ironically, the people are there.

Florida is ripe for growth. In Tennessee we hope for a major campaign this fall to double membership (and I am somewhat concerned by the work which will be required from out-of-state to make this campaign a success.) I am even more concerned by the consequences of this somewhat touted campaign not being a success.

There is a real possibility here for creative, important work.

LONG RANGE:

(1) The good parts of the urban South are rapidly becoming "desegregated." And pressure and progress continues. Thus far most of our desegregation and progress has been essentially mechanical. We now approach, in these areas, the patterns of the non-South: open doors and removed signs but little human understanding or inclination toward integration. We probably now have our greatest opportunities for real and sound progress. If so, we also have our greatest danger. Considerable change is now in effect, a surprising amount of it almost automatic. In these "good areas" it would be desirable to hasten that change but the important need is to keep that momentum. Even more important, we must follow-up the token or symbolic change and help it become a reality, help to have it become "natural," and help people understand, not just accept, it. Most of the appeal to the majority has been that of having some change "accepted." If at all possible, we need to strengthen that appeal to the point of having people "take part in" the change, to have a sense of involvement and personal achievement out of it.

The city of Knoxville is experimenting with the "Open City" concept. If they are at all successful in this effort to have the whole community involved in building a new community, I hope we can promote that specific example as a new wide-range creative approach to race relations. (And, we may have to exaggerate a bit!) This is the only specific program possibility I have in mind at this moment. There must be other ideas and experiments which we can try that would involve a whole community, a sort of "All American City" campaign. This is "big stuff" vaguely presented, but I throw it out to you.

(2) Housing. Many people, of whom I am one, have erroneously thought that housing concerns were far removed from our present world

of reality and our scale of priorities. I am no longer sure this is correct. Perhaps this fluid time is the right time to strike that problem. The longer we wait, the more we may have the typical national rigid patterns to fight. (Certainly the South is daily becoming more segregated in its housing patterns.) We have several times discussed your personal interest in this subject, therefore I will not go into detail on it. If interested, we can talk further.

I would add, however, that I think leadership and sound ideas are more needed in this area than money. Which is to say that if pursued at all, you should think in terms of program--perhaps a pilot project to be repeated if successful--not primarily in terms of personal financial investment.

(3) 1964 presidential election. (This will sound like I have far more concern for politics than any staffer should--but it is mentioned as a non-SRC approached need of some importance.)

There is a possibility that Kennedy will be opposed by a Goldwater in 1964. There is also a possibility he will be in serious trouble whoever the candidate, and certainly in trouble in the South if Goldwater is the candidate. Holding even a few Southern states in the Democratic column could be extremely important to the whole field of human relations during the next four or eight years. None of this applies, in my opinion, if the contest becomes Kennedy vs. Rockefeller. Enough said.

File Paul Anthony Staff Reports

Paul Anthony
Log, Week of June 7, 1965

(Previous weekend in Washington for NAIRO Intern Training Seminar.)

June 7

In Washington for appointments at the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to discuss SRC suggestion for anti-poverty work in rural areas. While in Washington, also paid calls on U.S. Community Relations Service offices and NAIRO office; had lunch with Harold Fleming, Potomac Institute.

June 8

Meetings, conferences, etc.:

A. Ulmer of staff, re week's work
P. Watters of staff, re publication distribution
F. Pauley, Georgia Council, re GCHR staffing and budget
C. Curry, of American Friends Service Committee, re SRC/AFSC joint project on school desegregation
L. Elliott of staff, re housing survey, Houston
N. Maxwell, Wall Street Journal, re current story
H. Mizell of National Student Association, re future of Southern Project, NSA
Foreign visitors from Netherlands
C. Hoffman, regional staffer for Unitarian Church, re Unitarian Universalists Program for summer
Employment interview with college professor home for summer

Telephone in:

R. Doctor, Va. Council Intern, re future employment
J. Fairfax, AFSC, re upcoming meeting of Southern Interagency Conference
C. Wittenstein of American Jewish Committee, re orientation of summer volunteers for SCOPE
S. McNichols, NSA Vice President, re summer student directory
Mrs. C. Wood, Mobile, request for help on OEO grant
Pat Knight, Va. Council, re speakers for Prince Edward County training program
Ken Dean, Mississippi Council, re MCHR work with AFL-CIO in Miss
Will Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, re upcoming conference of Committee of Southern Churchmen
Pat Derian, Jackson, re appointment of federal judge in Mississippi
Governmental Affairs Institute, re foreign visitor from Finland

June 8, continued

Telephone out:

Intern applicant, re placement
Alice Spearman, South Carolina Council, re SCCHR intern interests
Ruby Hurley, NAACP regional director, re NAACP matters and NAIRO chapter dinner

Correspondence in:

Request for visit from Chairman, New Orleans Community Relations Council
Southern Education Foundation, request for reaction to proposal from Books for Equal Education
Request for financial assistance from "Experiment in Self Help" (the "Vine City" project in Atlanta)
Florida Council Executive Committee minutes and request for reaction to proposal of moving office
ACLU memo re Negroes on Alabama juries, request for help
DeKalb County (Ga.) School System plan of compliance
Episcopal Society report on finding meeting site in Jackson
Jean Fairfax, correspondence re upcoming SIC meeting
Request for attendance, Emory University conference on Title IV
Request for conference attendance of Atlanta Metro Area Civil Defense
Report of Virginia Council argument with press in northern Virginia
Department of HEW, requesting SRC/AFSC packet of material on school desegregation

Correspondence out:

Materials for Prince Edward program
Answer New Orleans request above
Request to Calvin Kytle, Community Relations Service, for resource person to SIC meeting
Letter and materials for southern regional meeting of Unitarians
Letter and materials to National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice with permission for Conference to reprint materials

(Note above is an accurate account of one day, reflecting, however, backlog of several days from office.)

June 9

Meetings, conferences, etc.:

Interview college student to work with SRC/AFSC project
Hayes Mizell, of NSA, re coming meeting of Southern Advisory Committee, NSA
M. Johnson, Dunbar's secretary, re correspondence routing
A. Ulmer, of staff, re trip to Mississippi
O. Cochran of "Experiment in Self Help" re help for Vine City project
Charles Morgan, ACLU regional director, re Birmingham
OEO regional staffer, re assistance of regional office OEO in Mobile

Telephone calls in:

John Griffin, Southern Education Foundation, re Books for Equal Education
President, Tennessee Council, re TCHR personnel affairs
Jean Fairfax, re SIC meeting and joint project
Carl Holman, US Commission on Civil Rights, request for information
J. Wilkins, SRC vice president, re policy matters
Dunbar phoned in from out of town to see what was going on
C. Curry, SRC/AFSC project
K. Crooks, National Urban League Regional Office, re planned conference on teacher integration and firings farmers
Jack Patterson, Businessweek, re Mississippi/strike
Rosetta Gardner, YWCA National Board, re Jacksonville school desegregation project
W. Falls, Georgia Council, re Perry, Georgia, where Georgia Council and AFSC are jointly working

Correspondence in:

Tennessee Council personnel matters
Atlanta Council on International Visitors, confirming appointment
Va. Council, re financial matters
Louisiana Council, request for visit
R. Haley, Director CORE Southern Office, re La. program and our help with
International Voluntary Service, request for assistance in finding volunteers for summer work projects

Correspondence out:

Office of Education, HEW, letter transmitting requested materials
Reaction to foundation request draft of Virginia Council
Suggestions to southern conference Unitarians
Commission on Civil Rights, transmitting materials requested

June 10

Conferences, meetings, etc.:

Staff meeting
F. Pauley, Georgia Council, re south Georgia
Lloyd Elliott, staff, re housing study
Al Kehrer - AFL/CIO Civil Rights Division
R. H. Alexander, staff, re internal financial matters

Telephone in:

Virginia Council Director Robert Combs
OEO regional staffer, follow-up on Mobile
Professor of History, Harvard U., request for information on names in South
C. Wittenstein, AJC, scheduling of Israeli editor
F. Robin, Georgia Council, re fall dinner
National Urban League, re meeting on teacher desegregation
N. Greene, NAIRO, intern program
K. Dean, Mississippi Council, re Jackson arrests
F. Millspaugh, Books for Equal Education, re summer program and ATlanta staffing

Telephone out:

John Griffin, Southern Educational Foundation, re Books for Equal Education

Correspondence in:

Sherwood Ross, News Director National Urban League, re possible southern radio stations
Request for staff participation in Texas AFL/CIO youth citizenship conference
Neil Tarplee, Executive Council Episcopal Church, re Southern Interagency meeting
Request to attend Alabama Council Executive Committee meeting
Request to attend North Carolina Intercollegiate Council meeting on future program and financing

Friday, June 11

Conferences meetings, etc.:

J. Smith, staff, re New South mailings and promotion
Visitors from American Ethical Union, re summer program in Macon County, Alabama
Foreign visitor, Director General, Finnish News Agency, Helsinki
Harry DeLung, Books for Equal Education, southern staff, re office space, distribution, warehouse problems, etc.
Julian Bond, SNCC official and candidate for state legislature, re coming elections

Phone in:

Al Kehrer, AFL-CIO, request to speak at non-partisan Get Out Vote Campaign in Negro church in Atlanta
OEO regional staffer re Head Start program in Birmingham and at Miles College, Birmingham
~~Tenn Council, re personnel problems~~
Georgia Council - joint participation in Urban League meeting on teacher desegregation
H. Fleming, Potomac Institute, request to come to Washington to consult Office of Community Relations of Job Corps

Phone out:

Baxton Bryant, Tennessee Council, re personnel matters of TCHR
Ed Stanfield, Alabama Council, re information for Commission on Civil Rights
Ga. Council, re participation in National Urban League meeting on teacher integration and firings

Correspondence in:

Art Thomas, Delta Ministry, re Southern Interagency meeting
Northern Student Movement, request for information
Father Foley, Spring Hill College, request for speaker and materials for Human Relations Workshop
President, NSA, re future of Southern Project of NSA
R. Doctor, VCHR intern, follow-up of visit earlier in week

File
PA - gen.
1965

NOTES FOR PA

DECEMBER 20, 1965

1. Paul, as far as I can determine, you've got only one speaking engagement scheduled during the time I'm not here:

   January 4, 1966 - Laurinburg, Va.
   (to participate on a panel discussing the problems of leadership in the Civil Rights Revolution; sponsored by St. Andrews Presbyterian College)

   SEE: Letter from Mr. W. Forrest Altman of October 18, 1965 in folder in rack on my desk marked: "Future Engagements" You should ~~should~~ review this correspondence about DECEMBER 20.

2. January 9, 1966; January 10, 1966

   Meeting of the Special Advisory Committee on Projects (Biltmore Hotel, 2:00 p.m.)
   Executive Committee Mtg. - SRC Conf. Room - 10:00 a.m. Jan. 10
   (I've got a folder in the rack marked""Exec. Cttee. Mtg." where I've begun to put return cards indicating who can and cannot attend these two meetings. You'll probably need these cards toward the time of the meeting to see what your attendance will be.

3. January 15, 1966:

   You asked to be reminded after the first of the year to pull correspondence from Mr. Miles Jackson, Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta Univ. ~~establishing~~ re: establishing SRC Archives -- cost, etc. If you should want to do this by January 15 see folder in SRC section of files marked "SRC Archives"

4. January 26, 1966

   S.I.C. meeting. You've written to Mrs. Hernandez of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission asking her to see if she can arrange to come down to talk about the Commission. If you want her badly and have not heard from her within a reasonable time , you might want to send a follow-up letter ~~about~~ about the middle of January.

NOTES FOR PA - 2.

5. Somebody - I guess Mrs. Knox who's always done it - should be asked to do a new STAFF DIRECTORY, including a directory showing the new telephone extensions.

6. Life Awards:
Tommie Walker has the two awards for engraving. When he returns them they have to be sent to John and Ray Wheeler for their signatures before mailing to Lillian Smith and Paul Green. I suppose you'll do letters of transmittal to be sent with the awards.

7. Ed Lewis is to be asked to arrange for food for the Executive Cttee. Mtg., Jan. 10. If you plan to use Mr. Hamburger his telephone number is CE. 3-3395

8. We have not yet heard from Paul Christopher regarding his vice-presidency election. You mentioned, I believe, dropping him a note about this.

9. We still have not written to the Board Members who've been dropped from the Board. (Attached is the sample letter which went out last year, though you may want to write an entirely different one.)

10. You've got the letters that have been written to the new Board Members -- I don't know what you want to do about these -- but obviously something needs to be done soon.

11. Powers McLeod was elected by the Annual Meeting to serve on the 1966 Nominating Committee. I don't know whether you will write him now asking his acceptance, or wait until the Executive Committee has elected the remaining two persons and write them all then.

12. We still have two vacancies on the Board which need to be filled before the new Board List is typed: a replacement for Moreland Smith, and selection of an alternate for Milton Cummings who declined membership. (Attached is the tentatively typed list from which a new Board List can be made up once the Paul Christopher matter and the two replacements are taken care of.)

NOTES FOR PA - 3.

13. Once you've decided whether the new Board Members are now on the Board or still have to accept, and when they actually become Members, I wish you'd have someone send out the biographical data sheets to them so that information can be filed on them. (I have just now sent biog sheets to persons elected in 1964, and have begun getting them back. This seems trivial, but it proves most helpful when we need to have some background on our people.) The Biographical Sheets are in a folder on my desk.

14. You might begin to think about, and/or even jot down ideas for your Annual Report, which usually is released in February every year. If so, I've got a folder in the SRC section of the files marked "Annual Report, 1965" in which there are a couple things which you asked me to save for your annual report.

15. The MONEY BOOK - in case you have need to refer to it - is up to date as far as I can determine for foundations. I've still got to work on Labor Organizations and Churches.

16. Come Wednesday, 5:00 p.m., I hope to have all the unfiled correspondence at least marked for filing. I guess Pat Franklin will still do the filing, at least until this batch is caught up.

M. Johnson

Patricia Franklin (Miss)
2800 Gordon Road, N. W.
Catalina Apartments #28

Moreland Smith
P. O. Box 494 (temporary)

Mrs. Esther Lumpkin
2800 Gordon Road, N. W.
Catalina Apartment #31
telephone: 753-8760 (temporary)

Miss Doris Reed
587 Rock Street, N. W.
525-3111

Mrs. Glenda Bartley
307 Home Park Avenue, N. W.

Miss Joan Browning
1357 N. Decatur Road, N. E.
telephone: 377-6657

Samuel Adams
781 Braemer Avenue, S. W.
344-1541

Edwyn Lewis
2263 Coronet Way, N. W.

351-6295

File
PA - Memos

April 4, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

At your convenience, before April 15, would you please jot down for me the list of foundations who have given us grants since January 1.

file
PA-memos

Copy file
PA-memos

April 4, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please write a check for $19.00 for my registration fee for attendance of the following:

National Civil Liberties Clearing
House Conference
Washington, D. C.
April 21 and 22, 1966

file
PA-Memos

April 7, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Lewis

FROM: Paul Anthony

At your convenience let's discuss the possibility of ordering quality envelopes for use in our best mail and still maintain a system where the old supply can be used up.

MEMORANDUM April 12, 1966

To: Ed Lewis

From: Paul Anthony

Please have placed on the Interagency List the following:

Mr. & Mrs. Paul Furman
9660 West Bay Harbor Drive
Bay Harbor, Florida

SRC ROUTING SLIP

✓ Adams, Sam
✓ ALEXANDER, Ruth
✓ ANDERSON, Bob
___ ANTHONY, Paul
✓ BARTLEY, Glenda
✓ BROWNING, Joan
✓ COOK, Bernice
✓ FRANKLIN, Pat
✓ GIMARC, Jerry
✓ HOWARD, Ruth
___ JOHNSON, Mildred
✓ JORDON, Vernon
✓ KNOX, Luesta
✓ LEWIS, Ed
___ LONG, Margaret
✓ LUMPKIN, Ester
✓ MANDERSON, Marge
✓ MARTIN, Kathy
✓ MORGAN, Nobbie
✓ MORRISON, Bernice
✓ OLIVE, Thad
✓ O'NEAL, Helen
___ PATTERSON, Barbara
✓ REED, Doris
✓ SHORTT, Janet
✓ SMITH, Janet
✓ SMITH, Moreland
✓ STANFIELD, Ed
✓ TILLY, Mrs. M. E.
✓ ULMER, Al
✓ VIA, Emory
✓ WATTERS, Pat
✓ WOODS, Willie

Return to Mildred Johnson for filing.

MEMORANDUM April 12, 1966

To: THE STAFF

From: Paul Anthony

Because many of us have to do our accounting with the Federal Government, and pay money along with it on Friday, the 15th, the staff will be paid on Thursday, the 14th.

MJ-file

April 19, 1966

PA from EStanfield

Just a few bits of information which you may already have....

Dr. Gomillion tells me that there was a strong disagreement at the Alabama Democratic Conference meeting on Saturday. Orzell Billingsley and John Cashin lost control of ADC (and of themselves, apparently). It seems that they had arbitrarily committed ADC to support Flowers, while Dr. Gomillion and the majority want to go along with Carl Elliott.

The Arkansas Council is going ahead with plans to let Nat write his book. Father Clancy does not want this noised around particularly because he still needs and hopes for help from Field Foundation. Rev. J. Harold Jackson, a Presbyterian Minister, will come on as Ozell's Associate about mid-May or June 1. He's a good man -- I met him in Little Rock. See attached resume.

I think we are going to solve the Alabama Council problem along the lines I mentioned to you -- with Jerry Roden part-time as Director and Bob continuing as Associate. All the principals involved seem agreeable to this. Probably involved is a move of the office to Montgomery, although that may not be right away. Bob has said that he is quite disinclined to continue working so far away from the action and Dr. Gomillion agrees, in principle, that the office should be in Montgomery or Birmingham -- although he wants to wait to see the result of the primary and perhaps that of the general election. Incidentally, Dr. Gomillion feels more strongly than ever that Bob is not yet ready for the Director post. Also incidentally, Bob still expresses doubt that "the Council is the kind of organization I want to work for...I'm just still not sure."

This is just to keep you posted. Do you want me to do this from time to time?

April 19, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Lewis

The Arthur Vining Davis Foundation #3 is expected to be out of the courts sometime the end of the year and are requesting interested agencies to submit brief background material, but not formal requests. They would also like to be placed on our general mailing list to receive both New South and all other publications (this has been taken care of).

The information should be addressed to Mr. Donald R. Thompson, Vice-President and Senior Trust Officer, First National Bank of Miami, P. O. Box 2500, Miami 33101. This should be done as soon as possible.

~~ES~~

~~BM~~

April 20, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony

Two items which appear on the agenda for brief discussion at next week's state director's meeting are: 1) a discussion of the plight of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and the need of this agency for support from groups such as the state councils and 2) collecting a list of good physicians throughout the region who can at least informally be of some help to the U. S. Public Health Service. I have promised Harry Wright, U. S. Public Health Service, 300 C Street, S. W., Room 4215, South Building, a list of such M.D.'s after the state director's meeting.

Bernice:
I failed to get the original of this — hence no list. Should I write to state council directors for suggestions?
Ed

On May 26, I wrote a letter on this.
BSM

File
P. Anthony - ~~Personal~~ General

AIR MAIL

April 26, 1966

Mrs. Frances Silver
2F Avenue Fernand Fenzy
Antony (Seine) Paris, France

Dear Fran:

How very thoughtful of you to write and how envious I am to have your letter from Paris and to know you have a whole year to enjoy that city.

I am quite certain I'll have no occasion to visit during the year, but should I be wrong you can be assured I would enjoy nothing more than visiting you there.

The Tennessee Council situation is very confused - though I am not quite certain why. We are working on it and may or may not be able to contribute something to it.

On some rainy day walk along the Seine. Remember me to that beautiful city.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File Board - gen. 1966

April 26, 1966

Miss Mary E. Sand
College of Liberal Arts
Louisiana State University in New Orleans
Lake Front
New Orleans, Louisiana 70122

Dear Mary:

Quite all right about the time taken. I am simply somewhat surprised and very relieved to know there is still a possibility of this contribution.

Again, we are very grateful for your help in this matter. We are having a considerable amount of trouble raising these funds for the matching purposes and this grant from LIFE, if and when it comes, will be of great help.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
PA Memos
1966

April 29, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bob Anderson

FROM: Paul Anthony

At the earliest opportunity let's get together and make some final and absolute decisions about our mailing lists.

file
PA Memos

May 4, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ED STANFIELD
AL ULMER

FROM: Paul Anthony

The Southern Project of the NSA has received a new two year grant from the Field Foundation and is ready to go back into business. They are looking for a director and hope to have the project staffed as soon after June 1 as possible.

Any suggestions?

file
PA memos.
1966

MEMORANDUM June 27, 1966

To: THE STAFF

From: Paul Anthony

Re: Requests for Checks and Other Payments

-:-

When Ruth Alexander received requests for payment, the forms should be complete, including the necessary approvals or designations as to accounts from which the funds are to be paid. Please see that such matters as my approval or that of Ed Lewis's is done before Ruth receives the request(s). Ruth is being asked to return any requests that are not completed to the person making them.

The time demands and the greatly expanded duties of the Secretary-Treasurer make this necessary, and it is hoped that we make as few demands on Ruth as possible.

-:-

file
PA - gen.

July 18, 1966

Mr. Herbert Hamsher
Clubhouse Apartments, #4-C
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

Dear Herb:

Thanks for your note. Its a great relief to know that you and Carolyn will be available if I can get there. It will be sometime next week, both because of the air strike, and the pressures of the office here, before I know definitely if I will come.

From somewhere I will call you -- perhaps next Friday -- to give you the final schedule.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See PA. Memos 1966

MEMORANDUM July 27, 1966

TO: Ed Lewis

FROM: Paul Anthony

- : -

To my horror I discover a letter from McNeill Smith dated June 14th concerning "judicare", a copy of which was bucked to you on June 15, and a note from Mildred several weeks later saying you were working on this one. This is a pretty rough way to handle one of the members of the Executive Committee. Was anything pulled together?

file
P.A - gen. corresp

AIR MAIL

September 28, 1966

Roosevelt Hotel
Madison Ave. & 45th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please reserve a nice single for the undersigned for Tuesday, October 4, through Friday, October 7.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

AIR MAIL

No sending
file o c
Made in
error

See PA-Gen.

PA - New York Trip - October 4 - 7, 1966

October 4:

4:00 p.m. Taconic Foundation to see Currier (666 Fifth Avenue)
Phone: PL. 7-5920

October 5

12:30 lunch with Vernon Eagle (New World Foundation)
Phone: RI. 9-4171

October 6

9:30 a.m. Twentieth Century Fund meeting
41 East 70th Street
Phone: LE. 5-4441

Check list of foundations you might want to check on while in New York.

You might also want to call David Hunter's Office at 532-0617

Registered at Roosevelt (tentatively)

1728 Moore's Mill Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318
October 10, 1966

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

I quite agree with the thinking in your memo of October 6 and would like to be of any possible assistance. Because of the Council's tax exemption and the requirement of the avoidance of political activity, I don't think I could use my name in any official capacity toward a call. Certainly, however, as an individual I could work with such a group and could make a personal financial contribution to it.

Please keep me informed.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA/km

Personal letter

(8)

J. Paul Anthony
1728 Moores Mill Road N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30318

MEMORANDUM

Telephone: 525-8549

To: Paul Anthony

October 6, 1966

From: E. T. Kehrer
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Subject: Georgia Independent Democratic Caucus

Regardless of the outcome of the November Governor's race, i.e., whether Maddox wins or not, the fact remains that he and his radical right "wool hat" group will control the Georgia Democratic Party machinery for the next four years. Under this "leadership" there will be no place for the moderate Georgian. The resulting vacuum could very well have disastrous results for the Democratic Party and the future of our State.

I would like to suggest the formation of an Independent Democratic Party Caucus to meet this urgent need for a viable structure under which the moderate Georgian, Negro and white, could coalesce.

The chief purposes of this Caucus would be:

1. To provide a district, county, and state delegate organization to reach the rank and file voter, and a communication link up and down the organization and throughout the State.

2. To serve as a program formulating, issue stating, and problem focusing structure for Georgia. This role would be two-fold - pressures on the incumbent administration in an effort to prevent erosion of already existing programs - and development of a framework of program on which to build the next campaign.

To carry out such an important and imperative program it would require that a number of Georgians of stature issue a call for the Caucus and also the commitment of some money for a modest budget.

I would be interested in your reaction to the above proposal.

ETK:sjs
opeiu #21
afl-cio

File PA Memos 1966

File Copy

NOVEMBER 2, 1966

PLEASE MEET WITH MR. ANTHONY AT 2:00 P.M. TODAY IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM IF IT IS AVAILABLE - IF NOT, MEET IN HIS OFFICE, PLEASE:

PAT WATTERS
BOB ANDERSON
EMORY VIA
MARVIN WALL
AL ULMER
MRS. TILLY
ED STANFIELD
MORELAND SMITH
JOHN BOONE
MARGARET LONG

PA/km

file ~~Pers~~ PA Gen. 1966

MJ file
personal file

REMARKS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

Atlanta, Georgia
November 9, 1966

by

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission:

I am grateful for this opportunity to share several thoughts with this Commission as you engage in these important deliberations. These thoughts shall be limited to several major points which we believe to be basic. In presenting them, please realize that our experience is limited to the Southern region, and while we believe they are applicable to the nation, they never-the-less are developed from regional experience only.

(1) The rural areas of this country continue to be important as a total part of the nation. There is a real danger in the trend of national opinion and national policy which subscribes to the idea that rural areas are becoming insignificant in terms of where people live and earn a living. The assumption of the inevitability of larger and larger cities with a deserted countryside is a dangerous one and correct only if we insist on making it so. We should not.

There is, as a matter of fact, every need to slow the migration of persons from rural to urban areas and to plan,

on a longer range basis, to reverse this trend.

(2) The concept that there is no role for the small farm in future agricultural production should be thoroughly re-examined. A number of countries, including several of the most developed nations of Europe, have a stable and profitable rural economy which includes a large number of successful small farms.

In the past months we have seen a significant shift in national policy toward providing, for at least the next decade, food and fiber for millions of people in the underdeveloped nations. Our concept of surplus vs. need has changed drastically. Further, it is anticipated that within the next thirty years there will be an additional hundred million persons in the eastern part of this country to be supplied. In light of the new concept of increased need we must reevaluate the role of the small farmer - engaged in the proper agriculture, using the proper methods in helping to fill this need.

(3) If we are to rebuild the rural areas of the country, we must to a considerably higher degree than at present, approach the problem with regional planning. We cannot isolate the problems of the people of the Mississippi Delta from those of Appalachia, nor from those of the oyster fishermen of South Carolina. Consideration of industrial expansion into rural areas cannot be separated from plans for developing recreational facilities.

(4) In developing rural areas particular attention must be given to the situation of minority groups. These include especially Negroes, Indians, and the Mexican-Americans. An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the paucity of land owned by members of minority groups and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. For instance, in the South, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres; the average for Negroes is 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes for the ownership of land.

Relative to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. This is due in part to USDA policies for the small farmer generally and Negro farmers specifically. Entirely new and imaginative programs need to be developed.

(For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, N. C., has conducted a successful experiment in which they acquired a large plot of land and settled six farm families on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years these families were assisted in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers is purchasing the

land which he works, and, while small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management.

(5) Perhaps the greatest need in the rural areas is that of adequate housing. This may also be one of the simplest problems to meet. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a cost of from three to five thousand dollars per unit.

As with any other area of concern, programs of housing cannot, of course, be approached in a vacuum. It is absurd to provide housing for people without planning at the same time for adequate income. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in overall economic development.

(6) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas. Programs must be encouraged that will assure that industry - of the appropriate nature - goes to the rural areas where people are now. Public funds will be needed to encourage such moves. Likely this should include on a short range basis a subsidy for the industry in recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities.

(The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. There is no magic formula in industrialization. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But, beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.)

(7) Employment opportunities and substantial economic growth can be realized from rural reclamation, the sound development of recreational facilities, and from promotion of arts and crafts. Time does not allow development of these ideas here but it should be noted that a large and affluent population creates a potential here-to-fore unknown in this country.

(8) Finally, our greatest need is to think in terms of developing our human resources. It is in keeping with our national policies to subsidize industry and agriculture and we should be prepared to continue this as we develop programs for rural development. So too, we should develop programs to subsidize people. There are millions of persons living in the rural areas of this country who can be trained and assisted for a decent life where they now live far more easily and far more cheaply than they can be trained, assisted, and subsidized in a foreign urban society where they are neither wanted nor needed.

To encourage ideas of a stable rural society, the small farm, the intact, producing family unit, is not to engage in superficial dreams or to call on sentimental memories of childhood. It is rather to realistically recognize where our people are, where they should be, and how they can most sensibly become a comfortable, producing part of this nation. It is especially to recognize that the stability and wholesomeness of a rural people living productive lives in dignity has been an asset to this society which should not be abandoned casually.

The Southern Regional Council, as a private agency, has a strong interest in this important area. We offer our support and assistance to the Commission.

File
PA Memos
1966

November 28, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: John O. Boone

FROM: Paul Anthony

Will you discuss the information request attached with Glenda and otherwise determine if we can be of any help to this man. Also, I think it might be well if you wrote him and asked what publication plans he has.

See ltr. of 11/15/66 from Prof. Rupert C. Koeninger
to PA
Dept. of Sociology
Tex. Southern Univ
Houston, Tex
passed on to J. Boone

See PA memos 1966

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1966

To: RHAlexander

From: PAnthony

At your convenience, after the first of the year, may I have a record of grants from any new foundations who have given support for the first time since October 1965.

- : -

NEW YORK TRIP
February 7 and 8, 1967

Paul,

Tuesday morning you're to call the following in New York:

David Freeman
Rockefeller Bros. Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
Phone: CI 7-8135

Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
Phone: RI. 9-4171

John Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
Phone: PL. 1-2900

Will be in all. Thurs. first

You have appointments with the following:

Nate Parlmutter and Milton Ellerin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street → (early afternoon - Feb 8)
Phone: PL. 1-4000

Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
Phone: PL. 1-2900 or PL. 1-6450

Deborah Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund
575 Madison Avenue
Phone: PL. 8-0059

in Mail Pouch Central

File PA - Memos 1967

MEMORANDUM February 10, 1967

To: Senior Professional Staff

From: Paul Anthony

On next Thursday and Friday, February 16 and 17, Clifford Campbell of the Ford Foundation will be here to meet us -- and look us over. Please make every effort to be here on at least one, and preferably both, of these days.

PW

J.F.V. — I will be having a meeting in Conference room for about 2-3 hours through lunch on the 16th

MW

VJ will be here

JW

BA

ES

AU

RA

File
P.A. Memos, 1967
Cr. ref - P.A.'s Reply to Memo of Feb. 15 re: Sub-ctee on Rural Poverty

February 20, 1967

MEMORANDUM

To: Vernon Jordan

From: Paul Anthony

In response to your memo of February 15, the following brief comments about the sub-committee study on poverty.

There is clearly a need for the Congress to review the existing anti-poverty programs and to try to see they are coordinated better. In doing so, however, great care must be taken, and certainly this is particularly true of the sub-committee, to see that a review and an evaluation and a consolidation is not, in fact, a subtle means of restricting or eliminating these programs.

It seems to me that study No. 1, "Causes and Characteristics of Poverty" should either be done rather quickly and simply or it should be eliminated. There are literally thousands of pages of studies available on the causes and characteristics of poverty and given the needs and the staff time available I question that a production should be made of this.

Perhps particular attention could be given to:ol) the role and services of present private agencies and how government programs can both call on the experiences of these agencies and their resources and determine how they can be of more assistance to them and 2) to probe more deeply into the truly experimental and innovative programs that have been developed in a few instances. Clearly a substantial war on

poverty is going to take drastic means, experimentation that may be open to failure, and certainly daring must be involved. To date all of the anti-poverty programs have tended to shy away from gambling and innovation and the daring and Congresslike took a rule service to encourage administrators and bureaucrats to be a little more free and imaginative in this area.

Study No. 10 "The Roles and Responsibilities of Federal, State and Local Governments" might, if particular attention to how local and particularly state government can be stimulated to do more of quality work.

Under Study No. 12 "Manpower Resources for the War on Poverty" particular attention might very well be given to the administrative cost and salaries paid for this particular segment of the bureacracy. Again care should be made to see that this is not an attack but on the surface it would seem that there is a great deal of waste involved here.

File
Re - Gen Correspondence

June 16, 1967

Mr. M. L. Walter
Hotel Paris
New York, New York 10025

Dear Mr. Walter:

Please send me information regarding the rates and accommodations at the Hotel Paris as advertised in the Saturday Review.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file
PA. - gen.

New York Appointments (Paul Anthony)
October 12 - 13, 1967

Oct 11 - Chattanooga, Tenn to Speak to Community Services Club (Spon. by Family + Children's Services Mr. Galbraith)

OCTOBER 12:

11:30

3:00 P.M.	David F. Freeman Rockefeller Brothers Fund 30 Rockefeller Plaza Phone: CI. 7-8135
3	
4:00 P.M.	Charles Jones New York Foundation 4 West 58th Street Phone: 752-8440

OCTOBER 13:

9:30 A.M.	Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy Mr. John Simon Taconic Foundation 666 Fifth Avenue Phone: PL. 7-5920 or PL. 7-6579
~~11:00 A.M.~~	~~Vernon A. Eagle~~ ~~New World Foundation~~ ~~475 Riverside Drive~~ ~~Phone: RI. 9-4171~~
LUNCH	Leslie W. Dunbar Field Foundation 250 Park Avenue Phone: YU. 6-6688

MISCELLANEOUS

Call Deborah Cole at home - Phone: PL. 3-8465
("Richard")

Call Fred Routh in Washington Friday, 13th - 387-7050
ac: 202

Joe
Pa

January 31, 1968

The Roosevelt Hotel
Madison Avenue & 45th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Would you please reserve a single room in the name of Mr. Paul Anthony for the nights of February 6, 7 and 8. Please mark for late arrival. Mr. Anthony will probably not get to the hotel until just before midnight. on the 6th.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

P. S. -- Confirmation by return mail would be most appreciated.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM ®

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

342P EST FEB 2 68 AC188

SSG290 A NA092 COLLECT FAX NEW YORK NY 2 308P EST

PAUL ANTHONY, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

DUE TO CAPACITY BOOKING UNABLE TO ACCOMMODATE FEBRUARY 6TH

HOTEL ROOSEVELT

(18).

Mu. 6-9200

Free for gen.

Summit Rate

Canceled 2/5/68 Drake

Feb. 6 $25.00

SF1201(R2-65)

file
pa - general

February 7, 1968

Reservation Clerk
Roosevelt Hotel
Madison Avenue & 45th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Sir:

Please reserve single rooms for the two persons listed below as indicated:

Mr. Moreland G. Smith:

3 nights - February 12, 13, 14 (late arrival)

Mr. Paul Anthony

2 nights - February 13 - 14.(late arrival).

Please wire collect if requested space is not available.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

See pa - general

February 20, 1968

Dr. William E. Riemer
9130 S. W. 100 Street
Miami, Florida 33156

Dear Bill:

Caution and planning are requiring that I not lose my head in responding to your communication of December 22nd.

At times I am very tempted to try and find some "race relations" to do in South Florida, but then I have a return to sanity and back off from it.

More seriously, I do hope to be in Miami in the spring. I shall certainly not come without attempting to visit you and Florence and the boys. In the meantime, my best to you all, especially to George.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Mildred Johnson

May 28, 1968

Paul,

Chris Edley's secretary called today to confirm an 11:00 a.m. appointment for you with Edley on Wednesday morning, June 5. If you preferx to see him at 2:00 p.m. you can let h&&& him know. I thought you'd prefer to see him in the a.m. and build your other appointments around that one.

Sam Winn

file pa - general

JUNE 5

Call the following for appointments:

1. James C. Brewer
   Foundation for Voluntary Service
   1 Mitchell Place
   First Avenue at 49th Street

   PHONE: 758-1670

2. Eli Evans 10 PM 10 A.M. Barbara Zeinsky
   Carnegie Corporation of NY
   437 Madison Avenue

   PHONE: 753-3100

3. Robert Scrivner
   Rockefeller Brothers Fund
   30 Rockefeller Plaza

   PHONE: CI. 7-8135

4. Mike Sviridoff
   Ford Foundation
   320 E. 43rd Street

   PHONE: 573-5000

Mildred - 573-5076
BEA - 56 7-7th - LW 4-0350

NOTE: You will be awaiting word from Chris Edley to determine definite appointments. However, Chris's telephone number in case you don't hear from him is 573-5064

MISCELLANEOUS TELEPHONE NUMBERS YOU MIGHT WANT TO CALL:

1. New World
   100 East 85th Street
   Phone: 249-1023

2. Field Foundation
   Phone: ~~986-6688~~
   535-9915

3. New York Foundation
   (Tom Wahman)
   752-8440

MEMORANDUM September 11, 1968

To: Pat Watters
Glenda Bartley
Bob Anderson
Emory Via
James Wood
John Lewis
John Boone
Moreland Smith
Vernon E. Jordan
From: Paul Anthony

While items have appeared periodically in the reading file, I am remiss at not having informed you of the Executive Committee meeting which is to be held this Saturday, September 14th.

There is nothing on the agenda of any great consequence and nothing in a specific subject area that would make it essential for any particular member of the professional staff to be present. I, nevertheless, hope that you can attend, unless you have other commitments.

- 0 -

Called 10-22-68

- RESURGENS -

Our next meeting is scheduled for Monday the 28th at 12:15 at Paschals. The menu will be roast beef this time -- I'm committed to no more chicken. The luncheon cost of $3.25 is payable at the door. I urge you to advise Mrs. Sterling Laney (688-5838) by Friday, October 25th if you will be in attendance; it really is difficult to commit to the proper number of meals without your help.

Dues of $15.00 are now payable to Mr. Ernest Dixon, our new Treasurer. Ernest's address is Citizens & Southern National Bank, Marietta at Broad, Atlanta 30303 -- you may pay either in cash or by check made payable to Resurgens Atlanta.

We are forming two new committees and intend to ask the following people to serve on them:

Membership Committee -

Dr. Benjamin Mays (Chrm.)
Vernon Jordan
Arthur Harris
David Coker

Program Committee -

Dan Hodgson
Leon Allain

I hope that we will have called the involved people and asked their cooperation prior to the time that they receive this notification. Cecil is sending the Membership Committee names which have previously been suggested for new members, and I would encourage all of you to also send suggested members' names to the Membership Committee.

I urge you to bring guests to our next meeting as we are anxious to begin building our membership and guests are always more than welcome. Our speaker has not been determined but will be

arranged shortly. I can promise you he will be interesting.

I look forward to seeing you on the 28th.

Dave

David Houser
Secretary

1728 Moores Mill Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318
December 9, 1968

Letter to the Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

On Saturday, December 7, 1968, the Constitution carried an editorial which included serious allegations against the Solicitor-General's office. Quite obviously, there are some serious problems in our community which need further examination and public comment. However, I think at this point it might be helpful to call to the attention of the public the following excerpt from the Presentments of the September-October Grand Jury on which I was priviledged to serve as secretary:

> "...The office of the Solicitor General is an extremely important and sensitive one in our community. We are fortunate to have Solicitor General Lewis R. Slaton who is both dedicated and unusually competent. We believe these commendations are all the more appropriate because of the excessive workload which these public officials and employees must bear."

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Check your name if you wish reservations.

SRC ROUTING SLIP

	EXT.
Anderson, R. E.	24
Anthony, Paul	26
Bartley, Glenda	20
Boone, John	0
~~Cook~~ Eighorn, Reese	
Cook, Bernice	25
Eddy, Priscilla - yes	34
Hinton, Jesse	25
Howard, Ruth	8
Jackson, Barnetta	7
Johnson, Mildred	36
Knox, Luesta	22
Lewis, John	35
Manderson, Marge	8
Meekins, Joyce	20
Martin, Kathy	5
Morgan, Susan	33
Morrison, Bernice	21
Pritchard, Warren	7
Reed, Doris	33
Shortt, Janet	31
Smith, Janet	9
Smith, Moreland yes	27
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.	29
Varner, Mozelle	38
Vick, Ruth House	34
Via, Emory F.	30
Watters, Pat	32
Wood, James N. Jr.	6

VEP - 4th Floor	522-7495
Channin, Margaret	
Jordan, Vernon	
Morgan, Nobbie	
Olive, Thad	
Rougeau, Weldon	
Wall, Marvin	
Wells, Janet	
~~Wilson, Jane P.~~	
Morris, John	

SADLY, WE HAVE A COMMITMENT PURSUANT TO QUEST FOR STAFF.

MEMORANDUM February 28, 1969

To: The Staff

From: MMJohnson

For your information Paul Anthony will be the HUNGRY CLUB speaker on Wednesday, March 5. Anyone interested in going and would like reservations made for them, I shall be happy to make them for you.

Every Wed
Lucita Knox
Susan
Bernice

April 15, 1969

Dr. Jerome Davis
Friends House
Sandy Spring, Maryland 20860

Dear Dr. Davis:

I gather through Dr. Ernest Patterson of Davidson College that there is still space available for your Eastern Europe trip, July 17 through August 7. If so, I should very much like to join you.

At your convenience please inform me of what deposit is necessary for this reservation.

There is one slight problem on which I would appreciate your advice. For several reasons, if I am to be in Europe this summer it would be highly desirable to spend several days in London. Keeping in mind the 21-day excursion, would it be possible for me to spend only one day in Prague and proceed from there to London and New York? I understand,

of course, that such an arrangement would not reduce the tour fee.

I very much look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE
INCORPORATED

A Non-Profit — Non-Political — Religious and Educational Organization

Participating Organization in the Council of Organizations of the United Nations Association of the United States

Mailing Address: P. O. BOX 103, WOODMONT, CONNECTICUT 06460 — TEL. (203) 878-4769

112 BEACH AVENUE, WOODMONT, CONNECTICUT

EASTERN EUROPE PEACE SEMINAR - JULY 17 - AUGUST 7, 1969

Under the Leadership of Dr. Jerome Davis

The program we are arranging will afford opportunities to hear and talk with high officials, peace leaders and the common people. In Russia we shall go into homes in city, town and village. Previous seminars under Dr. Davis's leadership have been received by Kruschev, Tito and other great figures. Such meetings cannot be announced in advance.

Dr. Davis first went to Russia 53 years ago under the Czarist regime. He was the first YMCA secretary to work with Russian soldiers. Since then Dr. Davis has made more than 25 trips to Russia, often visiting Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

July 17	New York	8:15 PM Pan Am Flt. #44.
July 18	SWEDEN	10:35 AM ar. Stockholm. A full day to see something of the city and meet with Peace Leaders. 9:00 PM sail on the motor ship "Kalinin"
July 19	At sea	
July 20-29	SOVIET UNION	Leningrad (2 days); drive to Novgorod (1 day); drive on to Kalinin & Moscow (1 day), visiting farms and homes on the way; Moscow (5 days). In Moscow meetings with Government Leaders and authorities on Russian affairs.
July 29-31	RUMANIA	2½ days & 3 nights in and around Bucharest.
Aug. 1-2	YUGOSLAVIA	2 days and 3 nights in Belgrade.
Aug. 3-7	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	4 days and nights in Prague & environs.
Aug. 7	Prague	2:15 PM Pan Am Flt. #109.
	New York	7:40 PM arrival Kennedy Airport.

The inclusive tour fee of $1,040. provides: round trip by air, economy class; tourist class on the Baltic; private motor coach Leningrad/Moscow; twin-bed room with bath in first class hotels (singles $115.00 extra); all meals; comprehensive sightseeing & program; transfers; taxes and service charges in hotels and restaurants.

Membership limited to about 35. For particulars get in touch with:

Dr. Jerome Davis
Friends House
Sandy Spring, Maryland 20860
Tel: (301) 774-4313

924-3609

Dr. Ernest Patterson - Davidson College

April 21, 1969

Dr. Jerome Davis
Friends House
Sandy Spring, Maryland 20860

Dear Dr. Davis:

Since writing you, having decided to join your group if space was available, a situation has arisen with my mother that is going to require heavy, unexpected financial commitments. Therefore, very reluctantly, I must decline the opportunity to join you.

I cannot tell you how much I looked forward to this trip, and how disappointed I am in these events.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE
INCORPORATED

A Non-Profit — Non-Political — Religious and Educational Organization

Participating Organization in the Council of Organizations of the United Nations Association of the United States

Mailing Address:
Mr. & Mrs. Jerome Davis
Friends House
Sandy Spring, Maryland 20860

~~CONNECTICUT 06460~~ — TEL. (203) 878-4769
~~WOODMONT, CONNECTICUT~~

Executive Director
REV. ROY W. PFAFF
P. O. BOX 103
WOODMONT, CONN. 06460

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Sandy Spring, Md. 20860
Tel. (301) 774-4313

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Dr. Arthur O. Rinden
Dr. Clifford L. Samuelson
Dr. Carl Soule
Edward J. Sparling
Dr. Calvin Sutherlin
Dr. Arthur L. Swift, Jr.
Rev. George Teague
Rev. Walter E. Ulrich
Rev. Wallace T. Viets
Dr. Goodwin Watson
Louis Zemel

FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES
England — Gerald Bailey
France — Rev. Henry Roser
Japan — Hachiro Yuasa
India — K. K. Chandy

April 17th

Dear Mr. Anthony,

There is no one I would like to have more on the Seminar than you.

It would be extremely difficult for you to go to London and back to New York unless you paid our regular fare and then paid all the rest yourself. You see we get a group fare and our round trip fare on the plane is less than you would pay for one way.

I would advise you to go all the way with us and skip London. You could phone long distance to London from one of our stops but dont leave our group.

You ask about your down payment . Send me $200 made out to Promoting Enduring Peace and $500 made out to Club Tours if you can. Send them both to me by air mail.

We will be making studies of the racial eqality in all the countries we visit and it will be wonderful to have you with us.

Warm regards and do join our Seminar . We have a great group of professors and Ministers going. Just the contact with all 45 of our group will be a great experience.

Cordially,

Jerome Davis

Jerome Davis, D. D.,LL.D., Litt. D.

May 22, 1969

Mr. K. N. Stowe
District Sales Manager
District Sales Office
1422 W. Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Stowe:

Some time ago I accepted the invitation issued by Eastern Air Lines for new special tickets that, presumably, would make travel more convenient. Would you mind following up on this request to determine whether or not I can anticipate a response to this?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

EASTERN AIR LINES INCORPORATED / 10 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA / NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10020 / 212-986-4500

EASTERN

District Sales Office
1422 W. Peachtree St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30309

April 25, 1969

Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N. W. Rm 201
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

Join the Smiling Faces Going Places on Eastern Airlines. Let us show you how we're making business travel easier every day.

For instance we've made Eastern's schedule from Atlanta more convenient through these changes:

Another non-stop is added to our exclusive service to HARTFORD. The new flight leaves at 10:20 AM providing an alternative to our evening non-stop at 7:15 PM.

TA I need a ticket to — if you get to europe

A new daily direct flight to MEXICO CITY. It departs at 11:25 AM and arrives in Mexico at 1:33 PM.

Eastern I all first class service which we started in February has proved so popular with executives that we've added Eastern I non-stop service to TAMPA and ST. LOUIS from Atlanta.

That's just a sample of the many improvements in Eastern's new schedule throughout our entire system. Ask your travel agent about them the next time you plan a trip. Or call us at 435-1111 anytime, day or night. A voice with a smile will say hello.

Cordially,

K. N. Stowe

K. N. Stowe
District Sales Manager

P.S. Making vacation plans? Let the enclosed folder start you off.

Everyone in S.R.C.
Bon Voyage Party
for Paul

DATE Thursday - May 29, 1969

TIME 8:00 P.M.

PLACE 361 Chelsea Circle N.E.

GIVEN BY John & Hillian Lewis

Phone: 377-8838

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Inst., Ala. 36088
June 1, 1969

Dear Paul,

Thank you for accepting the invitation to speak at the Commencement Exercises of the Tuskegee Public School, and for sending me a copy of your message. I am sorry that I was not able to be present. As president of the Paine College National Alumni Association, and secretary of the Board of Trustees of the College, I had to be in Augusta, Georgia May 23-26.

I hope that you will have a safe and profitable trip abroad.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

June 6, 1969

Dr. Edward A. McDowell
270 "D" Peachtree Hills Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

Dear Dr. McDowell:

I am acknowledging your letter of May 28th to Mr. Anthony. In his absence from the country I would like to express, in his behalf, appreciation for your kind words about his Tuskegee High School Commencement Address. I'm sure he will be pleased that you were thoughtful enough to write about it.

I watched the Reverend Thomas Holmes on the "Atlanta Now" show the other night, and was overwhelmingly impressed by his integrity and sincerity. I have decided to buy his Ashes for Breakfast from having heard his presentation on that show.

The present pastor of Tattnall Square Church requested equal time on the show; the time was granted, but he declined because of "other pressing business." However, the moderator stated that whenever the pastor decides, or finds the time, he will be invited to appear on the show. It

was obvious that the gentleman plans to try to discredit Mr. Holmes.

In connection with the book itself, I'm sure Mr. Anthony will do what he can to help promote it.

Again, thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Edward A. McDowell
270 D Peachtree Hills Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30305

May 28, 1969.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I am grateful for a copy of your commencement address to the Tuskegee High School. It was an excellent address and appropriate in its approach. It was an honor that you were asked to give it.

You doubtless saw the review of Tom Holmes' book "Ashes for Breakfast" in Sunday's Journal - Constitution. He was the minister, you know, who was fired from Tattnall Square Church in Macon because of his stand on the race question. The book is the story of his experience. I hope you will read it and have occasion to recommend it. Our Baptist Book Store here gave an autograph party to introduce the book last Monday and ran an add in the paper. The present pastor of Tattnall Square, a racist and segregationist, called up the manager of Book Store, Bob Mendenhall, balled him out and implied he might be sued. Bob was somewhat

(over)

worried. I have tried to reassure him and am calling some of our pastors who "think right": Bill Self at Wienca Road, John Nichol at Oakhurst in Decatur (an integrated church), Bill Lancaster First Church Decatur, and Charles Granger, Muckhead Baptist, and Bill Geren at Dogwood Hills, asking them to support Mendenhall and the Book Store in handling the book (Judson Press).

We are making progress in our denomination, in Atlanta. Bill Geren, by the way, is currently President of the Atlanta Christian Council.

Again, thank you for a copy of the Press. Well do I remember a visit I made to Tuskegee many years ago when the old Commission on the Interracial Commission met there. I stopped in Booker T. Washington's old home and met and talked with George Washington Carver.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Edward A. McDowell

June 25, 1969

Dr. Herman Long
President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Herman:

Belatedly, may I thank you sincerely for your thoughtful letter. It means a great deal to me.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MONY

The **MUTUAL** Life Insurance Company **OF NEW YORK**

1655 Peachtree Street, North East, Atlanta, Georgia 30309
875-9155

DARREL M. WILKINS
Registered Representative

11-25-69

Mr. J. Paul Anthony, Jr.
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Just a note to remind you that your insurance age-change is upon you. You have mentioned the possibility you might increase your personal insurance. If this is still in the back of your mind, it will be more reasonable to do so in the next few days than thereafter.

Cordially,

Darrel

Darrel M. Wilkins

P. A. [1970??]

Good talk, why don't you consider taking it out of the "speech" context and make a short article for New South, based of course, on the text.

B. A.

To talk about "Where are we and where are we going in this new decade?" is to be fool enough to attempt to be a prophet; and in the area of social action and social concern in the winter of 1970, in the United States of America, any idiot who would stand on his feet and speak to thoughtful people about where we are going in the '70's is getting dangerously close to being just that -- an idiot. Nevertheless I am going to play that role of idiocy.

It is quite obvious that we have a society in great flux, great transition. It speaks to the obvious to say that we are going to have change -- rapid, drastic, substantial change. There is no question about it. It is very unlikely that our society, our civilization, and our nation, in 1980 will be anything remotely like what our society is in 1970. And perhaps it also speaks to the obvious, but I venture this prediction with a conviction that I would stake my life on: During the '70's in the United States of America, this nation is <u>either</u> going to be a true democracy, representing all of its potential, using well and humanely all of its wealth, creating a society in which all of its people equally share in its decisions and its benefits; <u>or</u> it is going to be an absolute dictatorship, controlled by a very few and enslaving a great many. I am confident that those are the only two alternatives that our country faces.

I am going to end later, I trust, on a rather optimistic note; but I think all of us should pause for a moment of sobriety with the recognition that every great civilization that has ever existed in the past has faded. Great and strong nations have become dust.

So the Lord has not ordained that we shall automatically survive as a people or a nation. I should like to remind you, too, that good and strong societies have in the past converted radically to dictatorships that were heavily oppressive; so that, too, the Lord has not pre-ordained that we can avoid this same danger, and we must be conscious of that.

I believe the '70's will be divided into two periods; and even I, looking in this crystal ball that I foolishly use for the moment, do not know how many years are involved in each. The next several years in American society, for those of us who share our concerns, are going to be very bad. It is going to be a period of retrogression, not progression. The present Administration has to a degree that is almost beyond comprehension shown a callousness for the human conditions of this country, a disregard for the concepts of this country, and perhaps most frightening of all, has elevated as the standard of administration, be it in the Cabinet, or the Supreme Court, or indeed the White House itself, the honor of incompetency. It is perhaps the most single mark of this Administration that deliberate incompetency is theoretically playing to a Southern strategy and speaking for the silent majority. If I hear that term "silent majority" much more, I am going to retch.

How "silent" has this majority been? Let's go back and read all of our newspaper editorials. Let's see who's been doing all the talking. Let's go to my region and see what all the white folks have been saying when black folks try to get a little decency. Has that been the <u>silent</u> majority? And what have we created in this

country when our leadership... (This country desperately needs leadership, and will not survive without it. If we survive, we will create a leader to lead us out of it, and I will follow him with dedication.) But, we have created a leadership that has made a mockery of everything that is great in this country, and every potential that stands in the balance in this country.

My region, my concern, my agency's concern, is primarily black-white relations. We have had a glorious 15 years. We've won victories. We had a pure period. You remember Martin Luther King? You remember "redemptive love" that Martin King talked about? You remember the beauty of the kids sitting at a dime store lunch counter? They won every day. And all the time that the future Watts' were building up in every non-Southern ghetto all over the country, the high school drop-out in Birmingham, Alabama, whose counterpart in Harlem couldn't identify with the fact that Ralph Bunche was down at the U.N. or Lena Horne was singing at the Waldorf Astoria -- that kid in Birmingham could identify with the fact that Martin King just ate dinner for the first time in the Dinkler-Tutwiler. We had a pure period and a beautiful period, and a period of redemptive love. In the rest of the country this anger, this bitterness, this disillusion was building up. It first became symbolized by Watts, and God knows what its last symbol will be.

Now we will go into a period again, in my region and the nation, of resegregation. We will do it because more and more whites want it; we will do it because of a cynical, prejudiced, pathological

leadership on the national level; and we will do it because blacks will join forces with their worst enemies. They, too, out of no choice, will look inward. To whites, "quality education" means "We suddenly gotta look at the quality of the schools now that the blacks are messin' with 'em." To blacks now, "quality education" means "We aint got no chance, baby, with those white neighborhoods, now let's just forget it. We tried for 15 years to integrate. Now our only choice is to train our children better ourselves in our all-black schools." There is more segregation socially among those whom I associate with in Atlanta, Georgia, now than there was 10 years ago. It is merely a light reflection of the resegregation we shall see in our society.

Okay, where do we go? The voice of doom and gloom. These things, I think, create a national crisis: our anger, our leadership, and all of the insidious forces -- whether or not they set off bombs, and whites, blacks, reds, greens, yellows, and blues are setting off bombs, and browns,too, I guess. I think this country is going to survive. I could give you a number of reasons. I'll give you several.

I think it is going to survive, first of all, because there are persons, like you, who will come from all over the country -- you've got your own thing to do, you've got your own interests -- and yet you'll come to a group like this and in the midst of all of this terribly discouraging time, give your time to this kind of an effort.

I think it is going to survive because, God bless us, we have created a new generation -- who couldn't care less what you or I think, or Spiro either. They just aren't going to play by that game. And I honestly don't know how it happened, but I think this country, in the midst of war and crime and cynicism, and any number of other disgusting things, has created a generation of young people (who turn me off as much as I turn them off, incidentally. Don't misunderstand me: you see my coat and tie!); we have created a generation of young people whose first values in life are love and honor and sharing. And these kids just aren't gonna play our game. And we are going to be in the terribly uncomfortable position -- you talk about Uncle Tom's, man, they're gonna be so paternalistic to us: now, the more we prove our credentials, the more they're going to say, "Well, we appreciate it, you know; now just sit over there on the park bench, and after we finish we'll let you in the rest home." But it's good. It's a strength. And it may not pass Congress this year, or may not become a law this year, but the time is inevitable, soon, that the voting laws will be changed and 18 year olds register and vote. I am 42 years old, and the typical 18 year old of today has been exposed to far more than I was at 30. This is going to be a phenomenal change in American society.

I think also, and this is a good thing, the American society is great to respond to self interest. We always manage, when the chips are really down, to come to our own self interest. I don't care what political party you are, or what other persuasion you are, or anything else, there is a great self interest in this

country facing up to its own problems. The most recent example of that would perhaps be Mr. Nixon's proposal for a guaranteed annual wage, in effect. Pathetically inadequate, but revolutionary in the sense of a foot in the door; and once you get a foot in the door, the door is open. And it is very interesting that this Administration would make that proposal.

Now, for those of us who are interested in our own groups, with our own groups, with this agency, and simply as individuals and citizens, I think our battle ground for the early '70's is economics. I half-way go with Mr. Agnew and Mr. Moynihan in the idea that there has been enough rhetoric. We can't talk as loud as Spiro Agnew can, so we really ought not to bother about getting in that bag. What we really need now -- red, brown, black, and white -- everything represented in this room, and everything that we hope to represent -- we need now economic security, we need health care, we need our children fed; and frankly (Please don't misunderstand me - Lord knows I'm not a separatist!), I will accept two societies in Mississippi, one black and one white, for the decade of the '70's, <u>in exchange</u> for every individual - black and white, red and brown - in Mississippi having a decent income, children being properly fed, people being properly housed; and we can wait till the '80's, as tragic as that will be, if they have to, to get together. We who would like to have an influence as <u>activists</u>, a word very deliberately used, this year, next year, perhaps one or more years after that, I am confident, have to concentrate on economic issues, argue

this out in the forums, and obtain results on the basis of economic issues and, frankly, forget the moral issues, as much as they mean to you and me.

Now finally, one more reason why I think we will survive. I own an antique shop which is losing lots of money in Mr. Nixon's recession; but, for all of that, I'd go back to my antique shop tomorrow and do nothing else, if I didn't believe my next statement:

I think we shall survive and create a good society in the '70's because, by the miracle of life itself, we have been created in the image of God; and by the tenacity that is us human beings, we will survive.

file
pa - general

REMINDER FOR PA ON NEXT TRIP TO NEW YORK

Try to get ~~aaa~~ an appointment with

MRS. MARTHA WALLACE
THE ~~LUCE&FOUNDATION~~ HENRY LUCE FOUNDATION
111 West 50th Street
New York, New York

also:

Mr. James Brewer
Foundation for Voluntary Service
1 Mitchell Place
(First Avenue at 49th Street)
New York, New York (212 - 758-1670)

~~why don't you~~

Gene Smith
41 W 72nd
362-4390

King of the Sea
3rd Ave near 53rd

THE CENTURY CLUB

OF THE FULTON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PARTY

File PA-gen

TO CENTURY CLUB MEMBERS:

We thank you for joining The Century Club of the Fulton County Democratic Party. The Century Club now has 120 members and $10,785.00 has been received on membership subscriptions.

A total of $3,359.61 has been paid to the Democratic Party of Fulton County to sustain the operation of that office, leaving a balance of $7,425.39 on deposit and $1,215.00 in unpaid subscriptions. The contributions of The Century Club have enabled the Fulton County Democratic Party to maintain a full-time well-staffed office here.

For your information a list of the current membership of The Century Club is enclosed. While this is not a confidential list in any respect, we ask that it not be circulated for any fund raising activities. Please take a moment of your time and look over this list. If you have any names you wish to recommend as members, we would like to have these.

Miss Sharon West is executive secretary of the Fulton County Democratic Party, and is assisted by Mrs. Edith Gilbert. Please feel free to write or call the headquarters at 972 Peachtree Street, N.E., Phone 875-9936, at any time for information. In the event you wish to offer a suggestion or request information through The Century Club, please call or write Marvin Shoob, Treasurer of the party, 1112 Fulton National Bank Building, Phone 524-7764.

Yours very truly,

The Century Club

Marvin H. Shoob

Marvin Shoob

Encl: (1) List

Mr. George D. Adams, Jr.	532 St. John Avenue, S.W.	Atlanta
Mrs. L. R. Aiken	239 West Lake Avenue, N. W.	Atlanta
Hon Ivan Allen, Jr.	City Hall	Atlanta
Mr. Paul Anthony	1728 Moores Mill Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Ellis Arnall	Fulton Federal Building	Atlanta
Mr. Cook Barwick	615 Rhodes-Haverty Building	Atlanta
Dr. Roy Bell	806 Hunter Street, S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Braxton Blalock, Jr.	225 Forsyth Street, S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Ed Branan	Trust Company of Georgia	Atlanta
Mr. Charles M. Brown	P. O. Box 30	Atlanta
Mr. J. W. Bullock	3391 Old Jonesboro Road	Hapeville
Dr. Robert L. Bunnen	3910 Randall Mill Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Dr. Winston Burdine	811 Juniper Street, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Thomas H. Carey	3421 Northside Drive	Hapeville
Mr. Charlie Carnes	1131 Custer Avenue, S. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Goodwyn Cates	Cates Realty, 3234 Roswell Road	Atlanta
Mr. Dave Center	Oxford Chemical Corp., Box 18881	Atlanta
Mr. Arthur Cheves	1378 Greenland Drive, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Robert Clark, Jr.	4177 Wieuca Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Curtis Clarke	4560 Bakers Ferry Road, S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Alexander Cocalis	353 Peachtree Battle Ave., N.W.	Atlanta
Mr. Clayton Cossee	Carnegie Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. I. T. Cohen	1320 First Ntl. Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Ovid Davis	P. O. Drawer 1734	Atlanta
Mr. H. L. DeFoor	Candler Building	Atlanta
Mr. Carling Dinkler	Dinkler Motor Hotel	Atlanta
Mr. R. E. Dorough	3166 Maple Drive, Suite 207	Atlanta
Mr. Sam Adams Dorsey	1801 Peachtree Street, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Hamilton Douglas, Jr.	2434 Bank of Ga. Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Jesse Draper	Standard Federal Savings Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Edward L. Elson	Airport News Corp., Atl. Airport	Atlanta
Hon. Jack Etheridge	1026 Fulton Federal Bldg.	Atlanta
Mrs. Murdock Equen	2505 Habersham Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. W. Falk, III	3565 Rembrandt Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Robert M. Faulk	671 West Paces Ferry Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Jule W. Felton, Jr.	6th Floor, 1st Ntl. Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. R. E. Fendler	1331 Healey Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. DeJongh Franklin	Standard Federal Savings Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. William H. Frey	Puritan Chemical Company 916 Ashby Street, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. William D. Gaines	15 Peachtree Building	Atlanta
Mr. Dave Gambrell	Bank of Georgia Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Smythe Gambrell	825 C & S Ntl. Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. J. C. Garner	110 Central Avenue, S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. William Gibson	1220 First Ntl. Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. C. E. Gill	40 Pryor Street, S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Jack F. Glenn	8 Cherokee Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Elliott Goldstein	C & S National Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Marvin C. Goldstein	Americana Motor Motel	Atlanta
Mr. W. King Grant	Suite 227, 919 W. Peachtree St., N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Holcombe Green	34 Tenth Street, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. John Greer	1559 Taylor Avenue	East Point
Mr. T. Ralph Grimes	2923 Mockingbird Lane, S. W.	Atlanta

Mr. Granger Hansell	First National Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks	364 Auburn Avenue, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Maurice Hilliard, Jr.	315 Standard Federal	Atlanta
Mr. Louis Hertz	26 Third Street, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Arthur Howell	Haas-Howell Building	Atlanta
Mr. Wm. B. Hartsfield	501 Std. Fed. Savings Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Frank W. Hulse	Southern Airways, Inc 1003 Va. Avenue	Hapeville
Mr. Ben Hyman	715 W. Peachtree St., N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Weldon Henderson	647 North Avenue	Hapeville
Mr. H. W. Ivey	3384 Peachtree Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Hon. Leroy Johnson	960 Hunter Street, S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Edwin Johnston	104 Trinity Ave., S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Jones	Fulton National Bank	Atlanta
Mr. Irving Kaler	1820 Fulton National Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Harry Kuniansky	1401 Dalon Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Joe Katz	3460 Tuxedo Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Mills B. Lane	C & S Ntl. Bank, P. O. Box 4899	Atlanta
Mr. John P. Latimer	276 Colewood Way, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Frank R. Lea	535 Central Avenue	Hapeville
Mr. Irving B. Levenson	695 East Wesley Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Archie Lindsay	Rt. 4	Alpharetta
Mr. Albert Love	65 Valley Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Hamilton Lokey	1024 C & S Bank Building	Atlanta
Mrs. Mason I. Lowance	877 W. Wesley Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. William M. Lowenstein	1010 Crescent Ave., N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. R. L. Marchman, III	6th Floor, 1st Ntl. Bank Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Charles T. Martin	545 Shannon Drive, S. W.	Atlanta
Dr. Alfred Messer	1365 Clifton Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Wade M. Miles, Jr.	626 Poole Creek Road	Hapeville
Mr. A. W. Milton	3626 Tuxedo Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. William A. Mitchell	524 Argonne Drive, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Stephens Mitchell	Rm. 615, 50 Whitehall St., S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Kirk McAlpin	400 Peachtree Battle Ave., N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Harold McCart	1112 Peachtree Street, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. W. C. McCoy	94 Silverwood Rd., N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Ralph McGill	Atlanta Constitution	Atlanta
Mr. Pope McIntire	434 Trust Co. of Ga. Bldg.	Atlanta
Mrs. R. L. MacDougall	4141 Club Drive, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Barnard Ochs	1819 Peachtree Rd., N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Dan Paradies	730 McMillan Street, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. William A. Parker, Jr.	Beck & Gregg Hardware Co. P. O. Box 1740	Atlanta
Mr. Hugh Pierce	2223 Polar Rock Ave., S. W.	Atlanta
Mr. J. C. Powell	539 Wimbleton Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Rex Reeves	304 Candler Building	Atlanta
Mr. L. W. Robert, Jr.	96 Poplar Street	Atlanta
Mr. Charles T. Robertson	1553 Johnson Road, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Joe Salem	First Federal Savings Bldg.	Atlanta
Mrs. Frances G. Satterfield	2900 Nancy Creek Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. William B. Schwartz, Jr.	1180 Peachtree, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. I. M. Sheffield, Jr.	3651 Tuxedo Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Jesse Shelton	96 Poplar Street	Atlanta
Mr. Marvin H. Shoob	1112 Fulton Ntl. Bank Bldg.	Atlanta

Mr. Seymour Siegel	The Riviera 1630 Peachtree, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Robert Sommerville	125 Pine Street, N. E.	Atlanta
Mr. Jack Summers	167 Trinity Ave., S. W.	Atlanta
Hon. Herman E. Talmadge	Senate Office Building	Washington, D. C.
Mr. Robert Tharpe	728 W. Peachtree St., N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. R. A. Thompson, Jr.	1850 Penelope Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. T. Foley Treadway	1000 Crescent Ave., N. E.	Atlanta
Mrs. Marge Thurman	Bank of Georgia Building	Atlanta
Mr. Jack Turner	1403 William-Oliver Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Alton L. Turner	398 Cochran Drive, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. Alford Wall	Suite 805, Std. Federal Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Wm. C. Wardlaw, Jr.	635 Trust Co. of Ga. Bldg.	Atlanta
Mr. Jess H. Watson	301 Fulton County Court House	Atlanta
Mr. Nat Welch	2112 Castleway Drive, N. E.	Atlanta
Mrs. C. B. Whitaker	2066 Hollywood Road, N. W.	Atlanta
Mr. C. E. Woolman	Delta Air Lines, Inc. Atlanta Airport	Atlanta

file pa-gen

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Proposed Institute for Regional Development

REGARDING

PA draft which he circulated to some members of the Executive Committee in January, 1969

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC - General Correspondence

File - PA - Interoffice Memos

MEMORANDUM September 29, 1965

To: The Staff (Please initial and return to MJ)

From: Paul Anthony

There will be a staff meeting at 10:30 on Friday morning, October 1. Please make every reasonable effort to be free at that time.

KT
gb
BSM
RHA
[illegible]
[illegible]
ACH
PW
MM
LK
BCC
NM
[illegible]
AB

Fwd - Staff: PA Interoffice Memos, 1965

MEMORANDUM October 4, 1965

To: Al Ulmer & Eliza Paschall

From: Paul Anthony

At an early date I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss the role of the Atlanta Council in the various slum area programs around the city, including where the money might come from.

Make folder file in Staff section a Anthony interoffice Memos, 1965

MEMORANDUM October 4, 1965

To: Al Ulmer

From: Paul Anthony

What about doing another memorandum(!) on Nos. 2, 3, 6-a (pre-school and adult programs), 7 & 8. Under what government agencies, with what provisions, would these programs fall? What complications might arise after such contracts were completed?

Should we choose to, as we might generally, how would you get rid of these programs after you demonstrated that they could and should be done?

Paul - a few thoughts on the possiblity of working with the govt.

1. A Peace Corps proposal - SRC or a well-staffed council to contract with the PC to organize and adminsiter seminars and discussion groups following active community work in communities near campuses. These seminars would attempt to link academic discussion (by professors and community people) with Vine City type work. A typical proposal might be for us to take the responsibility for organizing TEN such work-seminars over a year --- recruit students for the program from over Atlanta - work with committees in Vine City -- ~~and hold~~ on Saturday and hold discussions Sunday. The PC has talked with me on something like this and they emphasize that no effort be made at recruiting PCV's. Perhaps a system could be worked out offering college credit.

2. Peace Copps Training Program - Plan and Administer - A plan, perhaps with more academic types involved, similar to the one we thought of for the chicken specialists would be interesting to think about. Wofford and Landrum are talking about this also.

3. Contract to train Vista volunteers -- specializing in community center type organization with the aim of placing the volunteers with local councils on human relations.

4. Contract with Work-Study programs to help and the local councils in or SRC - Ten % of the cost is necessary)

5. Contract with OEO to provide technical assistance to community action programs - for instance working with a group interested in establishing a cooperative or a small business. or simply in getting a CAP going,

6. Poverty program contracts of a South-wide nature -- Explore the possiblility of projects other than CAP's over a south wide area.

   a. Pre-school, Adult education programs that would follow migrant workers

   b. Information Centers - staffed by volunteers (the councils?) spread over the south in poverty areas.

   c. Critical survey of poverty programs in action in the South - for publication

7. Demonstration Grant - to help a group all poor, intiiate their own program - Nobbies' Nursery school idea for example.

8. Summer Camp - SRC to staff and organize a summer camp for the purpose of educational and recreational enrichment(they like that word) of slum children. Each staff member could spend at lesst one week in this mountain haven each year. During the winter we could employ local people to make rockin g chairs or handicrafts.

This area for filling in with more ideas + suggestions:

File - Inter office Memos

Staff

MEMORANDUM

October 4, 1965

To: THE STAFF

From: PAnthony PA

The first responsibility of this office is fund-raising. At its best, which is seldom, this is c omplicated. Therefore, please, under no circumstances, correspond with or communicate with any donor or potential donor without first checking with Mildred or me.

BCC

G.K.B.

BM

KT

B&M

RHA

RH

T. E Jill

MM

LK

Free — See "finances"

November 22, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Ruth Alexander

FROM: Mr. P. Anthony

Please do what ever is necessary to transfer our general operations account to the First National Bank effective December 1.

The labor project "accounting No. 314" will be incorporated into this except for internal accounting purposes. When convenient the old VEP account should also be emerged into this except for accounting. Internal account No. 323 will be kept separately, but not for checking purposes.

Effective December 1, the Ford Foundation Project will be a separate account at Citizens Trust Company.

From these funds please arrange with Mr. Milton for an investment of $80,000 payable March 1 and an additional investment of $135,000 payable July 1.

See - Staff
PA Memos, 1965

MEMORANDUM November 23, 1965

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Re: Our Moving Situation.

Later this week I hope all those concerned can get together to discuss who goes where, etc. In the meantime, I hope you will look at available space, consider needs, etc., etc., and come up with any suggestions you can.

At best, we are going to have a very difficult time, and it is already clear that many people are not going to have the conditions that either they need or deserve. We will simply have to do the best we can under the circumstances.

In the meantime, please do not either mentally or physically take possession of any space or any equipment or furniture. These matters will have to be decided on in relation to everybody's needs.

MEMORANDUM November 23, 1965

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Re: Thanksgiving and other things.

Friday, November 26, as well as Thanksgiving Day will be a holiday for the staff since it is so designated in the Staff Manual.

Next year, this manual will, along with other guidlines, be re-written. They are out-of-date. We must, of necessity, face our new situations with new rules and expectations. In the process, we must try to see that all of our staff are properly compensated. Some are not, at this time. On the basis of experience, we must see that an entirely different situation of requirements and expectations is instituted.

We will make every effort at fair compensation. We are going to make every effort at meeting our commands and responsibilities. In the process, we shall defend the position of the staff of working 7 hours per day, 5 days per week, with 18 days of vacation per year (the hours of which, incidentally, begin at 9:00 a.m., and end at 5:00 p.m., and run normally from Monday through Friday.)

In doing so, we shall expect the staff to work 7 hours per day, 5 days per week, with 18 days of vacation per year. Other than that, the staff is going to work like HELL. If there are those on the staff — as I hope there are not -- who find this an uncomfortable or impossible arrangement, I hope they will accept this memorandum as a 2 month notice of opportunity to seek other employment.

Over the years, we have developed a number of ideas and habits and traditions and customs. They are very understandable. Certainly I can understand them, because I have been very much a party to them. Now, however, as regretable as it is, we must prepare ourselves for, and learn to accept, the inevitability of change.

Pb SPC

December 28, 1965

MEMO TO STAFF:

It is very discouraging to observe how slowly we are getting started at work this morning. How many desks are vacant, etc.?

Via has given me the good advice to not send any more ringing memos out to the staff. This isn't meant to be ringing. It may even be pleading or whining, but I am getting closer and closer to the conclusion that several people are going to have to be fired to make a point. This is a discouraging conclusion to end the year with.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file RC
[illegible]

December 28, 1965

MEMO TO: Pat Watters
Sam Adams
Emory Via
Vernon Jordan
Al Ulmer
Moreland Smith

Would you please try to have for me your one page summary of program by Friday, December 31? If at all possible, we would like to get that into the mail to the Executive Committee on Monday, January 3.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file SPC staff

December 28, 1965

MEMO TO: Pat Watters
Sam Adams
Emory Via
Vernon Jordan
Al Ulmer
Moreland Smith

Would you please try to have for me your one page summary of program by Friday, December 31? If at all possible, we would like to get that into the mail to the Executive Committee on Monday, January 3.

PA

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file SRC stuff

December 29, 1965

MEMO: To Mr. Ed Lewis

Under whatever system you devise, please have the attached added to our mailing list (Inter-Agency). This office should already be on our list, but apparently is not.

Also from time to time I will be sending names in to be held for our new promotion when we get it available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - 1

December 31, 1965

MEMO TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Moreland Smith was on full salary as of November 1, 1965.

Executive Director

PA/km

December 31, 1965

MEMO TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please transfer $6,000 overhead funds from the Ford Project grant to SRC General Operations.

Executive Director

PA/km

SRC staff memos

January 3, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FROM: Paul Anthony

Enclosed are program reports, primarily a statement of what the several department and project heads plan to do during the coming year. At the Executive Committee Meeting on Monday there will be an opportunity to discuss these programs, but we wanted you to have this background information beforehand.

We look forward to seeing you next Monday.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

February 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Lewis

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please note attached letter from Sowell and Harden and return to Mildred for her files.

File
PA memos

March 23, 1966

Same memo to:
M. Smith
Ed Stanfield
Al Almer
Mrs Tilly
E. Reid
V. Jordan
S. Adams
P. Watters
RLA

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Margaret Long

FROM: Paul Anthony

To send to our Executive Committee in early April, may I have a report from you of no more than one page, double spaced, of your work during the period January 1-March 31.

There may be little, if any, opportunity at the Executive Committee Meeting of April 18 for individual staff members to report on their work, but I am anxious that the Committee be brought up-to-date on the work of each of our professional staff and each of the departments.

Please mark April 18 on your calendar and plan to be here for the meeting.

file
PAA - Memos

March 23, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Sam Adams

FROM: Paul Anthony

At your convenience would you please supply me with the following information:

1 - The names of the daily newspapers now being received by SRC and the total number of them.
2 - The number of papers now being read and marked by persons other than the Research staff.
3 - The number and name of the papers being read and marked by Research.
4 - The names of the persons in Research who are responsible for reading and marking these newspapers.
5 - The number of the duties other than reading and marking of the persons referred to above.
6 - An estimate from the persons doing the work of the minutes or hours required for reading and marking each newspaper.
7 - An estimate of the duties and cost of part time personnel in the Research Department.

sec staff

MEMORANDUM March 24, 1966

To: THE STAFF

From: P. ANTHONY

It may or may not be a policy for the future, but Friday, April 8 (Good Friday) is a holiday for all those persons who will have their work caught up by that time, and for those who are at work by 9:00 a.m., and do not leave the office before 5:00 p.m., on Thursday, April 7 (PHENOMENAL THURSDAY.)

MEMORANDUM March 28, 1966

To: ELewis

From: PAnthony

SPC staff

At your earliest convenience please determine the advertising rates for the following publications:

(1) The New York Times Book Review

(2) Progressive

(3) New Republic

(4) The Nation

(5) The Reporter

SRC staff

MEMORANDUM March 28, 1966

To: ELewis

Ed,

Paul would like the following person put on our Interagency List #1:

Mr. Charles T. Steele
Executive Director
Louisville Urban League
209 W. Market Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

thanx, mmj

SNCC staff

MEMORANDUM March 28, 1966

To: BCC

From: MMJ

Bernice,

Please package up and send to Charles Steele

3 copies: Ulmer's "A City Slum..."
1 copy: Smith's "Neighborhood Stabilization"

thanx, mmj

SRC stuff

MEMORANDUM March 28, 1966

To: BCC

From: MMJ

Bernice,

Please package up the following and send to Margaret Fisher at Nat'l. Cttee. Against Discrimination in Housing:

6 copies: Ulmer's "A City Slum..."
4 copies: Smith's "Neighborhood Stabilization"

thanx, mmj

File - Staff
PA - Memos

MEMORANDUM August 31, 1966

To: The Professional Staff
BAnderson
John Boone
VEJordan
MLong
MSmith
EStandfield
Mrs. Tilly
AUlmer
MWall
PWatters

From: Paul Anthony

Jane Hinchcliffe and John Ehle of the Ford Foundation will be here on Wednesday, September 7. George Esser and members of his staff from the North Carolina Fund will arrive Thursday evening and be in the office Friday, September 9. I hope all of you can arrange your schedules to be available to meet and talke with these people.

PA file memo

October 19, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

I know the publications room continues to be a mess and a headache. I received every assurance that the next priority for the carpenters is to install the new bins back there. However, we are at the mercy of their own time schedule, although they are being pushed as hard as we can do so. In the interim, if you will see that I get a list at the end of each day of the publications you need I will see that you have them the next morning. I know this is very time consuming but I think it would be regretable if we stopped all shipments until such time as that mess can be worked out.

As for the money receipts procedure, please ask Ruth Howard to brief Ed Stanfield's new secretary on the procedures here. In that way, at any time Ruth is absent there will be someone here to take care of that.

PA/km

MEMORANDUM December 15, 1966

TO: THE STAFF

FROM: PAUL ANTHONY

The Director would like to ask for volunteers to work this afternoon from 3:30 p.m. to 3:45 p.m. in contributing to restoring order to this office. Would all volunteers please be at Mrs. Knox's desk promptly at 3:30 p.m.

V.J.
MJ - okay
RH
KM - okay
MM - Yes
BH - Yes
JK - all right - all right!!
BSM
SJ.
DP
hij

NM - maybe???
P.
FK
T.O. MAYBE
M.W. "
V.F.
MK - yes
ES
PC
BF OK
C.L.

File PA - Memos

MEMORANDUM January 31, 1967

To: The Staff - especially all personnel with mailing responsibilities.

From: Paul Anthony

Please adhere to the following instructions in regard to mailings:

1. Initial sender's name on every label and envelope

2. Include zip code number with mailing addresses

3. Place first-class and foreign (regardless of class) in space designated in mail room.

These steps will speed delivery of mail to addressee or, if returned, to the sender.

File — PA Memos - 1967

MEMORANDUM February 10, 1967

To: Senior Professional Staff

From: Paul Anthony

On next Thursday and Friday, February 16 and 17, Clifford Campbell of the Ford Foundation will be here to meet us -- and look us over. Please make every effort to be here at least one, and preferably both, of these days.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM June 9, 1967

To: Pat Watters, Bob Anderson, Glenda Bartley, Jim Wood, Emory Via, Vernon Jordan and Marvin Wall, Ed Stanfield, John Boone, and Moreland Smith.

From: Paul Anthony

- : -

You may recall our meeting in early May at which it was agreed that you would prepare program reports for the first six months of the year. This would be a very brief report similar to the ones done last year; to be sent to the Members of the Council and a few others. These reports created a great deal of interest last year, and I think they will again this year.

I would appreciate having these reports as soon after July 1st as possible, and would hope to have them in the mail by July 15th.

Also, as we discussed, I would appreciate a second report from you with any comments you have at this time about:

(1) Major program and policy questions which staff should begin considering, and which should in time come before the Executive Committee;

(2) Any future needs in the way of staffing and money for your work in the future;

(3) Emphases which your departments should have in the future and if, indeed, your work should be continued after 1968.

We may have a major portion of the Annual Meeting in November devoted to a discussion on the future of SRC. If so, we shall need a very specific agenda incorporating the staff's opinions on questions, as well as answers.

We will definitely have a meeting of the Executive Committee to consider these matters sometime during the winter. At the moment, I hope this can be a special meeting of the Committee of two days duration -- perhaps somewhere away from the office.

The first of our evening dinner meetings will be at Moreland's home on Monday, June 19th. Cliff Campbell, and perhaps others of the Ford Foundation will be invited to attend. Incidentally, Campbell will be here on Monday and Tuesday, June 19th and 20th. I hope you will be available during that time.

- 0 -

See PA-Memos

MEMORANDUM June 28, 1967

To: Jim Wood
Bob Anderson

From: Paul Anthony

When I am available, I would appreciate reviewing ~~with~~ the mailing categories for anything we send out.

File PA Memos

Memorandum July 6, 1967

To: SRC Professional Staff
Ruth Alexander, Bob Anderson, Glenda Bartley, John Boone, Vernon Jordan, Bernice Morrison, Moreland Smith, Emory Via, Ed Stanfield, Marvin Wall, Pat Watters, and Jim Wood.

From: Paul Anthony

-0-

Enclosed is the first of a series of position papers which will be designed to deal with future policy of SRC. This one has been prepared by Ed Stanfield on future relationships with state Councils on Human Relations. I hope it can be discussed at length at our evening meeting later this month.

file PA memos

July 11, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Pat Watters

INFORMATION: PRESENT AND A THOUGHT FOR THE FUTURE

The information end of Southern Regional Council has pretty well defined functions, and the people involved (including the research staff) are fulfilling them. We put out a quarterly magazine; we process special reports, including some of those developed by the special projects like Mr. Smith's; we deal with the press in a highly desirable way -- publicizing our own materials, passing on stories we feel are important, and answering their needs for information.

Thinking about how this is done gives awareness of the extraordinary flexibility of the operation. To a degree salubriously greater than in most organizations, people fit jobs to themselves, rather than fitting themselves to jobs. For example, Bob Anderson does not keep himself rigidly to the more than demanding mechanical aspects of editing and handling printing of the magazine and reports. He gets out and covers stories; he works patiently with the rest of the staff on development of ideas and projects. Doris Reed

doesn't just clip newspapers. If a reporter comes in wanting to know contacts in Vine City, for example, he talks to her. Or she writes one of the round-up reports for NEW SOUTH. And so it goes. Nobody keeps to a rigid job-sheet schedule.

And yet we tend to think of function and people as though there were hard-and-fast job requirements. When there is a vacancy, we look for an "Editor," or a "Researcher." And, as is illustrated in the absence for about a year now of anybody called "Research Director," we often don't find what we are looking for. Yet jobs get done; functions are carried out. We need to be aware of the flexibility of the operation back here; we need to nurture it; we need to recognize and encourage the enormous creativity of all the people involved, and allow it freer range. And compensate them more adequately. Secondly, we ought to accept for the good thing it is this flexibility, and, instead of looking for people to fit titles, we ought to grab onto whatever creative people come our way and let them fit the functioning of the operation to their skills and talent.

So I wouldn't recommend hiring somebody for this or that. I would say that we could do a better job with more people -- if they were the right kind of people. The scope of our work and the size of the rest of the staff has grown. The actual size of the information and research staff has grown smaller.

If the Southern Regional Council is to continue on its present scale or a larger one, and if we are to continue to rely on information and research as among our most important functions, we need to consider the implications of this imbalance. If we are to cut back in size of staff and scope of work, we ought to again consider the implications of cutting back on the backbone.

Having said all this, I will just put down what seem to me to be some opportunities that might be fulfilled -- either by the creative reaching out of present staff, or by the addition of some more creative people.

We need more contacts in the region with the writing, the research, and the thinking that is going on. This might be done systematically -- with talent-search type trips to universities and civil rights offices and cotton fields. Or it might be done (and probably more effectively) by everyone in all departments keeping an eye out for what we need. Or it might result merely from the hiring of somebody who has contacts out there already that we don't know about, or have time to find.

We cannot, of course, keep a finger on the pulse of the region, with awareness of all its minute variations. But we can know more about what is going on, and who is doing what. We tend to rely on the same people, over and over again, for example, to do our research and writing. And the number of

these old reliables diminishes yearly.

I have set out to travel about the region as much as I can this summer -- mostly to get some sounding on what the white folks have been up to these past few years while everyone has been mostly concerned with the Negroes. Ed Stanfield's suggestion for research assistants in the Human Relations Councils could prove tremendously effective in enhancing our grasp of what is going on. A suggestion: who gets into those jobs is of paramount importance. My guess would be that our best hope would be bright (and I mean really bright) kids just out of good (and I mean really good) colleges. The excellent record of the Southern Courier along these lines is worth noting.

But for all of this, we are by nature -- even if we should double or triple in size -- not equipped to be comprehensive in our knowledge or coverage of the South. What we have been able to do (and need to do more) is to know enough to be able to seize upon the key issues and problems and to do publications work on them creatively and effectively -- that is with a view to results. This requires among other things an interplay with the best minds in the region and the nation mulling over the same matters. And it requires alertness and creativity on the part of the staff. And that gets back to my first and main point--that we nurture the creativity we have and give it freer range; that we get, if possible, more of it in the form of more people, and that we encourage it in all the ways we can.

file PA memos

July 18, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander
Bob Anderson
Glenda Bartley
John Boone
Vernon Jordan
Bernice Morrison
Moreland Smith
Ed Stanfield
Emory Via
Marvin Wall
Pat Watters
Jim Wood

FROM: Paul Anthony

This is to express the hope that you can join us for our July meeting at my home on next Tuesday evening, July 25th, around 6:30 p.m. I hope this is going to be a real working meeting built particularly around Ed Stanfield's paper on the future of the state councils, but there may be time for other important matters to at least be introduced.

The address is 1728 Moores Mill Road, N. W. (351-1844). Moores Mill is the third exit off the Northwest Expressway on Interstate 75. On coming off the expressway turn right (toward the west) and after one mile you will cross a bridge. The house is the fourth on the left after crossing the bridge. There is some problem about parking. No street parking is allowed and my lawn and driveway can only take a limited number of cars. Would some of you who live near each other or can otherwise share a car be good enough to talk to me about this?

Dinner - of sorts - of course.

PA/km

no reading file copy

July 19, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Pat Watters

FROM: Paul Anthony

I talked with Will Campbell this morning who is interested in reading the Sherrill manuscript and commenting on it. What about sending him a copy?

LOOK is going to do a piece on poor people and Al Clayton is being asked today to do the photography.

PA/km

File PA Memos 1967

August 3, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Staff

FROM: Paul Anthony

The Nominating Committee will meet here on September 1 to make their selections for officers of the Council and members of the Class of 1971. At your earliest convenience, would you please let me have any suggestions you have for Council membership.

PA/km

File
PA memos

MEMORANDUM August 10, 1967

To: THE STAFF

From: Paul Anthony

Please mark Monday, September 11th on your calendars as the date of the next Executive Committee meeting. This is expected to be an important meeting and I hope all department heads will find it possible to be on hand.

File PA - Memos

MEMORANDUM October 18, 1967

To: Ruth Alexander

From: Paul Anthony

The New York Foundation is under the impression that it still owes us $5,000 for the Voter Education Project. Would you please check the grant letter and the funds already received.

- 0 -

See PA-Memos 1967

MEMORANDUM October 27, 1967

To: Ruth Alexander

From: Paul Anthony

For my trip to the Florida Council meeting, October 20 - 28, I used a Hertz car. The expenses incurred were partly personal and the cost was somewhat more than the air fare or ground transportation would have been. When the bill arrives, please let me see it so I can determine an adjustment to reimburse the Council.

SRC ROUTING SLIP

	Ext.
ALEXANDER, RUTH	34
ANDERSON, R. E.	24
ANTHONY, PAUL	26
BARTLEY, GLENDA	20
BOONE, JOHN	0
BROWN, VIRGINIA I really enjoyed my first AM.	38
COOK, BERNICE	25
EDDY, PRISCILLA	34
FARMAR, WILLIAM	38
FRIEDMAN, SUSAN	33
HOWARD, RUTH	8
JACKSON, BARNETTA	20
JENNINGS, MARGARET	4
JOHNSON, MILDRED	36
JORDAN, VERNON	6
KNOX, LUESTA	22
LEWIS, JOHN	35
MANDERSON, MARGE	31
MARTIN, KATHY	36
MEEKINS, JOYCE	20
MORGAN, NOBBIE	4
MORRISON, BERNICE	20
OLIVE, THAD	5
PRITCHARD, WARREN	7
REED, DORIS	33
REED, MORRIS	25
ROBERTS, BILL	25
ROUGEAU, WELDON	37
SHORTT, JANET	31
SMITH, JANET	25
SMITH, MORELAND	27
STANFIELD, ED	28
TILLY, MRS. M. E.	29
WALL, MARVIN	30
WATTERS, PAT	32
WOOD, JAMES N.	39

November 9, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Staff

FROM: Paul Anthony PA

Whatever my feelings of some of the events of the Annual Meeting, in one sense it was an extremely good one. Certainly this would include the physical arrangements and the thoughtfulness and courtesies that so many staff members extended to the Members during the course of the meeting.

I am sincerely grateful for your help.

PA/km

See Memos Jan 1967

MEMORANDUM

December 12, 1967

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

- o -

We have just had word that the review team from the Ford Foundation will arrive in Atlanta on Sunday evening, January 21st. The team will spend Monday, January 22nd in our offices; Tuesday and Wednesday, January 23rd and 24th, will be spent travelling the region; and on Thursday, January 25th the team will be back in Atlanta (though not in the office, however).

Please make every effort to be available on Monday, January 22nd. At this point, it does not seem as though most of the staff will be involved, except for Monday, January 22nd, all day.

(NOTE: Two copies of this memo is circulating -- one starting in the Research Department, and another starting in the Voter Education Project. Please initial and return to MMJ's files.)

NM ✓
WZ ✓
TO ✓
HG ✓
RD ✓
MMJ ✓
BCC ✓
VB
WH
ES ✓
MGS
WF
JBB
URH
RH
JLC

See Staff Interoffice Memos

February 27, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mailroom

FROM: Jim Wood

Please send one copy of the "Orangeburg" report to Mr. Scott Rutherford, 3605 Spring Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015.

JNW/km

Enc.

See Mr. Jenerup

Expenses for Paul Anthony
April 6 - 30, 1968

April 6th

Executive Committee Meeting (Entertainment of Members Airport)	$ 6.50
Parking	.75

April 18-19
(Washington, D. C.)

Limousine (Baltimore-Washington)	2.50
Taxi	1.25
Taxi (British Embassy)	2.00
Taxi (Potomac Institute)	2.00
Dinner	2.00
Breakfast (April 19)	1.50
Taxi (airport)	3.50
Lunch	1.00
Airport parking	3.00

April 28-30
(New York City)

Taxi (Airport-Hotel)	8.00
Hotel tip	1.00

April 29th

Breakfast	1.85
Lunch	4.00
Taxis	4.00

April 30th

Breakfast	1.75
Lunch	3.75
Taxis	2.00
Airpott taxi	8.00
Airpott parking	4.75

EXPENSES FOR PAUL ANTHONY
(Chicago, Illinois - Miles College)

May 9th

Taxi	$ 8.00
Hotel tip	1.00
Taxis	2.75

May 10th

Breakfast	1.85
Lunch	2.70
Taxi	8.00
Airport parking	2.90

File - Pa Memos

MEMORANDUM May 2, 1968

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Our last monthly billing from the Xerox Corporation for the cost of the coping maching was $659.04. We simply don't have this kind of money, and if we did, it should be used for other purposes. This is to urgently request that you limit your coping to only essentials.

RHV

D Reed

S Morgan

File
Dr Memos -

May 3, 1968

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony

...

We have about 30 copies of the report "Their Daily Bread" - - the study of the national school lunch program. What do you think of sharing them with the best of our interagency list?

PA/km

See Interoffice Memos

MEMORANDUM May 23, 1968

To: Bernice Cook

From: Paul Anthony

Bernice,

Please have packaged up and sent 50 copies of our current New South to Emory Via. (Label attached)

TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR PAUL ANTHONY
San Francisco (May 25-29, 1968)

May 25th

Taxi (airport)	$ 8.00
Hotel tip	1.00

May 26th (PERSONAL)

May 27th

Breakfast	2.25
Lunch (Mrs. Virginia Smith)	
San Francisco Drake Hotel	9.25
Dinner	4.00
Taxis	3.00

May 28th

Breakfast	1.90
Lunch	4.00
Taxis	3.75

May 29th

Taxi (airport)	8.00
Lunch	3.00
Airport parking	6.00

TRAVELEEXPENSES FOR PAUL ANTHONY
New York Trip (June 4-8, 1968)

June 4th

Taxi (airport)	$Z8.00
Hotel tip	1.00

June 5th

Taxis	4.75
Lunch	3.00

June 6th

Taxis	7.00
Lunch	3.25

June 7th

Breakfast	1.90
Taxi	1.50
Taxi (airport)	8.00
Airport parking	6.50
Dinner	2.00

June 10th
(Miscellaneous)

Don McEvoy Luncheon	
American Motel	5.00

MEMORANDUM September 12, 1968

To: Janet Smith

From: Paul Anthony

Re: Coke Machine Proceeds.

Please use any proceeds from the coke machine to cover any deficits in the coffee fund. At the end of the year if there are sufficient funds, over and above those funds needed to continue purchase of cokes, please turn these funds over to whoever is handling the coffee fund.

- o -

SRC ROUTING SLIP

	EXT.
Anderson, R. E.	24
Anthony, Paul	26
Bartley, Glenda	20
Boone, John	0
Cook, Bernice	25
Eddy, Priscilla	34
Hinton, Jesse	25
Howard, Ruth	8
Jackson, Barnetta	7
Johnson, Mildred	36
Knox, Luesta	22
Lewis, John	35
Manderson, Marge	8
Meekins, Joyce	20
Martin, Kathy	5
Morgan, Susan	33
Morrison, Bernice	21
Pritchard, Warren	7
Reed, Doris	33
Shortt, Janet	31
Smith, Janet	9
Smith, Moreland	27
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.	29
Varner, Mozelle	38
Vick, Ruth House	34
Via, Emory F. (out of Town)	30
Watters, Pat	32
Wood, James N. Jr.	6
~~Margarette Varner~~	
VEP - 4th Floor	522-7495
Channin, Margaret	
Jordan, Vernon	
Morgan, Nobbie	
Olive, Thad	
Rougeau, Weldon	
Wall, Marvin	
Wells, Janet	
Wilson, Zane P.	

MEMORANDUM September 26, 1968

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Since we have not had a staff meeting for a very long time, I think we should plan one. Therefore, we will have a staff meeting on Monday, September 30th at 10:00 a.m. in the conference room.

- o -

cc: VEP, fourth floor

(Would like very much to be here but must report for jury duty beginning Monday a.m. Would it be asking too much if this meeting be re-scheduled? Thanks, BCC)

I have to go to the dentist Monday at 10:00. I'd like to be here for the staff meeting! Marge

MEMORANDUM January 6, 1969

To: Glenda Bartley, Bob Anderson, Ruth H. Vick, Emory F. Via, John Lewis, John Boone, Moreland Smith, Marvin Wall, Weldon Rougeau.

From: Paul Anthony

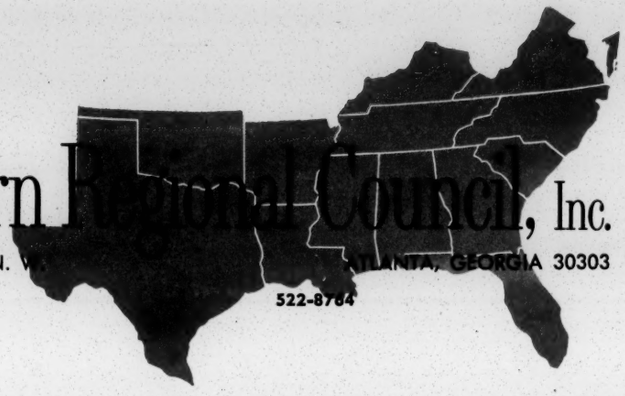
The Executive Committee will meet on Saturday, January 11, beginning at 9:30 A.M. at the Airport Hilton Inn. Unless you have some other pressing obligation, I hope you will be present.

The Committee will also meet on Friday evening, but in Executive Session, so it will not be necessary for you to be present.

-o-

File
Inter office Correspondence
3/8/69

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Selected Persons

FROM: John B. Morris, Special Assistant for Program Development

DATE: February 14, 1969

SUBJECT: Possible Staff Openings

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council has been moving to provide greater assistance to the growing number of black elected public officials in the southeast. Following up on our Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials held here in Atlanta last December, grants are being made to a number of southern colleges which will sponsor service centers for elected officials. Currently, these are already functioning, or projected, in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia. Other service centers may be developed elsewhere.

In connection with these efforts, we have recently submitted a proposal to a foundation which, if accepted, will allow us to launch this program on a more adequate and well-staffed basis.

If the proposal is favorably received, we will be immediately looking for an assistant field director for the Voter Education Project and at least four assistant directors for the respective state service centers. The V.E.P. assistant field director would be responsible for coordinating our program of service to black elected officials, working through the state service centers and directly in contact with elected officials in those areas where there is not a service center. Assistant

directors of the various service centers, working under the director, would insure that the program reached all of the concerned elected officials in their areas. Funds for consultants, attorneys and other specialists would be available as needed.

It would be premature at this point to go into a job description in greater detail or project salary considerations. However, because of our desire to lose no time in implementing this program, I am writing to ask your assistance in referring to us prospective candidates for the various positions.

We feel that the assistant field director should be a lawyer, ideally with substantial first-hand knowledge of the southern scene and with a talent for learning about the various levels of governmental office to which black persons have been elected in recent years. This assistant field director would work out of our Atlanta office and do considerable traveling in the southern region.

The assistant directors of the state service centers would be based at the respective campuses under whose aegis the program will operate. While the most important consideration would be an enthusiasm for participating in the growing political power of the black community, I would imagine that candidates for these positions should have had a college background in government, political science or related fields. Indeed, there would be some merit to having attorneys in these positions.

It may be several months before we are able to make a specific offer to interested candidates, or it is entirely possible that within several weeks we will be seeking to implement this new program. Please feel free to share this information with any perspective candidates for the various positions whom you may know. Your own recommendations will, also, be very much appreciated. More detailed job descriptions and interviews can follow once we have approval for the program and a number of good candidates for the various openings.

Lee
Pa. Entr office

MEMORANDUM March 31, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Traditionally, Good Friday has been a day when this office is closed. This year, in addition, the office shall be closed in memory and honor of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In future years this office will close on April 4th in his memory and honor.

Martin, Kathy	5
Morgan, Susan	33
Morrison, Bernice	21
Pritchard, Warren	7
Reed, Doris	33
Shortt, Janet	31
Smith, Janet	9
Smith, Moreland	27
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.	29
Varner, Mozelle	38
Vick, Ruth House	34
Via, Emory F.	30
Watters, Pat	32
Wood, James N. Jr.	6

MEMORANDUM April 10, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Several proposals have been received by me which I think have considerable merit. One involves the areas of the staff having an opportunity to make suggestions for additional program areas which SRC might consider. Another has to do with the development of sounder administrative practices.

To explore these further, I shall shorly appoint two committees, probably each consisting of 5 members of the staff. One committee will be the Staff Advisory Committee on Program and the other will be the Staff Advisory Committee on Administrative Matters.

At the time the members of these committees are chosen, I will circulate a written description of the specifics of what each committee is being asked to explore. I urge each of you on the staff to share, either in writing or in meeting with the Committees, such ideas and/or suggestions as you might have.

MEMORANDUM May 23, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

For those persons on the staff who have air travel cards, please do not charge any air travel on any credit card other than your air travel card. If there are extinuating circumstances which would make this difficult (but which I cannot at this time foresee), please check with Jim Wood or Ruth Vick before doing so.

The bookkeeping complications on the use of credit cards for this purpose are substantial.

Martin, Kathy	5
Morgan, Susan	33
Morrison, Bernice	21
Pritchard, Warren	7
Reed, Doris	33
Shortt, Janet	31
Smith, Janet	9
~~Smith, Moreland~~	~~27~~
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.	29
Varner, Mozelle	38
Vick, Ruth House	34
Via, Emory F.	30
~~Wattors, Pat~~	32
Wood, James N. Jr.	6

MEMORANDUM May 27, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Attached is a first effort at keeping some of our friends and members more informed. I think it is, too, a good technique for us internally.

I would appreciate suggestions from you on other items which can be sent periodically.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

May 26, 1969

To: Members of the Council and Other Friends

From: Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

It has occurred to us here that while we file with you regular, formal reports of our activities that we are, perhaps, remiss in not giving you more of a sense of our day-to-day involvement. Accordingly, we have decided to send you occasional items that might be of interest. If these only overload your desks, please toss them away in good conscience.

As a starter, I am presumptious enough to send you a copy of my commencement address to the Tuskegee High School, Class of 1969. This is not done because of the contents, but rather because of the significance of the occasion -- that Tuskegee High is open and thriving. Sixteen students were graduated this year; twenty-four are scheduled to graduate next year. It is, perhaps, one of the most thoroughly integrated schools in the country, and it is working.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
to the Tuskegee High School
Class of 1969
May 23, 1969

by: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Members of the Tuskegee High School, Class of 1969, ladies and gentlemen:

You do me great honor by asking me to deliver this commencement address. All the more so, since you have asked me to substitute for the late Ralph Emerson McGill.

I did not discuss with Mr. McGill, before his death, the fact that he was to make this address, but I feel confident he looked forward to it eagerly and considered it one of his most important speeches. Mr. McGill had not only great affection for youth, he had, too, great faith in the young people of this country, and he considered nothing more important than to talk with a visiting group of students at his office, or to spend an afternoon at a high school. And, he always considered these experiences ones of learning for himself, as well as sharing with others. He was a great man, the kind of great man this region has been capable of producing and is capable of continuing to produce. I trust tonight whatever I say will do honor to his memory.

Now, if I may, please allow me a personal digression. I suppose no person has ever made a commencement address without

being reminded of, or remembering, the details of his own high school commencement and the speaker thereat. In my own instance I can well remember, on that important occasion in my life, having some pompous character drone on, and on, and on, about our responsibilities in the days ahead. It was a solemn occasion not just because of graduation, but because the year 1944 was a time of World War II. Only three fellows were in that graduating class because only three of us were under eighteen and, therefore, not in the army. There was hardly a need for that commencement speaker to remind us that those were serious days, and that we had quite a time ahead. I hope I will not insult your intelligence this evening by repeating platitudes like those to you.

And, if I may, one notes the time when one is, incredibly, over 40, and is the speaker not the listener. Fair warning, it is the inevitable process,and sooner than you can conceivably imagine some of you will be that speaker -- over 40 -- trying to remember when you sat in the audience and what you thought.

Also, if I may, I should like to reminisce with you for a moment on my feelings about this magnificent community -- Tuskegee. I have long and deep memories about this community and the deepest respect for the people who comprise it. I have been enriched beyond description by my long association with men like Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, another one of this region's truly great men, and I

have watched with deep respect the work of a man like Mr. Allan Parker, who taught me a great deal about what a real banker is and how he works untiringly to contribute to his community.

I can remember the years of driving through the washed out, depressed, and depressing, countryside of Georgia and Alabama, coming into a community of great hostility, and then reaching the warm and hospitable walls of Dorothy Hall.

I can remember Sunday afternoon church meetings and strategy sessions and all those efforts of citizens here to bring this community together and make it a good place for everyone.

And, I can remember on a hot September morning standing outside a school in Birmingham watching the Klan parade when word came that the Governor had sent state patrolmen to this torn little community to close this high school.

It is hardly for me to tell you of the trauma of those days, or to remind you of how hard it has been to rebuild this school and to make it not only the good institution that it is today, but the symbol for all the rest of us everywhere of what the human spirit can achieve and how good are the results of the achievement.

In the process of the fight of Tuskegee -- and it's survival -- I hope you know, for it is important for you to know, that

Tuskegee -- this relatively small west Alabama town -- has become a world-known name. And, you know, of course, one becomes world famous either by most unusual notoriety or most unusual quality. In the case of Tuskegee, the reason is the latter.

To say this to you tonight is not, in my opinion, a violation of my promise to avoid platitudes, but rather to go to the heart of the matter of anything of value that I might have to say.

It is not news to you to observe that you are hardly going out into a happy world. Quite the contrary, you are entering a world engaged in war and threatened with annihilation. Within the country you are going into a nation that faces a prospect of internal dissent as serious as was the Civil War. While we cheer our achievements in outer space -- a cheer in which I share -- we show that we are infants and incompetents in probing the inner space of our country and our planet. We expose the fact that our incredible genius has been turned to the wrong priorities.

We who are over forty cannot beat our chests and tell you how well things are and what a good world we have delivered to you. You are too smart for that. Quite the contrary, those of us who are honest -- and those who are honest are many -- are perhaps even more aware and more sad about what we are not

delivering to you than you are.

But, here a disclaimer -- and a very serious and emphatic one. The Charles Gomillion's, the Allan Parker's, the Ralph McGill's, and far beyond that, the martyred Dr. King, Senator Kennedy, and all those unknown martyrs -- do not have an apology to make here; not an apology to make to the world, nor to you. Those, and all like them and all with them were right, and had the world and the nation -- and this state -- the common sense, even the self-interest common sense, to listen to these sane, thoughtful, good men you would now be going into a different world. The fact that you are not is tragic, tragic to the ultimate. But, it is not a cause of guilt for all those who meant otherwise.

Apart from those serious, critical problems beyond our boundaries we, here tonight, know because of our common experience of <u>our</u> problem. It is the problem of a nation divided, misunderstanding and misunderstood even of itself. It is a nation fraught with fear from the white side -- much of it honest and genuine fear from honest and genuine people. And, it is a nation fraught with disillusionment and increasing lack of faith from the black side -- that side, too, overwhelmingly made up of the good and the decent. And, nothing perhaps is a more tragic indication of the real problems of our times than the need to use terms like "white side" and "black side."

We have been a nation divided by custom and by law. Now, as many have sought to change those laws and those customs that led to that division the efforts, partially successful but inadequately slow, have led us to a new nation now being born in which we become a people divided by serious misunderstanding, anger, and disillusionment, law notwithstanding.

Now, perhaps a digression, but a pertinent point if I am to develop the point of the evening. This community is the site at which Booker T. Washington "put down his bucket." Dr. Washington's name is not a very popular one right now, in white or black circles. But, Dr. Washington made a decision. It was a decision he felt he had to make because there was no alternative. I do not scorn him for that decision. Rather, I hurt for him -- bleed for him -- that he had to make that decision, without alternatives.

The important thing for you -- the Class of Tuskegee High School, 1969 -- to understand is that you, black and white, do have an alternative. While you do not enter a pretty world or a comfortable one, and certainly not a perfect one, you do enter one. You do it with youth and vigor and health and life. Therefore, you are not only blessed, if you are any good, you are tough.

And, that is what this country now desperately needs; not a bitter generation, not a cop-out generation, but a tough generation. And, being really tough is a skill and an art that

should not be taken lightly. The doctrinaire man with an inability to change is not moralist, he is a fool. And, the bully is not a giant.

Whatever world you enter into, while it may be tired and old and unsatisfactory, it is also new, promising, and exciting. And, that observation is true because in no small part it is a world into which new and young blood -- you -- come every year.

Now, I venture the observation. If anything I have said heretofore is true, you of this graduating class are better prepared than most to be tough and to take on this world. You have grown up in a community that has had as much misunderstanding as any community in America. You have also grown up in a community of giants. Giants who took on insurmountable odds and won them.

You sit tonight in an institution where it was said earlier by all the powers that this school would not exist. In the face of those powers this institution has existed and it has taught English and Latin and Physics. You need English and Latin and Physics, but you need something more -- as every event of our day proves for all of us. You need to know the majesty of people understanding and respecting each other; to experience the process of what is really the greatness of democracy and the United States of America. And, I believe, uniquely, in Tuskegee High you have been taught that as well.

Before you leave the nest, and you are leaving it tonight, you need to have both the examples and the teachings of champions. And, I think you have had that.

The members of this graduating class can neither save the world nor destroy it. And, I do not recommend that you try either.

You can, however, contribute substantially to this world's salvation or destruction. I hope, and believe, that because you are from Tuskegee and Tuskegee High that you will try to contribute to this world's salvation because you are uniquely trained to do so. You are because you are Tuskegee. And, whether you never leave this community -- as I hope many of you will not -- or whether you go to the farthest point on this earth, you carry with you something special -- and don't you forget it. You are Tuskegee, the survivor, the victor in the fight for decency, the model for the United States, and the world. Carry that fact like a badge. Carry it in your guts as a part of your heritage, AND DON'T YOU EVER FORGET IT.

Godspeed.

MEMORANDUM May 27, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

You should know that of recent date a new director of the Florida Council was appointed. That person is MRS. EMILY Y. BAREFIELD. Anyone needing to correspond with Mrs. Barefield can do so by writing to the Florida Council, 1221 N. W. 43rd Street, Miami, Florida 33142.

MEMORANDUM June 19, 1969

To: The SRC Staff

From: Paul Anthony

-o-

Yesterday I asked the members of the Administrative and Program Committees to proceed with their work as soon as possible, and to give me at least a first report no later than June 30. Following Saturday's meeting it is obvious that the staff continues in a most serious crisis, and we cannot move too promptly to attempt to resolve that crisis. Toward that end I plan to do two things:

(1) completely overhaul staff procedures and practices towards two ends of greater efficiency; more clearly spelled out systems, schedules and responsibilities and, establish these procedures with substantially more uniformity than is now present. Towards these ends I anticipate substantial help from the staff committees. (A special committee of the Executive Committee will be appointed this week to work with me and the staff committees.)

In the brief interim, before these formal changes are made, it is essential that every person on this staff pay particular attention to performing his or her job. These last weeks have cost the Council dearly at a time when we needed to have been operating with maximum, not minimum, effectiveness. I note, indeed share, the emotional stress which is reducing the ability of many of us to produce, but this must be fought and overcome.

(2) During my fourteen years here I have never seen a period when there was as much emotion, and as much misunderstanding and as much consciousness of race. We stand in danger of devouring ourselves. Although it will undoubtedly take much time to resolve the emotions, misunder-

standings, the hurts, we will move with all speed in providing the procedures for doing so. After much reflection, I recognize that greater firmness, with complete impartiality on my part, will expedite these changes and is essential if we are to attain the time needed. In doing this, I operate with the full authority of the Executive Committee and the Council to administer the affairs of this organization.

-o-

MEMORANDUM July 3, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Director, SRC

Many of the staff members, including me, have periodically used the Xerox machine for personal use. Our cost on that machine, relative to our priorities is out of reason.

Henseforth, any personal xeroxing will cost any person using the machine .05 per copy, and should be paid to Janet Smith at the time of reproduction of personal documents.

MEMORANDUM July 2, 1969

To: Janet Smith

From: Paul Anthony

Attached is a memorandum which will be circulated to the staff. It seems to me this can best be handled as a part of the petty cash account. Please understand you are not responsible to determine who owes you what, but rather to simply record any payments made to you.

-o-

MEMORANDUM July 15, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

We have received word this morning that the Georgia Council moved last night to:

919 Atlanta National Building
50 Whitehall Street

This is in the same building Three Sisters Department Store is located. The Councils does not yet have its telephones, but when we get this information it will be passed on to you.

Phone: 573-5047

July 16, 1969

Mr. Basil Whiting
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Basil:

I shall be in New York on the 23rd and the morning of the 24th, and very likely in your building. If so, and if you are in, I would like simply to drop by to say hello.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone
573-5000
573-5289

3:30 - p.m.

July 16, 1969

Mr. Roger Wilkins
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Roger:

While I understand the situation, of course, I was very disappointed to learn that you and George could not be here today.

I shall be in New York on the 23rd and the morning of the 24th and will call you to determine whether or not it is possible for us to get together briefly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone: 755-6023
or
573-4880 Home?

July 16, 1969

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Troubh
Executive Director
The Joint Foundation Support
575 Madison Avenue — 19
New York, New York 10022

Dear Betty:

I shall be in New York on the 23rd and the morning of the 24th. If possible, I would very much like to have a brief visit with you. I will call the first thing on the morning of the 23rd to see if you have any time available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone: 573-5000

July 16, 1969

Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Vice President
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mike:

I shall be in New York on the 23rd and the morning of the 24th and, of course, would enjoy seeing you. I will call your office on the morning of the 23rd to determine whether or not you are available and if we have any business to conduct.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone
757-9500

July 16, 1969

Mr. Robert Gutwillig
World Publishing Company
110 East 59th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bob:

There is a slight possibility that I shall be in New York on July 23. If so, I shall call your office that morning to see if you have any free time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone: 736-6350

July 16, 1969

Mr. David F. Freeman
President
Council on Foundations, Inc.
393 Seventh Avenue, Room 2007
New York, New York 10001

Dear Dave:

I will be in New York on the 23 and the morning of the 24th. While I have nothing specific in mind, I would enjoy a brief visit with you if you are available. I will call your office on the morning of the 23rd to see if this is possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone "
758 - 8673
(note: Jo comes
has moved to this
new address)

July 16, 1969

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
Taconic Foundation
745 Fifth Avenue, Suite 1111
New York, New York

Dear Jane Lee:

I shall be in New York on July 23rd and the morning of the 24th. I will call your office to see if you are available for a brief visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone:
573-5800

July 16, 1969

Mr. McGeorge Bundy
President
The Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mac:

I shall be in New York on July 23rd and the morning of the 24th. I will call your office on the morning of the 23rd to determine whether or not there is a need for us to get together briefly. I would, of course, enjoy seeing you, but shall not attempt to impose on your time unless you feel we have some need to talk.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Phone:
758-1670

July 16, 1969

Mr. James C. Brewer
Executive Director
Foundation for Voluntary Service
1 Mitchell Place
First Avenue at 49th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Jim:

My occasional trips to New York during the last year have been very quick ones. However, I shall be in New York on the 23rd and the morning of the 24th and would enjoy an opportunity to visit with you. I shall call your office on the morning of the 23rd to see if you are available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM July 18, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Several persons have been asking me about whether or not the Council will be closed on Monday in observance of the moon shot.

Frankly, I do not think a great deal of the idea, nor do I personally think that an agency such as ours should observe such an occasion, albeit true that if the mission is successful it is a magnificent achievement for the United States and the world.

This is one way of saying that while I am happy for this scientific achievement, I would much prefer to observe a day of mourning for the starving people of the world.

Should any of you wish particularly to observe Monday, please feel free to do so and please do not allow the above observations to prejudice your decisions. Anyone taking Monday off and indicating that it is for the purpose of observing the moon shot will not have that day counted against your annual leave.

See also: Info. + Research Depts

MEMORANDUM July 21, 1969

To: Members of the Research and Information Staffs

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Director

- 0 -

This memorandum is being written and shared with each of you because of the crisis arising out of the lack of operation of these two departments at this time. There is no need to recount here the events of the past several weeks -- or those events prior to that. Suffice it to say, I recognize, as you must, the low morale, the personal differences, the personal attacks, the difficult work environment, and the lack of production which currently exist.

This would be serious for any department of the Council and, under similar circumstances, I would feel compelled to take the action here outlined with any department. However, this matter is all the more serious because the research and information functions are so important to us, both internally and externally.

It is my belief that this situation has reached the point where substantial staff changes must be made, although with the application of the following rules this may prove not to be the case. Therefore, this memorandum, and the instructions outlined here, will be reviewed with the persons involved in approximately six weeks.

As of the date of receipt of this memorandum the following rules will apply to all members of the Research and Information staffs. Violation of any of them will be considered as possible cause for dismissal.

(1) Common courtesy will be shown by each person for the other. Opinions, associations, or other behavior after 5:00 p.m., not affecting the Council, are none of the Council's business. From 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. they are.

(2) One hour per day is alloted for lunch. No longer period is to be taken without permission of the Executive Director.

(3) The hours of the Department are from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. These hours will be honored by each employee. A fifteen minute leeway, to 9:15 a.m. for instance, is allowable but will be made up at the end of the day. Special arrangements, because of bus schedules or other unusual circumstances can be arranged, but must be formally arranged with the Executive Director.

(4) Except in case of emergency, no person may take any time off without securing permission from either the Executive Director or the Executive Assistant, or the appropriate supervisor.

(5) There will be no further comments, either oral or written, by any member of the staff regarding another member's work. The Executive Director is available to talk with any employee about his or her work or relationship to the Council, but discussions will be limited to that subject.

(6) Until further notice, a daily log will be maintained by each member of the Research and Information Staffs. This log will include all phone calls initiated or received and the purpose of each, information and research queries answered by mail or in person, time spent on newspapers clipped, including the names and numbers of newspapers, and all other pertinent detailed information of each working day. These records will be filed weekly with the Secretary to Director, preferably on Fridays for review by the Director on Mondays.

MEMORANDUM July 25, 1969

To: Ruth H. Vick

From: Paul Anthony

Please make a note that around December 1st I should like a report on all grants we have made to groups that are not tax exempt. (This would exclude, of course, state councils, churches, colleges, and the like.) If you have any doubt, simply jot down the group and the grant anyway. At about that time I would like to begin requesting reports from those who have not made them.

Paul needs first (or) financial statement

- o -

MEMORANDUM July 28, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Each of you should have by now received your contract for the guaranteed income insurance which SNC has just initiated. I hope you have had time to read it and that you will file it away carefully.

In essence, this means that any person on the staff who cannot work either because of illness or accident will, 90 days after becoming incapacitated, begin to receive an amount equal to 60% of your regular salary.

For a long time we had hoped to add this to our schedule of benefits, and I am happy that this has finally been done.

Grievance Procedure for the Employees of SRC
Adopted by Staff Meeting, September 23, 1969

STEP ONE

When a dispute involving working relations arises, the complaining employee may take his grievance to his immediate supervisor within three days of the employee's knowledge of the grievance. The grievance will be presented in writing. An answer shall be given the employee within three working days. The time limits may be extended where the press of travel or business may require. Such extension should not exceed 10 working days.

STEP TWO

If the reply at Step One is unsatisfactory, the complaining employee may submit a written statement of the grievance to the Executive Director within five working days of receiving the Step One answer. The Director shall get from the complaining employee's supervisor a written response to the grievance. An answer to the grievance shall be given in writing within five working days of its receipt unless travel schedules or the press of business requires a reasonable extension.

STEP THREE

If the grievance is not resolved, employee will submit the grievance in writing to the Staff Grievance Committee within five working days. The Grievance Committee will be composed of three members of the staff elected by the staff by secret ballot.* (See below.) This Committee will have advisory powers only. The Committee

---

*No more than one staff person of the program director level shall serve on the Committee. An alternate member of the Committee will be elected to serve in the place of a regular member in case that member is directly affected by the grievance.

will advise the Executive Director who then will make a further determination in the case. A copy of the Committee's recommendation will be given to the complaining employee. The Committee's response to the Director shall be within five working days. The Director will give his answer in writing within five working days. The time limits in this step may be extended for a reasonable time by mutual agreement or if the press of travel or business may require it.

STEP FOUR

If the grievance is not resolved after Step Three it shall be forwarded by the Executive Director to the Personnel Committee of the Executive Committee for action at their next scheduled meeting. The employee's statement of the case, the Grievance Committee's response, and the final determination made by the Director shall be sent to the Personnel Committee. A written answer from the Personnel Committee shall be forwarded to the Director, the complaining employee, and the Grievance Committee within a reasonable time after their meeting. The decision of the Personnel Committee shall be final and binding.

RECORDS

The complete written record of all grievances shall be maintained in the office of the Executive Director.

Notes

1. The initial Grievance Committee will serve for six months at which time its work and this procedure will be subject to review and a new Committee elected for such period of time as the staff may designate.

Grievance Procedure for the Employees of SRC - 3.
Adopted by Staff Meeting, September 23, 1969

Notes (Continued)

2. An alternate member of the Grievance Committee shall be elected to serve when a regular member of the Committee is directly affected by the grievance.

3. Although a meeting on the grievance and a proposed settlement may be made by any two members when it is impossible for all three members to meet, the proposal shall become final only after the third member has considered it.

4. Written grievances should contain brief statements of the facts of the case, how the complaining employee thinks he was affected by those facts, and a statement as to what settlement is sought.

SUMMARY

Statement of Brooks Hays, Chairman
Southern Committee on Political Ethics
Before the
Senate Finance Committee
October 7, 1969

Mr. Hays appears as Chairman of the Southern Committee on Political Ethics, and as former Acting Chairman of the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations in 1952.

From his personal experiences with foundation programs over two decades, Mr. Hays has very favorable impressions of them. He feels they have been, and are, of particular importance to the uplifting of the Southern States. He notes that the Southern Committee on Political Ethics has no self-interest in this matter, since it is not tax-exempt and receives no foundation support.

He points out that when the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations was established in 1952, the activities of a few foundations had caused apprehension and concern. In its investigation the Committee found:

-- In general, foundations were not diverting their resources from their basic purposes and were not working against the interests or traditions of the Unites States.

-- The larger and older foundations were rendering great service to the country.

-- The larger foundations favored public accounting

and disclosure, some smaller ones opposed it.

-- The Select Committee recommended full disclosure of all grants.

Statement of Brooks Hays, Chairman
Southern Committee on Political Ethics
Before the
Senate Finance Committee
October 7, 1969

Mr. Chairman, and members of this distinguished Committee, my name is Brooks Hays. I appear before the Committee today in my capacity as Chairman of the Southern Committee on Political Ethics, and also as former Member of Congress, where for 16 years I represented the Fifth Congressional District of Arkansas. In that capacity, I served, in 1952, as Acting Chairman of the House Select Committee to Investigate Foundations, assuming that position upon the death of the Chairman, the Honorable E. E. Cox of Georgia.

The Select Committee's investigation of the foundations sparked an interest in their activities which I have maintained through the years. During my career, I have had the honor, in addition to my service as a Member of Congress, to serve as Special Assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, as a member of the board of directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as an Assistant Secretary of State, and as a member of the faculties of Rutgers University and the University of Massachusetts.

At present, I am a member of the governing boards of George Peabody College and George Washington University. I am also Executive Director of the National Conference on Citizenship, which was chartered by Congress in 1953. I am a director of the Southern Regional Council, and Director of the Ecumenical Council of Wake Forest University.

I have sketched this background, Mr. Chairman, to indicate the variety of experiences which have helped shape my convictions regarding the great value of private foundations to our total American society. In almost every activity in which I have engaged over the past two decades I have come in contact with foundation programs. My cumulative impression of those programs is an extremely favorable one.

The advancement of the South, in all areas of activity, has, of course, been of special interest to me. In 1967, I joined with a small group of Southerners, a list of whom is attached, to found the Southern Committee on Political Ethics (SCOPE). Our purpose is to do whatever we can to help elevate the tone of political activity and to dignify the profession of public service in our region.

My fellow members of SCOPE asked me to appear before this Committee to oppose the imposition of unreasonable restrictions on foundation activities. In doing so, we have no self-interest. SCOPE is not a tax-exempt organization, and cannot receive foundation support.

However, we note that many organizations which are working effectively for the uplifting of the South do receive foundation help. An example is the Southern Regional Council and and its Voter Registration Project. There are many others. Many of these, as I understand it, could not have been established under the provisions of the bill passed by the House.

I hope the Committee will consider very carefully the provisions of the Bill which would prohibit the use of foundation funds in any manner which might influence legislation.

While certainly no substantial portion of the funds or activities of foundations and their grantees should be used to influence legislation, a complete prohibition seems to be unreasonable. A great many things, in one way or another, eventually influence legislation, often in very constructive ways. As the language in the bill is now drawn, I fear that the result would be a very inhibiting influence on foundation officials in making grants in areas of public concern.

I mentioned, Mr. Chairman, that I had the honor of serving as the ranking member and later as Acting Chairman of the Select Committee to Investigate Foundations during the 82nd Congress in 1952. At that time, as now, the activities of a few foundations has caused some apprehension and concern.

The Committee was given a mandate by the House to determine "if the foundations were using their resources for purposes other than those for which they were established for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States."

In general, the Committee found that these organizations were not diverting their resources and were not working against the interest or tradition of the United States.

The Committee did find that a negligible number of foundations -- a few of the smaller ones -- had permitted subversive influences to penetrate their organizations. Such cases were duly reported to the appropriate agencies of the government.

The older and larger foundations -- such as Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie -- were determined to have rendered a great service in the fields of health and education and in expanding the frontiers of knowledge.

We found that the larger foundations favored public accounting and public accountability. Some of the smaller ones opposed this, largely on the grounds that it would inhibit some contributions. Our Committee recommended that all such information should be filed with the Internal Revenue Service, and that full disclosure should be made of all grants.

On the question of tax evasion by use of the foundation device, the Committee found some abuses and recommended further study. The Internal Revenue Service was at that time giving attention to such abuses.

Mr. Chairman, the highly-competent general counsel for the Select Committee, Mr. Harold M. Keele of Chicago, was entitled to much of the credit for the excellence of the study. His views and experience might perhaps be of value in the present situation.

I have with me a copy of the Select Committee's report. I don't wish to burden the record unless the Chairman feels it would be valuable, but I will be happy to make a copy available to the Committee and the staff.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to echo the sentiments of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who once observed that it is more difficult to give a dollar away intelligently than to make it honestly.

I feel, based on my experiences, that the responsible foundations are trying to operate their philanthropies in an intelligent and constructive manner.

I believe the American foundations are creatures of freedom, and are making great contributions toward the strengthening of our society.

file

October 15, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Jim Ward

- o -

The meeting at the Urban League October 14th ended with a consensus agreement that the ten groups meeting yesterday, plus the Regional Office of the Civil Rights Commission, form an informal association called the Southern Regional Task Force on Rural Development primarily to serve as a clearing house and link between the agencies in an attempt to limit duplication and to discover issues, services and geographical locations in which the agencies need to be involved. The Task Force also would attempt to coordinate agency response in emergency situations. Each agency will be requested to assign one individual to attempt another meeting where the above ideas will attempt to be formalized and a role of a secretariat would be defined.

You will, I am sure, receive detailed assignments from this group through the Urban League.

JW/km

MEMORANDUM October 22, 1969

To: Ruth House Vick

From: Paul Anthony

The Esther and Joseph Klingenstein Fund, Inc. grant of $5,000 and the recent Aaron E. Norman Fund grant ought to be placed in the Leadership Project budget and the costs of SOUTH TODAY and any pamphlets from that department should be charged to this account.

November 10, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SRC Staff

FROM: Paul Anthony

RE: Staff Meeting - Tuesday, November 11, 10:00 A.M.

- o -

The staff meeting will see slides taken by Art Campbell on his European tour of New Towns and hear ARt's comments on his trip.

Hope you can attend.

PA

MEMORANDUM

Nov. 18, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

As you all probably have remembered, the Friday after Thanksgiving is a holiday for the Council.

RV, MM, KM, RH, EU, JW, KG, PC, P.E.

MEMORANDUM December 4, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

There will be a staff meeting at 10:30 a.m. tomorrow morning, December 5, to discuss the latest action of the Senate and the financial implications of that action for the Council. We will not, of course, know the actual law until House and Senate versions of the bill are merged in conference.

However, in the interim, it is very clear that we will likely be severely hit and have a tremendous fund-raising job ahead of us to maintain anything like the present level of operation. It is, therefore, only prudent that we begin now as many economies as possible. By all means we must continue to do our work. To the extent possible, however, I hope that any major travel, purchases of office supplies, equipment, and literature, long distance telephone calls, or any other expenses that can be eliminated or curtailed, without harming our work, will be done.

-o-

RV, KM, EV, JW, RH, ~~KG~~, ~~JC~~, MH, ~~PE~~, SA, ~~AE~~, JR, MV, ~~HES~~, LK, BC, JS, JH.

Return to MJ

MEMORANDUM December 9, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony PA

It is now the time of the year when quite naturally, and quite properly, individuals are beginning to be interested in raises.

As I have attempted to interpret to you earlier, at the moment we simply do not know our financial future and will not know until we learn the wording of the law concerning tax reform. It would be unrealistic of us to make any plans until we have a reasonable indication of our minimum income for next year.

While I doubt this will be necessary, it may be that we will have to wait until the spring meeting of the Executive Committee to make recommendations on salaries. Should this be the case, and should by that time we have adequate funding, raises would be retroactive to January 1st or to the anniversary date of employment.

If the worse happens, which, frankly, I do not anticipate, we might well be in a position where we would have no choice but to institute a percentage decrease across the board.

Prior to making any final recommendations to the Executive Committee I would welcome an opportunity to discuss with each of you your individual situations and feelings. With luck, if my prediction of the passage of the tax bill is accurate, we can likely do this during the ~~next~~ last week of December or the first week of January. And, if the bill is law during this two-week period, I invite each member of the staff to make a point to talk with me.

RV, KM, ~~SW~~, ~~SW~~, RH, ~~RC~~, ~~KG~~, MM, SA, ~~PE~~, ~~AC~~, MO, ~~MS~~, SL, L.K, BG, JH, K Green, BS, BCC, CH.

MEMORANDUM December 10, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony PA

Wednesday, December 24th and Friday, December 26th, will be observed as holidays in conjunction with Christmas.

MEMORANDUM December 12, 1969

To: Ruth H. Vick

From: Paul Anthony

At your earliest convenience I would like to have from you any specific instances of matters which might indicate abuses, such as the use of the Council's telephone accounts for personal use, possible irregularities in expense accounting, and any other matters which should come to my attention for possible corrective action.

MEMORANDUM December 16, 1969

To: John Morris

From: Paul Anthony

Since we have had no one directly involved in that area, we probably have allowed religious-related mailing lists to get seriously out-of-date. Please send me any names and addresses of persons in this category whom you feel should be on our lists.

We have avoided in the past making appeals to individuals for contributions. If the 25% limitation stays with us this will have to be changed. In fact, I have plans underway for a major fund-raising effort with individuals in the Chicago area, and may do the same on the West Coast. It would be helpful if you could start compiling a list of those persons who could be approached.

K.G. R.C, SW, PC, M.M, AC, MV, [illegible], JL, RV, LKV
BC, JH, JSmith,

MEMORANDUM December 22, 1969

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

I hope all of you will join me in my office tomorrow afternoon for a little Christmas party from 4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

MEMORANDUM January 7, 1970

To: Mrs. Doris Reed

From: Paul Anthony

The ACLU will be handling the case of Dr. Gatch of South Carolina now under indictment for drug addiction. Chuck Morgan needs all the information he can get on Dr. Gatch. He has been frequently in the press and, I belive, testimony of his and his work have been mentioned in articles on hunger and in other public records.

If at all possible would you, by the end of today, get to Chuck copies of any clippings and/or articles which you can come across. Thereafter, please send down, as you can, any further information. Chuck stresses that he needs anything he can find -- pro or con -- that mentions Gatch.

MEMORANDUM January 14, 1970

To: The Staff

From: Paul Anthony

Tentatively, we have scheduled a briefing on our current tax situation for the staff for 10:00 a.m. on Friday, January 16th.

We are consulting with our attorneys, Internal Revenue Service, and have just talked with our major contributors in New York. While we do not know all the answers or implications of the new tax law, we now know a great deal more than we have in the past. I hope that all members of the staff can be present on Friday morning.

MEMORANDUM January 14, 1970

To: PA, JW, EV, VJ, JL, MW, RC, PW, AND BA.

From: MMJohnson

Mrs. Preston, of the New York Times Bureau, called this morning to invite all of you to a goodbye party which Jim Wooten is giving for Jack Nelson. The party is scheduled for Friday, January 16th from 5:00p.m. to 7:00 p.m. in Room 1431, First National Bank Building.

Wives are not invited this time. This is simply a party to get together with Jack Nelson before he leaves some of his close working associates.

Mrs. Preston indicated that a gift will be given to Nelson and if you would like to participate in the purchase of it, please call Jim Wooten at 522-3260.

MEMORANDUM January 29, 1970

To: THE STAFF

From: Paul Anthony

We are now formally beginning our search for a new director of the Voter Education Project.

A detailed job description cannot be provided since, as you know, the legality of several parts of the operation and, therefore, programs and structure, are still uncertain.

However, anyone on the staff wishing to apply for this position should inform the Executive Director immediately.

-o-

File

Southern I[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible]A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

April 23, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Staff

FROM: Paul Anthony

Very likely the Executive Committee will have a two-day meeting as it's annual Program Review Meeting, on either June 5-6, or June 12-13. The Committee wants to meet on Friday here at the office since several of the new members have not visited the office previously. I hope you will reserve these two days until one is confirmed, and will be here when the Committee meets.

-0-

file

August 14, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the "Indexing Committee"--Kitty Griffith, Bob Anderson, Reese Cleghorn, Janet Smith.

From: Paul Anthony, Executive Director

Some months ago we established a committee to work on indexing SRC publications. The indexing was to extend to New South and South Today articles. It had been our plan to use this information internally and consider it in revising the publication list.

We are now woefully behind in getting out a new Publication List, but I have asked that it not be re-done until we had fully considered the results of the indexing.

You will recall that Janet Smith was to do the initial index so the committee would have something to work with. She has done so, and I assume each of you has had a chance to see it. We had agreed, too, that because of her experience and training that Kitty Griffith would chair the committee.

I now request that the committee complete its work as soon as possible. We would like to start on a new publication list Monday, August 24.

October 26, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Moreland Smith and Art Campbell

FROM: Paul Anthony

May I have a report of normore than one page, typewritten, of the 1970 work of your division. This has to go into the mail to our members by Friday.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 26, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: EV

FROM: PA

May I have a report of no more than one typewritten page, which will serve as an introduction about the REsources Development Center, for the one page program report from each of the divisions within the Center. This has to go into the mail by Friday.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 26, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Reece Cleghorn

FROM: Paul Anthony

May I have a report of no more than one typewritten page on the Leadership Project during 1970. This should be mainly a report on South Today. This has to go into the mail by Friday.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 26, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: BW

FROM: PA

May I have a report of no more than one page on the work of the community organization division during 1970. This should include some of our goals and priorities for 1971.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 26, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Gaston

FROM: Paul Anthony

May I have a report of no more than one typewritten page on the activities of your department in 1970. This has to go into the mail Friday.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 26, 1970

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Pat Watters

FROM: Paul Anthony

May I have a report of no more than one typewritten page on the activities of your department of information in 1970. This has to go into the mail next Friday.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 26, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Anderson

FROM: Paul Anthony

At your earliest convenience, could you have a report of no more than one type written page on New South during 1970. This would include the policy decision to eliminate state roundup, the high light on articles published, and your plans for 1971.

PA:jb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

May 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kitty Terjen

FROM: Paul Anthony

The Executive Director spoke to the Alabama Library Association at the University of Alabama, on April 16th.

The Executive Committee will meet on May 21-22, to review and approve the secretary's revision of Plan A which was passed and amended at the resent meeting of the full Council. As soon as the Executive Committee determines that the document accurately reflects the action taken,= members of the Council will receive that document and brief minutes of the meeting.

SRC is the recipient of the 1971 Saturday Review Award for "outstanding achievement during the past year in the field of institutional advertisement that serves the publics interest". This award was given for the ad "Take this ad to Lunch", which appeared last year in Times Magazine.

We reported recently that SRC was sponsoring the visit to the U. S. of the Rev. & Mrs. Theo Kotze, regional director, Christian Institute of South Africa. The Kotzes' are now touring the country, and will spend a great deal of time in the south. They were in Atlanta, May 10-12.

AC
JB

MEMORANDUM

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please add the two people listed below to the mailing list to receive everything. Also, please send the the last two issues of New South, the last three issues of South Today, Chicken Bone Special, Voices of the South, and the Tax Study:

Jonathan B. Howes, Director
Center for Urban & Regional Studies
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

David Brower
Director of Urban Services
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

A N N O U N C E M E N T

This will announce the availability of a part-time temporary position, probably lasting approximately six months. The position is that of a special assistant to Paul Gaston, to work on our old files and records prior to sending them to the Atlanta University Library. Desirably, qualifications would include some experience in library reference work. Salary open.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

SPC

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please mail the following to Mr. Ferguson, label is attached:

NEW SOUTH, Winter Issue

SRC

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send today, by Parcel Post, Special Handling, the following pamphlets:

New South, Historical Issue
New South, Winter Issue
Black Belt Schools
Special Report - School Desegregation Sept. 65
Southern Justice
Henderson's Economic Study
Cole's MIGRANT FARMER
Cole's SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

Label is attached for Miss Vivian Anderson, New York State Education Department, Albany, New York.

SRC

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send the following list of publications, label attached for mailing, to Mr. Clark of Alabama:

New South, Historical Issue

Leslie Dunbar's reprint from The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science

Black Belt Schools

Small SRC Flier

Henderson's Economic Study

Cole's Migrant Farmer

School Desegregation, Psy. Study

New South, Winter Issue '66

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

SB ✓ ~~HH~~ MJ ✓

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Jan. 21, 1963

To: LWD ✓ From: PA

Subject: Alabama visit, Jan. 17-18, 1963

Talked with:
Ted Roth - of management of Parisian Department Store
Dr. John Bryan - NCCJ - formerly superintendent of schools, thereafter Director of Chamber of Commerce
Clancy Lake - News Editor WAPI Radio-TV
Paul Johnston
Louis Mitchell
Lucius Pitts
A. G. Gaston
John Drew - Pres. Alexander Insurance Co.
Also, by phone, with Mrs. Charles FEAZEL, working in a Save Our Schools Effort.

Charles Morgan

ACHR: For the environment and times, ACHR is in good shape. Jimerson doing a good job, working hard, having some success in his efforts to meet and work with power structure. In addition to regular program, our joint effort for year ~~wit~~ will try to be to have some improvement and stabilization of finances. Record--for Alabama--is good and needs are relatively modest by comparison with other Councils. Also, to keep after power structure and--hopefully--continue slight trend of having ACHR recognized by these people as responsible, needed outfit. For Birmingham, Jimerson's efforts are ~~end~~ encouraging. He has access to some suprising places, often with people who disagree with him but trust him and see his work as valuable. Found this the most surprising part of the trip.

Thursday night drove to Tuscaloosa for monthly meeting of local Council. Fine little group of ~~a~~ 12 out on a rainy night, 6 white, 6 Negro. In attendance a white churchwoman, 2 professors from University of Alabama (Anthropology and Law). Very encouraging, very depressing. Good grassroots stuff. Backward, Southern segregated community, but working hard for law and order. Not the community Autherine Lucy went into. Jimerson and family showing signs of ~~s~~ the strain. Fine family, nice wife, five attractive children including 5-months ~~old~~ old baby. Still lots of pressure, some

threats and harassment, financial strain. Jimerson showing signs of early Bob Hughes: nervousness, always tired, stomach trouble, 70 hour weeks. Urged him to slow up, stay home more. Felt like an ass with my pep talks but think they helped some. He likes his work. His wife supports him completely. He is neither a genius nor a martyr, but ACHR has a good man.

Birmingham: The Governor's inaugural address impressed everyone. Some surprised and discouraged. Chuck Morgan is delighted: "we couldn't convert him, his complete definace helps our chances of putting him in jail." All pleased at statement of religious leaders issued day after Wallace speech. Powers McCloud partly responsible for this. Morgan also has plan to bring first school test and showdown with Governor at Tuskegee under jurisdiction of Judge Johnson, rather than in Birmingham. McCloud and Gomillion were to discuss this Jan. 18. Morgan busy and happy with schemes to make Wallace live up to his pre and post election pledges.

Everyone talking of hoped-for March elections in Birmingham. Most cautiously predict Conner will be defeated. White moderates are inclined to unite behind Boutwell as the best available candidate with a change. The money, Chamber of Commerce, and newspapers will support Boutwell. Negro community will split between Boutwell and King (if latter runs), but most leadership will support Boutwell. White moderates--as always--fearful of Negro demonstrations which will help Conner. Negro leaders agree--this time they're willing to wait--but restel restless Miles College students may or may not go along.

T Gravest concern of Negro leadership is proposed SCLC demonstrations in February. Whites don't know of it. Pitts, Gaston, and all will try to dissuade students but see any local event as amangeable. They view with gravest concern a/SC an SCLC "outside sponsored" affair. "Conner would gladly foot the bill." LWD, if you have any opportunity, I hope you will mention this to Martin King. Shuttlesworth is being taken into the fold. On Pitts' advice, Gaston insisted that Shuttlesworth be brought into recent meetings with whites. Some unity is being achieved in the Negro community and things look good in this regard. But, this unity may be achieved at the cost of some division between King and Shuttlesworth if Shuttlesworth even gently opposes the SCLC Birmingham plans, as he may do. If not, then the Shuttlesworth-Birmingham progress has been ruined. This is a situation in which local leadership should be allowed full control. If they are not, King will be just above Bull Conner in popularity with them.

King, incidentally, is no longer considered by these people to be "too busy," "naive," "under influence of his staff." He has, to them, the full responsibility. The situation is serious for him as well as for Birmingham.

Conclusions:

Birmingham is a pathetic, sick, police-state kind of city. But there is real hope there--and good people. It is better than I expected. Enjoyed the trip.

ACHR is limping along but this outfit has the promise of being what it should be. Jimerson is better than I expected. I think ACHR will be one of the several Councils to receive a disproportionate amount of my attention. Promise and spirit are great things, and these people have both.

Sometime ago we were told the "ceiling" in Atlanta was 300 feet. Have completed this report because of said ceiling. On the ~~s~~ assumption we will try to land, shall conclude this and devote my full attention to helping the pilot.

Dramatically yours!

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
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MM

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 28, 1963

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: New Orleans trip, January 21 and 22

As a courtesy, attempted to reach each of our Council members. Was successful only with Gladys Cahn, with whom I spent several hours shortly after arrival. All agree Mrs. Cahn was the chief organizer and promoter of the New Orleans Community Relations Council (CRC). She now is deliberately moving away from primary leadership in the group so others will develop. She is pleased they were able to get Ted Baptist, who is a local businessman of some status, long active in community affairs. Mrs. Cahn very pleased she was asked to serve in SRC.

Beginning with my first interview and with the exception of Helen Mervis, everyone with whom I spoke privately gave me their idea of what was wrong with CRC and the major participants in it. The group is very disorganized, has no program, has done little except the work of Mary Sand last summer with children, and about this there was a considerable squabble. They are strongly divided on the issue of remaining "underground." Some 60 members only, but all agree they can grow rapidly if they can decide what they want to be and get about being it. Some $2,000 in funds available.

The group has three "professionals" who serve as consultants. Harvey Kerns, Director of the Urban League (Five of the active whites have been president of the Urban League. It seems to be the thing to do, socially.); Irv Schulman, ADL; and Henry Cabirac, CAtholic Interracial Council. They have awe and respect for "professionals" and use the term repeatedly. However, most criticized Cabirac. They don't really think he's a professional; seems he use to be in business. From my very brief exposure, it appeared to me the professionals have contributed substantially--in very fertile ground--to the divisions and jealousies of the group, but little to program.

At a meeting with the officers and later a meeting with the board, it was agreed to:

(1) enter into negotiations with the special board of a semi-private park where the city's zoo is located; at present Negro children may come to the zoo but cannot sit on benches, ride the ponies, go to the restrooms, or otherwise use park facilities. The CRC will not take a firm stand on the matter, rather it will bring together a group of Negroes and the park board--if the board will be brought;

(2) prepare a letter to be mailed to some 300 public and private leaders, announcing the existence of CRC and offering its services; thereafter prepare a news release on the existence of CRC;

(3) complete a "community audit" from which it is hoped short-term programs and long-range objectives can be decided upon;

(4) consider the hiring of a part-time low-paid retired professional, of which they feel New Orleans has in great abundance;

(5) step up the work of committees presently concerned with police brutality, education, and community services;

(6) seek ways to use and "integrate" presently open facilities little used by Negroes, such as the lunch counters.

The group has a somewhat distorted image of SRC, formed largely during and because of our involvement in the school movements. They seem to think of us as effective and affluent manipulators, above the din of community affairs, with nearly unlimited time, resources, and patience with groups such as theirs. They don't seem fully aware of the unique circumstances which caused us to give the city so much time and money in the past.

The CRC is not all bad. There seems to be considerable talent there and they earnestly want to do a good job. They seem to have good Negro representation. For instance, Ernest Movial, president of the La. NAACP, is treasurer of the group. But the group is timid, somewhat paternalistic and involved in personal and organizational squabbles to an unfortunate degree. I shall work with them when and where possible, but it does not, in my mind, represent an SRC priority. Unless a good program or project is developed, or unless a director

is hired, I think we should seriously consider limiting our financial assistance to something less than the budgeted $1,000.

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

SBV
ML
Wig ~~AHH~~ file

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Auburn 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 6, 1963

To: LWD From: PA wk file

Subject: Visit to Jackson, Miss., February 4, MCHR

Spent some time with Dr. Beittel who takes considerable interest in the Council. Again, we are fortunate to have unusually capable leadership. Discussed finances. No need at this point to consider other than the committed $500. Beittel thinks Yungblut does good job, hopes he can continue to come to Mississippi. Things are still very difficult in state and for MCHR but somewhat improved over last summer.

Lunch and business session with Executive Committee. Present, Dr. and Mrs. Beittel, Mrs. Jane Schutt (Secretary, MCHR and Chairman, Mississippi Advisory Committee), I.S. Sanders, AAron Henry, Rev. E. A. May, Sr., Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., Rabbi Mantinband, and Norman Kurland, of Civil Rights Commission. Group somewhat divided over whether or not to have members.

Good Council meeting, excellent speech by Duncan Gray and touching farewell to Mississippi by Rabbi Mantinband. Among those present: Hazel Brannon Smith, local Rabbis and three local Catholic priests, local Episcopal minister, Catholic priest, dentist, and several other whites from coast, two campus chaplains, and Jim Silver of Auburn. Approximately 125 persons, of whom about ~~a~~ half were associated with Tougaloo. Met Mrs. Harvey, a very attractive young woman considerably interested in SRC.

Spent short periods with Jean Fairfax, Hazel Smith, and Jim Silver. Silver will teach at Emory this summer, wants access to our files for research for presidential address for Southern Historical Society meeting. He thinks he and others may be forced out of University later this year.

Women's Group for Schools.

Mrs. Chu Schutt arranged for me to speak with Mrs. Gerald

George Butler whom she had persuaded to attend the MCHR meeting, A very fine person who quickly arranged for me to visit Mrs. Guy T. Gillespie, Jr., "the founder." Although this was the dinner hour, both women and a Mrs. Black, wife of the Director of Research for the Mississippi Development Council, spent almost two hours with me until I had to leave for the airport. Meeting was in the very fine Gillespie home next door to home where General Walker always stays when in Jackson!

These women and the other 8-10 in the inner circle are concerned about the "moral issue involved" as well as schools. The larger group of 75-100 range from strong segregationists, up. These are the wealthy uptown group who among them know socially everyone from Barnett to Simmons.

(There is some move among what seems to be a ministry of Citizens Council members--especially Jackson lawyers--to get rid of Simmons. He openly supports violence, "as a last resort." The present attorney general reports Simmons is planning to run another candidate in the fall primary because he is a "law and order" segregationist.)

These women are very sincere and eager and should have any support we can possibly give them. Told them so.

OUr interests seem to fall into these categories: (1) working with MCHR; (2) doing what we can in the state with individuals and groups such as the ministers; (3) quietly helping and encouraging the Jackson ladies. Part of this may fall under our hoped-for revived Southern Leadership Project. Would like to discuss this with you. We ~~a~~ now are in touch with at least three cities--Birmingham, Mobile, and Jackson--where Save the Schools groups need help.

Spoke with Duncan Gray, Beittel, and others about SRC reprinting some of recent Mississippi statements. They saw no likely harm or repercussions. If we do this they could use a considerable number of copies.

Feel it was a ~~pretty~~ pretty worthwhile day.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 7, 1963

To: LWD

From: PA

Subject: ACHR Annual Meeting, Tuskegee, February 1 & 2, 1963

Powers McLeod informed the board that the injunction on Jimerson and the ACHR was being dropped. McLeod arranged this with his boyhood friend, the new attorney general, Richmond Flowers. He has agreed to drop the suit subject to three conditions:

1. No publicity from the ACHR about the matter.

2. Jimerson to sign a release, agreeing not to sue any of the persons connected with the injunction.

3. Morgan to agree not to represent any of the other persons or organizations now named by the injunction.

The Board agreed to these conditions. Hopefully, the drain of legal costs--now in excess of $7,000--now will be stopped.

A budget of approximately $18,500 was approved, including a salary raise of $1,000 to Jimerson, increasing his salary to $6,200 and $1,800 housing allowance.

Powers McLeod was re-elected president. He's an unusually capable Council president. The Board decided that in 1964 they could have a Negro president. They have agreed to hire a Negro secretary immediately. Suspect both moves will have more complications than they foresee. Vice Presidents are: Lucius Pitts, Nat Welch, and Father Bryce, ~~at~~ a Catholic ~~prei~~ priest from the tri-cities area.

Had an opportunity to chat with our new members Welch and Smith. Both pleased to serve and Smith especially interested. Welch will probably be moving to Maryland later this year.

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Percy Williams made an interesting but dull speech, emphasizing the progress made by the President's Committee. As you might expect, the audience was somewhat skeptical. Drove Williams to Columbus and Atlanta (because of fog) and had an ØØ! opportunity for a long chat. He claims the Committee is putting heavy pressure on U.S. Steel because of TCI and they expect some dramatic and significant progress in Birmingham soon at TCI and Hayes Aircraft.

Maggie was present on Saturday and made a brief, rousing speech which pleased everyone.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 29, 1963

To: LWD ✓ From: PA

Subject: Trip to Little Rock, April 10-12

During the 2-1/2 day visit, had considerable exposure to the Arkansas Council. In addition to the staff, I had an opportunity to talk with the Finance Committee, the Advisory Council, and the Board of Directors.

The staff has a thorough awareness that ACHR must grow in terms of membership and local financial assistance so as to have a stronger base within the state and as evidence of worth for outside support. These ideas are now being interpreted to the policy groups for the first time.

Since 1955 the ACHR has operated on the assumption it could do little without almost complete out-of-state financing. With a population slightly in excess of a million people, largely rural and segregationist, there was considerable truth in this feeling. But this approach has probably unduly limited the growth that was possible. I found, for instance, an almost complete lack of awareness on the part of local people that ACHR needed financial assistance. It is to them a good local agency removed from need for support or memberships, unlike the Urban League or other agencies. The fact that ACHR has some 300 members and raised locally approximately $4,000 last year would seem to indicate a potential considerably greater than this if a real effort is made. And, this new awareness of the need to grow within the state should be very significant.

A financial committee has been established with Dr. W. H. Townsend as Chairman. Townsend is a very busy man with many interests, but strikes me as the type who would take seriously any responsibility he assumes. The goal of the drive has been set at $10,500, of which $5,000 would come from "Business Interests" and $4,000 would come from "Contributions and Memberships." The business figure is probably too high and the potential from individual members is probably greater. However, the real significance is in the organization of the drive with a goal of more than a 100% increase in local contributions.

A membership committee has also been formed but with less organization and planning.

Within two months we will know the success of these campaigns. If they are not particularly successful I will consider assisting in a fall campaign using some of the techniques which work elsewhere, especially--hopefully-- Some from the Tennessee experiment.

Talked with a number of people including James Youngdahl, Fred Darragh, Ray Reed (Gazette), at an evening social at the home of Ruth Arnold. Ruth is quite well established in the community, well known in the city, and well thought of by liberals.

A similar gathering for Negro "leaders" at Sutton's home was less well attended because of conflicting meetings, but Ozell seems to be very well known and regarded highly in the Negro community.

A conference with Mrs. Byron House and Mrs. John Samuel, current leaders of the Women's Emergency Committee, indicates some disagreements between WEC and ACHR arising from the last school board election. Unfortunately, Mrs. Brewer was in Europe and I could not get her opinion in these matters. The situation seems on the mend but it represents an unfortunate and unnecessary division within the ranks.

Lunch with Grainger Williams (banker and President of Rotary, past president of Chamber of Commerce), Hugh Patterson (Gazette publisher), and Frank Duff (Gazette business staff and head of local Catholic Interracial Council) indicated these men have good regard for Griswold and ACHR. They implied financial support would be given by them and a limited number of other businessmen throughout the state.

A brief conference with Ted Lamb, school board member, indicated a serious unhappiness with continuing school segregation and "resegregation" and with Branton's role in these matters. Am thoroughly confused about this matter and have little hope of contributing anything to it.

The general "climate" in Little Rock seems remarkably good. As a followup to the Religion and Race Conference Bert Cartwright reports good results in involving a number of status clergy who have been aloof in the past. Patterson reports Gazette circulation and advertising back to the pre-boycott levels and feels there is a "new day" in the city.

There continues to be some pickets and other demonstrations. Most hotels have now opened and Williams, Sutton, and others are presently negotiating with theatre owners. There are incidentally several middle-class neighborhoods with integrated housing and some chance they will remain that way.

ACHR program is good and worthwhile. The weakness of local

support and membership is serious and must be overcome. It probably can be with assistance and encouragement from us. This growth or lack thereof should be a main factor in our judgment of the group.

√ML - remember any suggestion you could
someone in Houston to write
a piece
about the group

MJ - file

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 30, 1963

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: Field Report on Visit to Houston, April 21-23, 1963

In terms of our experiences in other states, the Houston Council is a unique organization. Their 1962-63 budget of $12,000 anticipates $10,000 in local support, an amount equal that raised locally by Virginia and Alabama during 1962. Further, they are seriously contemplating a goal of $18,000 for 1964. So too, the program is somewhat different. From my brief exposure it seemed to me the HCHR placed more emphasis on broad community education than do the other local Councils. The Council is thoroughly involved in all the situations of the moment and plays the traditional roles with action groups and in crisis situations, but none of this seems to detract from the basic purpose of education of the community to accept and understand change.

If this evaluation is correct and if the record of local support continues and grows, the programs and methods developed in Houston should be considered for use elsewhere.

There is one basic weakness in the situation, the seemingly inevitable low membership. With all of the above, HCHR has only 300 members and little in the way of definite plans to improve this. The board and staff have, however, promised to give attention to the matter.

Several of the board members give especially strong support to the Council. The president, Charles Kelly, a Methodist minister, gives a disproportionate amount of time. (He and others are considering the possibility of his joining the staff next year.) Former president Mrs. Joyce Shaw continues to work closely with the group and is, I suspect, a heavy contributor. Two SRC board members are active on the HCHR board, Mrs. Rayzor and Charles Shaw. Mrs. White is not on the board but works very closely with the group and seems to think highly of them. Mrs. Crate is no longer on the board and is in semi-retirement and poor health. Much of the board is inactive but one main reason for the strength of the Council seems to be the support and participation of board members.

The group is fortunate to have Ethel Dumbauld. While she does have to work, the Council salary of $4,200 seems adequate. She brings a wide range of skills and contacts to the job. Interestingly, this is the first place I've visited where there was absolutely no sense of division or jealously within the group. There is much healthy debate and difference of opinion. (Two brochures were printed because they couldn't agree on one. The group split completely over a speaking invitation to Lyndon Johnson.) But, these matters don't seem to lead to personal and emotional reactions.

A brief visit to Mr. Charles Shaw, who is recuperating from an operation in which he had a lung removed. He seemed very pleased to have the best wishes of the SRC staff. (LWD: a note from you might be appropriate.)

Two factors seem to make Houston very unlike other large Southern cities.

1. The ultra conservative element which controls city hall and the school board. Political liberalism seems more suspect than support of integration. The city has no zoning ordinances--with the predictable results--and will accept no federal funds for any programs in the public schools.

2. A relatively large Spanish speaking population of something more than 100,000. Many of these people are recent migrants and former migrant workers, poorly educated and in the lowest income bracket. The group--including the leaders--tend to remain apart from the community. Discrimination against the group is largely economic. Many communities are exclusively Spanish-speaking though some low and middle class neighborhoods have considerable integration with whites.

Other factors include the newness and growth of the city, the college population in excess of 20,000, the lack of push from Texas Southern University (Negro) with a student body in excess of 8,000.

The Houston Council is trying to deal with these matters. A successful first meeting to bring together Negro groups, Spanish-speaking groups, and human relations Council types has been held. Some work is also being done with college students and more is planned. The first gentle approaches are also being made under HCHR auspices to get Negro and Spanish-speaking groups to combine their strength at the polls and to jointly plan their support ahead of time. There is some feeling that a coalition of white liberal, Negro, and Spanish-speaking voters could become the controlling majority with only a slight increase in registration for each group if they could learn to work and plan together. This is far from the case at present.

The economy of Houston is especially interesting. The new NASA installation has been a great help,already, employing some 5,000 with an unlimited number in the future and with some 5,000 other persons temporarily employed in construction and related preparatory occupations.

It is estimated the Houston-Gulf Coast area will have more than 177,000 jobs available from growth and replacement within the next 5 years. Yet almost all these jobs will fall within the clerical, skilled, and professional categories. Already the supply of unskilled labor exceeds the demand by some 2,000. 5,000 school drop-outs per year are anticipated during this period. Approximately 1,500 Negroes--largely from rural areas--are moving into the city each month along with an unknown number of Spanish-speaking people.

Thus it would seem the boom town has a built-in employment problem about which it is doing little and which could in time severely tax the boom wealth and resources.

This information came from the HCHR and will give some indication of the thinking and concerns of the group as well as their approach to community service.

PA ✓
WG - file

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 16, 1963

To: LWD ✓ From: PA

Subject: Visit to Oak Ridge, Tennessee, May 10 and 11, 1963

Arrived Oak Ridge in time for a 3:00 P.M. meeting with George Barrett, Kay Jones and Dot Webster. Plans were to discuss several matters pertaining to TCHR, but especially a strong membership campaign during June. Barrett was retained in Nashville because of the crisis there and arrived shortly after midnight. Kay and Dot arrived at 5:30. An evening meeting scheduled with the Oak Ridge Council limited our time to a brief conference before and during dinner.

This inadequate meeting led to the following conclusions:

1. TCHR will have a concentrated membership campaign with a goal of 1,500. (Present membership, 600 to 700.)

2. The campaign will be held in October rather than June.

3. Prior to October some methods being considered will be tried experimentally.

4. SRC will, if needed, supply speakers and their travel costs for several membership meetings. Modest funds may also be made available for other costs such as postage.

I'm disappointed but suppose this is best

It should be emphasized these plans were made without the involvement of Barrett, the President, or the President-elect who takes office in October. On Saturday the proposal was placed before the board. This group reacted favorably to the plan, a few of them enthusiastically.

We will follow-up on this in detail in August.

At lunch guests of the TCHR from Oak Ridge included the mayor, several Councilmen, a school board member and representatives of the Chamber of Commerce.

SB ✓
PA Mig-file

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 20, 1963

To: LWD ✓ From: PA

Subject: Trip to Mobile, Alabama, May 16-17

Went to Mobile to meet with Save Schools steering committee and to speak to third "public" meeting of group. (The one they consider the first was a general public meeting called by Mobile Council and Father Foley at which I spoke in February. The second was one called by the SOS group at which Mary Sand and Jack Nelson spoke. From same pocket, Father Foley paid the travel expenses for these two though he has been extremely careful to see that neither he nor Mobile CHR have any public identification with this effort.)

Visited Father Foley at Spring Hill College before going to steering committee meeting. Got his opinions on Mobile, legal situation, the steering committee, matters in general, and Birmingham. (With proper allowances, the Father can be an extremely valuable source of information and advice.) Foley seemed very tired and discouraged about his role in Birmingham. He attributes statement concerning King needing fund raising cause to a telephone conversation he had with Bob Baker of the "Birmingham News and Washington Post." (Must check this one out.) Foley denies making any personal charges along these lines. He showed me three page telegram signed by Wyatt Walker and Fred Shuttlesworth demanding a retraction and threatening libel suit.

Met with steering committee of SOS group for four hour meeting at the home of the group's secretary, Mrs. James Wood. The larger group is composed of men and women. All officers and "doers" are women. Very good group, very sincere; combination of League of Women voters-leading society types, some liberal, some conservative, very innocent. Largely because of this, suggested two day workshop for them. Purpose, the most elementary approach and education to everything, from race relations to methods of organization. They need this badly, know it, and jumped at the idea. Have promised to send them suggested outline for such a workshop, suggested participants, etc. Hope this will be done by the time you see this.

The legal situation and the date of school desegregation is uncertain. The Mobile group thinks it likely the anticipated desegre-

gation of children of military personnel and employees will be postponed until September, 1964. On the public school suit, the local federal judge, they think, will try to postpone action until sometime after September, 1963. (In an effort to prevent this Constance Motley has requested a ruling from the appeals court in New Orleans before action by the district court.) These situations leave much uncertainty as to whether an SOS program is to be of a "crash" nature for September or a longer range effort. All planning has to consider both possibilities.

The public meeting, at one of the large Methodist churches, was well attended: approximately 200 people, including Citizens Council representation. During the business session, all went as planned. A name was chosen, ABLE (Alabamians Behind Local Education)! A slate of officers was elected by acclamation.

The president, Mrs. Hollis Wiseman, fits all of the qualifications established by the steering group. Leading protestant clubwoman, long active in directing non-controversial, charitable ventures, politically conservative, she and husband native Mobilians of high regard, he a leading pediatrician in the city. (She is a pleasant, attractive, and capable person and scared to death; will have to be handled very gently during this initial period.)

The question period after the meeting was good, constructive and encouraging, as was the "coffee hour" thereafter.

SRC is more responsibile for and more involved with this effort than any of those current. They need a great deal of help and I would like for us to provide as much as possible. With less time involved--and sans Stern funds which aren't needed--this may be our new "New Orleans." To some extent it is also my training ground.

Mobile indicates our plans relative to RBF funds are sound. This is the type situation--I believe--in which SRC can make a genuinely significant contribution that is important for "crisis" but extends also to basic community education and change.

Southern Re[redacted]

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SEB
PA
file

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 20, 1963

To: LWD

From: PA

Subject: Daytona-Jacksonville trip, May 14

A brief meeting in Daytona relative to details of establishing FCHR offices there and June "membership" meeting. Office space has been donated by a Daytona businessman in an old but adequate downtown office building. Hopefully, on June 8 members and their families will come to Daytona to meet Lou and Betsy Mitchell and launch the new staffed FCHR.

The HRC of Greater Jacksonville has requested a small and comfortable downtown office from the Lillian Smith brother who owns a hardware store next door. Lent's coming has sparked the Council; members are working hard to support him and he shows every indication of being responsible to the Council and actively interested in its welfare. (We discussed Galen Martin's experience in Knoxville--where that Council has just disbanded and ways to avoid a similar situation in Jacksonville.) Membership will be increased and the Board strengthened.

An OASIS type organization--called ASSIST--(see attached) has been formed. (Lent and Jacksonville Council largely responsible.)

Many business and professional people offer their quiet support but most are reluctant to publicly associate with the group. An effort is now being made to name a "status" chairman. To date several logical choices have declined the honor. The Mayor offers no support or encouragement and the police department is uncooperative. It is anticipated a large segment of the community will be hostile to the September desegregation move.

Beginning next week (May 20) plans will be made to provide consultants for ASSIST.

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Phone: 2-8764

RECEIVED JUL 1 1963

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 28, 1963

To: LWD (cc: VJ) From: PA

Subject:

Several of your recent written comments indicate a disappointment with the progress of state Council membership drives and the attention given to that problem. Perhaps I have been remiss in reporting activity in this area.

Alabama: For the past 3 years membership has remained at approximately 500. There should be a slight increase this year. As an incidental part of work in M!bile I have encouraged reorganization of that Council and there is a possibility of strengthening there.

Arkansas: In 1962, ACHR reached a high of 321 members. A 1963 campaign has raised that figure to approximately 500--an increase of more than 50%.

Florida: Reported a high of 800 members in 1960. Fell to less than 200 paid members during 1962. The FCHR has been reorganized and now has a membership in excess of 600. Hopefully, a planned drive in the fall will raise this to the goal of 1,000.

Georgia: Membership approaches 900--no appreciable increase over 1962. Unless there is an aggressive campaign in Atlanta, little in further increase is likely in 1963.

North Carolina: Several new local Councils have been organized but at this time an increase of no more than 5%--to 600--is anticipated.

S.C.: An increase of no more than 15%--to 500--is anticipated.

Tennessee: Present membership is approximately the same as that of 1962, some 700 members. A special drive will be held during September, with a goal of an increase to 1500. Detailed plans will be started during late July. Hopefully, the campaign will succeed, though developments with TCHR

and the press of other matters within and outside the state make me less than optimistic. The time for this experiment was chosen with the best judgment I could make in light of existing factors.

Mississippi: The reorganized MCHR has, of after some hesitation, made the decision to seek members. Any growth will be statistically impressive.

Virginia: Virginia has a goal of raising its membership from 2,00 2,100 to 3,000. Their campaign is thus far ahead of schedule.

Texas: The Houston Council has a goal of doubling its membership from a 1962 high of 243 to 500. A membership "workshop" will be held in the fall and it is possible the results will raise the membership even higher.

There is reason to hope that by the end of 1963 Council membership will reach 8,000--an increase of some 40%. This membership and percentage figure would still be far smaller than that desired, but I would consider it a good by-product of an year of unusual crisis and program demand.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

VJ ✓

MJ - file

CONFIDENTIAL

October 17, 1963

MEMO TO: LWD

FROM: PA

RE: Mobile and ABLE revisited

Spent all of Monday and Monday evening, October 14, with the ABLE leadership in Mobile. The major questions under discussion were (1) if the group should disband and the leaders go their separate ways, or (2) should they disband and form another ABLE-type organization, or (3) should they continue.

ABLE has been considerably and effectively attacked by the John Birch Society, Women for Constitutional Government, the American Legion, a significant portion of the medical society, and other strong organizations and prominent individuals. More recently they have been hard-hit by the Mobile County White Citizens Council, which likely enjoys Birch Society financial support. (See most recent, passed out at WCC meeting last week and on down-town streets the next day.)

These initial attacks were of a different nature--and were probably more effective--than the traditional attacks experienced in Little Rock, Atlanta, and elsewhere. Now, interestingly, as the WCC comes into the forefront the attacks are reverting more to the anticipated form: telephone harassment, threats, vulgar letters, and the like.

Before any of the attacks began ABLE did some good ground work. The of the city's most prominent men had agreed to serve as "sponsors," a number of organizations had pledged support, and an effective membership drive was begun. After Wallace's attack and subsequent manuevers by the Birch society all of this ceased and most of the initial work was undone.

With new tactics, much done "underground" rather than the anticipated public program, the ABLE program has been effective and justifies the support which we and others have given to it. Therefore, the visit on Monday was really a test of just how much the ABLE leadership had grown and whether or not there was to be any continuing benefit from the effort.

The results were encouraging. It would have been easy for the group to disband; the schools are desegregated and remain open. They did not give up under fire and might consider that they could now disband without dishonor.

After thorough and honest examination, the board of ABLE determined to continue in business. Their reasons were: the Federal Courts may and likely will hand down an order considerably more sweeping than the present injunction which accounts for the attendance of two Negro children; desegregation will reach into county schools in September

where violence and Tuskegee-type boycotts by white pupils are possible and likely; to disband now would still be to give in to those who have attacked them; and, the group needs to challenge and oppose the serious threat of political domination of Mobile by a coalition of segregationists and ultra-rightists. The awareness of this threat and the decision to fight it were particularly encouraging.

A first major effort at "Going Public" again will be made later this month when the group co-sponsors an appearance in Mobile of Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers. The ABLE board recently had a conference with Flowers. His theme in Mobile will be the need for public schools and the futility of Wallace-type opposition to federal courts. The other sponsors of this appearance, all arranged by ABLE, will be the League of Women Voters, the AAUW, and the Mobile Education Association.

The group enjoyed the visit of David and Neva Rockefeller, and it gave them a boost at a time when they were pretty despondent.

Hollis Wiseman, husband of the ABLE president, reports his practice has not suffered, though his relationship with a number of his colleagues has. This situation has encouraged a move by Dr. Wiseman and some of his like-minded colleagues to liberalize the leadership of the Mobile Medical Society. The first Negro doctor was voted into full membership several weeks ago. Dr. Wiseman's support of his wife and his insistence that she not give in are probably the most important factors in the survival of ABLE.

Without "outside" prompting, members of the ABLE board are now working with a save-the-schools group in Baldwin County and another in Fairhope, Alabama. Mrs. Wiseman has agreed to go to Meredian, Mississippi--at her own expense--to consult with a school teacher there who wishes to start such a group.

At this instance, and regrettably, SRC is perhaps the best known civil rights organization in Mobile. My various hosts and hostesses refused to let me stay at a hotel, take a taxi, or otherwise meet the general public. I did not approve of this before going but do now.

Mobile revisited was generally reassuring.

MANNING JOHNSON PUTS FINGER ON THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MANNING JOHNSON

WHO WAS MANNING HOHNSON?

"Manning Johnson's story begins very much like many other Negroes brought up in a religious home. He was inducted into the "party" largely because of the preachings of a communist Bishop (retired) of the Episcopal Church, William Montgomery Brown. Manning Johnson is a man of ability and education and felt himself frustrated by his race and color, and fell under the spell of the communist propaganda.

His Christian upbringing made him revolt at the obsene immorality of the Communist Party, and its members.

His courage made him willing to confess his sins in public and try to expiate them." (the above is quotes from the Preface of the book written by Manning Johnson "Color - Communism and Common Sense" Preface by Archibald B. Roosevelt.)

Manning Johnson spent ten years in the Communist Party - rejected Communism and began testifying in behalf of the United States of America.

WHO ORGANIZED THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL?

According to testimony given under oath before Government Investigating Committee, Manning Johnson states that a Jim Jackson was founder of the Southern Regional Council. (see page 73 - Hearings of General Legislative Investigating Committee - State of Mississippi 1962 Regular Session.) James E. Jackson Jr., according to FBI file #85-441A, was Southern Regional Director Communist Party USA and wanted for Conspiracy to Advocate the Violent Overthrow of the Government.

WHAT LOCAL ORGANIZATION INVITED A FIELD REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO SPEAK TO THEM AND GUIDE THEM?

THE ANSWER IS **ABLE (Alabamians Behind Local Education)**

QUESTION - Is it good for our community to have the tentacles of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia which has been fingered as "Part of the Communist Transmission Belt" by Manning Johnson, giving advise to our unsuspecting citizens? The Communist are out to use NOBLE DEEDS and HEAD-LINE SEEKERS to further weaken each Community in this Country for the final **"TAKE OVER"**

AMERICANS - WAKE UP!

MOBILE COUNTY WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL
156 TUTTLE AVE.
BOB SMITH, Chairman

file

Jeff - Paul Anthony memos

B VJ ✓ fee

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 8, 1963

To: LWD ✓ From: PA

Subject: Florida trip, November 3-7, 1963

On Sunday evening, before beginning the Florida tour, Mitchell and I completed the plans for the new approach to membership and finances. Essentially these are: no membership fee, persons become members simply by signing a statement indicating agreement with the beliefs and programs of the Council; members and friends will be encouraged to pledge a contribution, preferably payable on a monthly basis throughout the year. All members will receive the FCHR Newsletter and New South (sent together by FCHR) and New South will be used as a basic promotional piece for potentially interested persons. Lou hopes to distribute some hundreds of extra copies of the magazine each month, the number largely determined by cost and funds available.

The budget for 1964 is $35,000, which means that FCHR must raise approximately $30,000 next year, compared to slightly more than $5,000 raised this year.

Drove to Palm Beach on Monday, met with leaders of the Palm Beach County Chapter of FCHR that afternoon. The "Gala Dinner" that evening was a tremendous success, with the capacity of the 300 of the dining room filled. Reports were that twice that number could have been present if facilities permitted. The evening was marked by an excellent spirit of people pleased to be together and not too much illusion about what they had yet to do to make their area a decent one. Very good program (attached). 178 persons joined the FCHR and pledged $5,800 in support. (The actual amount is somewhat less than this because a few persons at least thought they were pledging a one time contribution rather than an amount to be paid monthly.) This occasion created a Palm Beach chapter of something over 200 members, bringing it from one of the smallest to one of the largest in the state. It was the most successful occasion of this nature which I've attended and, in part at least, a guide for possible use in programs and membership drives elsewhere.

PA

Tuesday morning met with biracial ministerial group in Palm Beach, the Ministers Action Council. Good group who pledged their support to FCHR '

Tuesday afternoon met with student leaders from campus of University of Miami. Tuesday evening organizational meeting of that group. Some twenty-five members joined that evening and the group is optimistic about plans for a rather large organization. The chapter has good faculty support and leadership.

Wednesday worked with Dade County Chapter leadership. This group is still in very poor shape in every respect, representing an exaggeration of the state-wide problem of having to live down its past. Much progress has been made under the leadership of Mrs. Franklin Williams as Executive Director. Edwin Lewis, an old personal friend and very capable person who is a successful businessman (real estate) is now doing much of the work and will probably be the nest president. Mrs. Williams wants to resign her position, though she will remain active. Finding a good replacement for her will be a problem.

Wednesday evening, annual dinner of the Dade County chapter. By past standards, the affair was quite a success. Some 100 persons attended. Father Gibson and I spoke. The program was not well planned, too much going on for too long. Much confusion about the new membership-support plan. (Pledges amount to only about $800.) Following the Palm Beach success this was probably a good experience for Lou and me, because on a state-wide basis this latter occasion was more representative of the problems to be dealt with.

Wednesday, breakfast with select group from Dade County executive committee to plan membership-finance program based on personal solicitations by these committee members and a few others.

Later, an effort to enlist the support of the Florida Council of Churches was unsuccessful.

Thereafter, the first opportunity during the week for several hours alone with Mitchell. The new director is doing a good job--in program as well as promotion--, is respected and highly regarded by all with whom I spoke and, at least in Palm Beach and Miami, is serving as a real spark plug for reorganization and development. He has a tremendous amount of energy, works incredibly long hours, and has deep sense of dedication to the cause.

He and the Florida Council rely heavily on SRC and their association with us. While they correctly understand our relationship, they have need to feel associated with this organization for which they have deep respect. They have need, too, for some identification with SRC because in many places the image of FCHR per se is not good.

This respect for SRC pleases me and I see no reason why our relationship, correctly interpreted, should not be a part of their public identification. In fact, we are largely responsible for what they must undo and rebuild and I think we have an obligation to do everything possible to help them in this.

Several other matters should be covered in a brief conversation.

Please return attached program.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

VJV
~~PA~~ Pat in office
File "Staff: P. Anthony Memos"

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date November 8, 1963

To: LWD

From: PA

Subject: TCHR Board Meeting

The meeting was held at the Holiday Inn, Nashville, November 2, 8:30 A.M. - 3:00 P.M.

President George Barrett became involved in settling a local strike and could not be present.

It had been my impression this meeting was called especially to consider the serious, basic questions of the Tennessee Council. However, as of lunch the meeting was routine, consisting mainly of program reports from the various communities represented.

During lunch the Lillian Smith film was shown and well received. George arrived during this program.

Following lunch about 20 minutes was given to "program emphasis for 1964." An equal amoung of time was given to the quesiton of which days of the week were best for an annual meeting. Other routine business followed until the time of adjournment.

When, just before adjournment, the Chairman insisted that I "say something," I expressed rather bluntly my complete disappointment at the meeting and the group's failure to even face any of the serious problems of TCHR. Further, I expressed the opinion that I should have remained in Atlanta, saving SRC a plane fare and me a day. At the time, and still, I feel indignant that this weak board wasted SRC money and PA time.

A committee from the board was appointed to grapple with these problems. This committee was seriously appointed after sober discussion and it may do some good.

VJ ✓
PW ✓
MJ

Staff: PiA - Field Trip Reports 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 25, 1964

To: Leslie Dunbar From: Paul Anthony

Subject: Louisiana visit February 16 - 17

A meeting to consider reorganization of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations was held in New Orleans at Xavier University on Sunday, February 16, at 5 P.M. About 15 persons were present: a Lafayette delegation of five persons, led by Msgr. Alexander Sigur, Wade Mackie and John Lewis of Baton Rouge, and a large group from New Orleans, including the officers of the Community Relations Council. Mrs. Gladys Cahn presided. (A complete list of the names and addresses of those present is being sent me and will be attached to this memo when it arrives.)

Following much talk there was unanimous agreement that the group wants a Council, the state needs such a program, and the potential for local support exists. In very general terms, it was agreed organizational effort should proceed toward (1) establishing chapters in Lafayette and Baton Rouge, where unofficial groups now exist; (2) beginning arrangements to have the New Orleans Community Relations Council become the chapter of the state organization from that city; (3) seeking out individuals and groups in other communities as a potential beginning of other chapters; (4) building a mailing list of appropriate persons; (5) seeking funds from individuals and groups to support the organizational effort and, hopefully, the beginnings of a staffed operation.

Msgr. Sigur agreed to serve as temporary chairman for a period of up to six months. Mrs. Cahn and Mr. Lewis agreed to serve as co-chairmen. All present agreed to serve as a temporary steering committee. The officers were authorized to add others to the committee.

These officers accepted responsibility roughly as follows. Msgr. Sigur, with the assistance of others from Lafayette, agreed to arrange for clerical facilities and concentrate on building a mailing list, encouraging establishment of local chapters, fund raising, and visiting one or more Councils in other states, probably beginning with Florida. (I agreed to send Msgr. Sigur $100 for initial postage and other expenses.) Mr. Lewis agreed to reach people throughout the state

and, with the help of Mr. Mackey, to try to formally organize the group in Baton Rouge. Mrs. Cahn agreed to work with the CRC in these regards and to devote time to such questions as by-laws, the relations of local chapters to the state organization, etc.

Generally, planning will begin on the basis of developing a state organization whose strength, support, and program will come from local chapters.

Obviously a tremendous amount of work must be done, the initial decisions will be crucial, and considerable staff help will have to come from SRC. I hope to visit New Orleans and Lafayette again in late March.

The group has good leadership and, at this very early stage, the situation is promising. It is likely a Louisiana Council will be fully organized and possibly staffed by fall.

cc: Msgr. Alexander Sigur
Mr. John Lewis
Mrs. Gladys Cahn

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PA ✓ any further discussion NO

MM — File: staff - P. Anthony Field Supervisor

1964

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 6, 1964

To: LWD (cc: VJ) From: PA

Subject: Spring program of the department of field activities

I feel the following, most of it obvious, should be put into writing for your consideration.

A number of specific areas need to receive attention if we are to meet our minimum responsibilities. They are:

(1) Specific and deliberate services to the established state councils. We cannot become so involved in dealing with special problems that we cease, or nearly cease, to notice this area. For instance, the best, Virginia, needs far more attention than I have given it. Special situations, especially Arkansas and Tennessee, also need as much help as we can provide.

(2) The barely functioning Councils provide situations which we cannot ignore. North Carolina still must be staffed, and thereafter must have considerable help from us. Mississippi deserves considerable help from us. Louisiana looks as if it may go regardless of what we do. But, it should be noted that the amount of guidance we give that state Council and the amount of influence we are able to have may determine whether it starts well or repeats some of the mistakes already made there and elsewhere. No matter what problems arise we simply cannot ignore this area.

(3) The leadership project and services to public education seem to me to be naturally meshed together. Funds are available in this project, even need to be spent. Here, it occurs to me, I have done a poor job of interpreting the problem of the need. School districts, involving some thousands of students, threaten to close or drastically alter public schools. This threat is greater and far more wide-spread than at any time in the past. With some variation, there are probably at least twenty potential "Prince Edward" counties in the immediate future. Districts, like Jackson and Biloxi need as much attention as we can give them. These situations call for special, deliberate, specialized, and exclusive help. I retreat on the agreement that this and public accommodations interests mesh. Obviously in a sense they do.

But for our programming they do not. Considering the time we once felt disposed to give Atlanta or New Orleans, I think we would be remiss in our responsibility not to try to at least think in the same terms for the majority of the region which still faces this problem with far less resources than the glamour cities.

We need personnel, consultants, publications, research. In all seriousness, I am concerned that the drama of being concerned with school desegregation has waned almost to the point of disinterest at the time when the need is greatest.

(4) The public accommodations program, for which plans are now being made and which need no elaboration here.

(5) Other SRC program interests also must still have a place. Such areas as working in rural programs, cooperating with several groups such as the Sharecroppers Fund, who will still continue to come to us whether invited or not.

In meeting these needs, we should continue the following as far as administration and personnel are concerned.

For Numbers 1 and 2, we return to the obvious of a second person in the field department. To be of any real help this must be a highly qualified person or one of unusual promise. There are important salary considerations here. Please give me whatever specific qualifications, such as race, which are nedessary for this, and the salary limitations. Until this ideal individual is found I see no alternative but to return to the tired old formula of heavy travel, especially on weekends. There are travel budget considerations here.

Here, too, an effort should be made to get state directors to serve as consultants and new directors should be helped to visit other states.

For Number 3, Ben Muse can be a great deal of help to us and, as we have discussed, can actually do a job which no other person of our acquaintance can do. As soon as possible we need to know just just what amount of time Ben can given to this. In discussing this we need a sense of priorities. For instance, after the fact it occurs to me that Ben's time in Louisville Louisville is a very low priority item compared to the various needs. Also, assuming Ben's health will greatly limit his/ his availability (and assuming there are no financial problems on his part) we need to reconsider the full time salary here. We are dangerously close to making a tradition of full time salaries for part time services.

For the summer we should consider employing a Ken Moreland type--from Leadership Project funds--to spend full time time working in communities facing desegregation in the fall. In the meantime I should

get the volunteer women involved again. (Teko Wiseman of Mobile has agreed to go to Jackson or elsewhere in Mississippi "anytime." Currently ABLE is concentrating on getting a candidate elected to the ~~SNC~~ school board and on running a candidate for Congress!)

If necessary, I think SLP funds could also pay for part time research, writing help, and the production or reproduction of more materials. Do you agree?

It occurs to me that we are fortunate in having so much to do. In trying to do all ~~thi~~ that is necessary, we may well get more done than if we had fewer problems on which to concentrate!

VJ
WB
LM
METV
~~PA~~
mmj-file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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See Staff file Reports

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 5, 1964

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: Present status of Save the School efforts in Mississippi

On April ~~31~~ 30, while in Jackson, I met with a small group of women who hope to revive the SOS effort there. They are from the earlier informal effort and think some of the women who once expressed an interest can be attracted again if leadership can be provided.

Two women, Mrs. Paul S. Derian and Mrs. Winifred Falls, are the strength of this effort. Informally, Mrs. Derian is serving as chairman. Her husband, a physician, supports her in this, though he is very concerned about the probable consequences should the group become public.

There is no need to rehash the horrors of Mississippi, but it is impossible to describe the conditions under which these women live or the courage it takes for them to do this. SRC is respected by these people, and at his request, I have pledged to Dr. Darian all help we can possibly give, should they choose to go through with this venture.

On Saturday, May 2, final arrangements were made for Mrs. Hollis Wiseman and Mrs. Chatten Haynes of Mobile to go to Jackson to consult with a small group of women. This will likely be followed by a small group from Jackson going to Mobile to meet with the full Executive Committee of ABLE. On the evening of May 20 I will meet in Jackson with the women and their husbands.

Major questions at this point are: can the group become public? They will if any significant support can be attracted. If they cannot go public can any effective work be done "underground"? Do they have to wait, like Little Rock, until schools are closed, before being able to accomplish significant results?

Some hope exists for a statewide "network" of SOS groups. Ironically the Jackson group last year stimulated a group in Meridian. ~~The Jackson group~~

The Jackson group folded, the Meridian group remains and is prepared to go public. An attorney, Tom Bourdeaux, leads the Meridian group. ABLE leadership has helped in Meridian.

Mrs. Falls is probably moving to the Gulfport-Biloxi area. If so, she will help with an effort in Biloxi, her home originally.

Jean Fairfax has been of considerable help in Jackson. Connie Curry will now begin to spend much time in Mississippi and I think her time can best be spent with these women. We are arranging for Connie to visit Mobile en route to Jackson. The work of Power Hearn will also be meshed with all this.

We really didn't have this Mississippi in mind when it was written, but I am pleased to note that all these people use "Transition Without Tragedy" and seem to find it very helpful. About 30 copies are now in the hands of individuals in the state.

I am also pleased to note that, in fact, SRC is providing good and needed services in Mississippi. Fortunately, it is on several levels: with general "moderate" community work, especially in support of public education; with the Mississippi Council, where there is now some opportunity for interracial work--very little, but more than a lay effort can take advantage of (the state-wide Mississippi Council meeting consisted of only 75 persons, but so much promise and eagerness); and with our publications and information (the need for information cannot be exaggerated).

For all of this our resources are pitifully inadequate in relation to the need. Agencies like ours, to be effective, must work through people and even in the Mississippies there are people. They are prepared to give time and skills--and accept abuses--which are akin to nothing in our experience.

V J
W B
L M
M E T
~~PA~~ mm J-file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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File
staff
PA-field reports

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 8, 1964

To: LWD From: PA

Subject:

The Mississippi Council had a statewide meeting at Tougaloo College on ~~May~~ April 28. About 75 persons attended. The usual large group of Catholic clergymen were present. They and a small numberof Protestant clergymen are the strength of that Council.

Jean Fairfax led a long discussion on the school situation. By telephone Bill Minors of the Times-Picayune spoke to the group. He was at the state capital and couldn't leave the deliberations of the legislature. He is a good and outspoken man, publicly sympathetic to MCHR.

A meeting of the MCHR board has been scheduled for May 21. Purposes are to plan programs for summer and consider possibility of establishing a staffed operation. I will attend. Will also meet with the SOS group while there.

There is a possibility of small local Councils in perhaps half-a-dozen Mississippi cities. There is now some potential for the MCHR making a difference. Even assuming funds were available, the problem of proper staffing is formidable if not insurmountable.

Random notes:

Hazel Smith announced two more $50,000 libel suits against the Lexington Advertiser, brought by two Lexington policemen because of that paper's reporting of a shooting of a Negro man in downtown Lexington. The shooting took place shortly after Medgar Evers murder.

The MCHR voted to have an expression of sympathy sent to Hodding Carter over the loss of his son.

Aaron Henry reported a letter of explanation of COFO summer program has been sent to each member of the state legislature and to the sheriff in each county in which programs are contemplated. The letter also offers to discuss these programs in person. No recipient has as yet acknowledged the letter.

WB ✓
BW ✓
✓ I ✓
L M ✓
B P ✓
~~PA~~ MMJ-file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

file - staff PA field trips

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 18, 1964

To: LWD ✓ From: PA

Subject: Florida gubernatorial race

As you know, Robert King High, mayor of Miami, and Haydon Burnes, mayor of Jacksonville, are in a run-off election in the Democratic primary. This is in the old Florida tradition of a "liberal" vs. a "conservative" offering themselves. It is different in that it is the first time in which an "integrationist" vs. a "segregationist" compete. (Burns, last week, emphatically denies that he is a "racist.") It is also different in that it is the first time in which a candidate from metropolitan South Florida is a serious contender.

High's victory in the first election was an upset and a matter of genuine surprise for much of Florida. He was an open integrationist, a Miamian, spent less than $100,000 (the fourth-place candidate reported expenditures of approximately a quarter of a million) got less than 50% of the vote in Miami, and did not campaign extensively. He did, however, campaign well. He convinced enough people that he was a serious candidate. One of his campaign managers is a Negro, the Rev. Gene Tillman of West Palm Beach. Tillman is credited with getting this message across to the Negro voters of Florida.

At present we have a genuine--frightening--example of the pro vs. the amateur. Burns has said that he has 750 businessmen who have each pledged $1,000 toward his run-off campaign. High headquarters does not have bumper stickers for people who ask for them.

(Mrs. Henrine Banks of Daytona tells me she is certain Burns supporters have $25,000 to buy Negro votes in Volusia County. It is still done.)

No. Flm

Burns is the favorite and will likely win. This has long term implications since the next governor will be the last to hold a two year term. Thereafter, the term will be four years and the next two-year governor can succeed himself. Hence, the winner may be six years in office.

But, the morale of the High campaign is phenomenal. I talked with Gene Tillman while in Florida, and he thinks they have a winner. On Friday evening I attended a small dinner for Mrs. High. She is a lovely, petite, strong women. With a group of Miami women and a band, they are campaigning from the back of a truck. (Even the musicians are campaigning!)

Within the context of our concerns, we all like to think of Florida as having left the South. We are eager that any state in the region do so and Florida seems and looks so different that it is easy for us to consider it so. Certainly the state is different in that it has a large and identifiable group of liberals. It has a large and growing number of Negro voters. But these groups are in the minority and generally fail to win in contests like the present one. Central and North Florida, areas like Jacksonville and St. Augustine sill predominate. The principals we support have promise and potential in this state. But, Armageddon has not arrived.

Now is the time, in areas like Florida, when the leverage we have can be used. (The Voter Education Project programs in Florida are the kind of pertinent efforts that do make a difference; the right help at the right time.)

Specifically, Florida has not moved beyond the need for help from us. That state particularly needs our assistance and has the people, the momentum, and the potential for progress. But, this is promise, not certainty.

Generally, while we must and should shift our resources to the Mississippies of the South, we must develop ways to continue to help people in states which have--by comparison--arrived. It may be that genuine biracial efforts are possible only under such circumstances.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date ~~April~~ May 18, 1964

To: LWD (cc: Dr. H. Franklin Williams) From: PA

Subject: Florida Council

During the period May 13-15 I spoke with several members of the FCHR Executive Committee. Purpose was to inform them of Mitchell's leaving, discuss what next and how to go about it, and to determine reaction to Ed Lewis as a candidate for the job. Franklin Williams agreed this should be done, he and I having assured the FCHR committee Mitchell would not leave permanently if the leave of absence was granted for SRC.

Of the committee members, I talked with Herbert Davidson and Mrs. Henrine Banks of Daytona Beach, Mrs. Marjorie Olsen of Cocoa, and James Piowaty of Fort Pierce. I also discussed this matter with Harrison and Mable Chesley and with Irving Cheney. Cheney is now serving as acting director, does not want to leave his church for a permanent appointment, is willing to continue as "Assistant Director" of FCHR, knows Ed Lewis, thinks he's a good man for the job and will work with Lewis should he become director. (The idea of this businessman-clergyman combination--both men conspicuously successful in their fields--is intriguing.)

While Mable Chesley is no longer on the Executive Committee, she and her husband remain as major members and contributors of FCHR. They were not surprised or particularly unhappy with this new development, know Lewis only slightly, but are prepared to give him their active support. (The Chesleys are typical of the good--and uncommonly capable--people who insist on SRC staff recommendations in these matters and act accordingly. In a sense they respect us for knowing our business, take seriously our recommendations and opinions, and respond not as "yes men" but as people who have sought and received competent advice. This is, obviously, a sobering responsibility and the basis for our present dilemma. These people took our word in the Mitchell transfer and acted against their better judgment. None of them took the opportunity to say "I told you so" but it was necessary that I,personally and as an envoy of Franklin Williams-an SRC representative as well as FCHR president-, give them an opportunity to do so.)

With the exception of Davidson, none of the committee members were surprised. All were happy for Mitchell's good fortune and wished him well. Mrs. Banks knows Lewis and likes the idea of him being director. None of the others know him, but all are interested in having an early interview. Ideally, if Lewis is selected, the decision should be made before the semi-annual meeting of the full board is held in Cocoa on May 30. Mitchell's resignation will be announced at that time and it would be good if the committee could recommend a replacement at the same time. Davidson has suggested an evening meeting on the 29th for this purpose. For obvious reasons of travel costs, I had not planned to be present at this meeting but all of the above have urged me to be and Davidson has insisted. I have promised to try to be there.

I will phone Franklin Williams on Monday and get his reaction to all this.

We have quite a responsibility here. I would like to discuss this with you as soon as possible, but certainly before the 29th whether or not I attend the FCHR board meeting.

Matters of other Florida interests are in separate memos.

MEMORANDUM May 19, 1964

To: Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Mr. David F. Freeman
Mr. Vernon A. Eagle

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

- : -

I thought the attached memorandum might be of interest to you.

- : -

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(PA's field trip report on Cocoa, Florida, dtd. May , 1964)

file
P. Anthony
field trip reports
1964!

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 18, 1964

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: Meeting on employment in Cocoa, Florida

On Thursday, May 14, Lou Mitchell and I attended, by invitation, a meeting of the directors of personnel and directors of public relations of the private industry government contractors of Cape Kennedy.

The personnel and public relations people each have formal associations that meet periodically. This was a joint meeting called for the purpose of discussing with us the opportunities for cooperation in programs of mutual concern. Some 80 people attended. This was more than was expected and the dining room of the restaurant was not large enough to seat all of those who appeared.

Mitchell did a good job of describing the Florida Council and suggesting specific immediate programs which could be undertaken jointly. The audience was generally receptive and generally in agreement, though there was an undercurrent of the businessman's conservatism and reluctance to get involved with "do-gooders." Reaction ranged from outright endorsement to that of one personnel director who privately predicted, "No niggers will ever by employed by our company."

Private discussions after the meeting with individuals from several companies were especially encouraging. The representative from Pan American (one of the largest employers in the Cape), from Lockheed, and from TWA ("just getting started, only about 5,000 employees") were especially encouraging. Interestingly, Brown Engineering (of Huntsville, Alabama) is our strongest supporter and, in effect, our sponsor, in this effort. (The Florida Council board meeting of May 30 will be held in Cocoa in the Brown engineering conference room.)

This is only a foot in the door. Whether or not anything of significance comes from this will depend on the follow-up; the intensive work with the most willing where we really produce and where we can, on rare occasion, work in human relations as effectively

as these people build missiles. If we can do these things there is an opportunity. Discrimination is rampant, but, relatively, at a minimum.

We shall need to emphasize employment opportunity at the skilled and semi-skilled levels. Anyone, who is very lucky, can produce one Negro mathematician. We need to concentrate on where the most of the whites are now employed, where the most of the economy and the potential is present.

We also need to interpret industry's responsibility. It is not enough that these companies employ Negro secretaries. The corporations need to be concerned with where their employees live, where their employees' children attend school, etc. Ironically, corporations already have an intense interest in the areas for whites, but an almost complete block when these interests become "controversial."

Here we have an opportunity, step by step, to work at all this. It is an opportunity for private agencies and private business to cooperate and to prove that each is essential for the other's interests.

The Cocoa area is Deep South, very Deep South. But everything in that area, from Palm trees to the importance of first families, is disappearing rapidly under the rush of "progress." Frankly, I find all this change frightening and seriously in question. But, the change is a fact and if everything is going to be new there is no reason why decency and opportunity shouldn't be a part of it.

Florida is still very "Southern," far more conservative than many people realize. (By comparison, North Carolina is, in my opinion, well ahead of this state. The hundreds of thousands of non-Southern migrants to Florida have not necessarily brought any great wisdom with them.) But the things in Cape Kennedy are, God forbid, supposed to be what the New South is looking for: shiney new industry, high salaries, formally educated people.

We should do what we can with this opportunity. I am reminded of Mr. Dabbs' resolve that the South reach into its roots and embrace and humanize the industrial revolution.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 25, 1964

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: Mississippi Council

The Board of Directors of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations met in Jackson on May 21. The meeting was held at the First Unitarian church beginning with lunch. This, and a general membership meeting held that evening in the Catholic High School, are the first MCHR meetings held in Jackson outside the Tougaloo campus.

It was decided to hold the next general state-wide meeting on June 5 in Jackson at Tougaloo College. I was asked to inquire if you would be a speaker for that meeting. The other portion of the program will be a report on the summer program of COFO and how MCHR can relate to it.

Currently MCHR is doing a wide mailing of a description of the COFO program. Several thousand copies of a shortened form of a prospectus published by COFO are being mailed to as many people as possible. (Will Campbell and the Committee of Southern Churchmen are helping with some mimeographing and postage.) The Mississippi Methodist Advocate editor has agreed to send this information to all Methodist ministers in the state. No factual information on COFO's program is being disseminated through the usual channels, though misinformation and distortions get much play.

Copies of James Silver's article are also in heavy demand and we will provide as many additional copies as possible.

Major purpose of this meeting was for the Board to consider future programs for MCHR. Relative to this was a consideration of the possibility of securing a full-time staff director, and the financial implications of this.

It was agreed the present resources of money and lay leadership cannot be expected to provide for an expanded program. Also, there was agreement that present program is worthwhile. (This program is essentially of two parts: (1) distribution of information not otherwise available in the state--such as the Silver speech and a report on COFO summer program--to as many people as possible, and (2) expansion of membership, the "friendly" mailing list, and providing opportunities

for members and other interested or curious persons to meet together. Membership is approximately 200, the friendly mailing list contains about 650 names, and each of these categories is growing. On the evening of May 21 the first meeting was held to try to formally establish a Jackson chapter of MCHR. All the work is being done by lay people and--with the exceptions of modest help for publications from SRC--all the funds for the program are being raised from within the state.)

It was agreed now is the time, if at all possible, to seek a staff director. The results of the lay effort offer encouragement, some minute breaks in the "closed society" are evident, Jackson, Greenville, Oxford, and Meridian, and the central area offer the possibility of local programming, given the necessary assistance, and the problems of the summer, September, thereafter are obvious, and to my knowledge, nowhere exaggerated.

A realistic discussion was held about finding a qualified individual and about finding the money for such an operation. We agreed that whatever the problems related to fund-raising, it would probably be more difficult to find the person.

I have been asked to draw up a minimum adequate budget, to begin looking for staff, and to discuss with you the possibilities of outside help, given satisfactory staffing. A personnel committee (also to concern itself with finances) has been established headed by Rabbi Nussbaum of Jackson.

I am convinced that we are right in being very pessimistic about the immediate future in Mississippi. But, assuming the human relations council approach is valid and given these remarkably fine people, I believe we should now do everything possible to reestablish a staffed council operation in that state.

I hope you will be able to accept the June 5 invitation. It will be an excellent opportunity to meet the MCHR leadership in the Mississippi setting.

The evening meeting in Jackson and work with the save-the-school women are reported on separately.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY B. VIX, LABOR CONSULTANT

√I √ yn I-file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Phone 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

File
Staff & Dept. Heads

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 26, 1964

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: Most recent meetings with Save-the-Schools women in Jackson, Mississippi.

On May 21 I met twice with the "inner circle" of the Jackson SOS leaders.

We met in the morning to discuss my "chores" for the day and again in the evening at 9:00 following the MCHR meeting.

At present, developments are these:

(1) The women have the assistance of an attorney who will help them become incorporated, "if they insist." For purposes of corporate vs. individual liability, for sake of appearances, have suggested they insist. In the opinion of their attorney, it will be necessary for the group to be a school betterment group rather than an SOS group since he feels an SOS group, per se, would not receive a charter. While not wanting to go under false pretenses, the women have no hesitation about being a school betterment group since they would like to be just that. It is, in their opinion, only logical that they first are assured public schools will continue under peaceful circumstances. After that, they would honestly like to concern themselves with the quality of public schools in Mississippi. This is another interesting instance in which the negative posture of state officials may have achieved results other than those they desired.

(2) The women want to establish a Mississippi organization as opposed to an operation limited to Jackson. They reason, along the lines of HOPE in Georgia, there is a local and a state-wide need.

On the local level they need to insure that Jackson schools remain open and that law and order are preserved. Other communities may have the same need. But, on the state level they must be concerned with state government policy, whatever local conditions. This, too, I encourage.

(3) Following incorporation, the group will make itself known, visit all appropriate state and local officials to pledge support for adequate policy, and visit all business leaders to secure cooperation. Simultaneously a general membership drive--and membership involvement--will begin.

This "inner group" really consists of about five women. All are young, bright, intelligent, and very attractive. At least three of them would prefer to be openly identified with the "integrationists of MCHR." They do this--as moderates--only because "real moderates" could not be found. One is the wife of a young physician who is willing to lose his practice and leave the state "if this makes a real difference." (As you know I have promised him, at his request, the full possible support of SRC.) Another is the wife of a college professor (political science) whose husband is "tired of talking among ourselves without doing anything." Another is a young Jewish woman who has the tentative support of her husband but who is under heavy pressures from both sides of her family for fear these activities will increase the anti-semitic sentiment in the community. STill another is a great-grandfather of a famous Confederate general. One has a grandfather who is Ross Barnett's attorney and whose mother last year brought suit to establish the legality of a "white only" policy for the beaches of Biloxi.

With one exception these are "Mississippi girls." By some alchemy they have been produced. We looked for them but we really didn't find them, they found us.

Last year I began working with an SOS group in Jackson. They were fine people and in time they were routed. None of the inner circle of that group is available for this effort. They will "help" but they fought and had the spirit knocked out of them. I don't blame them for not subjecting themselves to the same thing again. Nor could I ever, in good conscience, encourage anyone to take on these interests now. (And, I have said so to these women.) But, if they do so, as they have and will, we must help them to the fullest extent possible.

This is the breaking of the shell. For all the prattle about outsiders, outsiders will break very little on the inside. But, if insiders like these begin to break things to any degree, they will continue and that will make a difference, whatever the odds, for a long time to come.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

VJ
WB
MJ-file

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

File
Staff PA
Field trip 1964

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 26, 1964

To: LWD From: PA

Subject: First public meeting of Jackson members of MCHR

On May 21, at 7:30 P.M., a ~~meeting~~ meeting of the Jackson members of the MCHR was held in the gymnasium of the Catholic High School.

MCHR members in the Jackson area were invited to attend and bring their friends. About 50 persons were expected (or, more accurately, hoped for); over 100 attended. The continuing high spot of the evening was the regular interruption created by Father Clancy as he sat up extra folding chairs.

Already, this accounting seems mundane. But, one must understand it in the Mississippi context. While not "public" in the usual sense, this was the first interracial meeting of recent memory held in downtown Jackson, Mississippi. It was held in an ~~acc~~ acceptable place--the Catholic High School--one block from the governor's mansion. It was thoroughly integrated, about 30% Negro; everybody mixed up with everybody else. It came on the day when the Jackson School Board ended its case in Judge Mize's court on the "basic inferiority" of the Negro. All the doors and windows of the gym were ~~wide~~ open wide for the world to see and hear. (It was uncomfortably hot, a high of 98° that day.) And, many who came were uncertain and worried, but all were bolstered by their "strength in numbers."

Duncan Grey, as President of MCHR, and I, as representative of SRC, spoke. Our themes, and the tenor of the evening, was integration is right and necessary and the time is late for good men to act. Without bearing on our performances, but relating to the audience's interests, we were warmly applauded.

There followed a good question and answer period with Mrs. Wallis Schutt presiding. Later Mrs. Schutt asked those interested in forming a Jackson chapter of MCHR to leave their names and addresses. Almost three-fourths of those present did so.

Many, probably most, of those people present want to "do

something." A few in the audience--such as Dr. and Mrs. Dan Beittel--were there, people who are already doing all they can, simply to lend their support. Most, including a number of clergymen, were present as ordinary citizens who are looking for an opportunity for honest interracial contact and for guidance in what "average people" can do.

From this meeting will probably come the first local chapter of the Mississippi Council.

We have been so accustomed to so little that this seemed like an auspicious occasion. These people and their influence are in such a minority in Jackson and the immediate problems are so awesome. If Mississippi is held together and waddles through to decency, chances are these people will be pushed aside as being too controversial, too right too soon. But they are good, average, inordinately decent people. The Mississippi society hasn't gotten to them.

This, in fact, is why it was an honestly auspicious occasion and I felt privileged to be a part of it.

File

File
J. gen

September 6, 1966

Mr. Dexter Gatehouse
Sales Promotion
Jekyll Motels, Incorporated
1706 Lenox Towers West
3390 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30326

Dear Dexter:

Thank you for your note. We do keep Jekyll Island in mind. It now looks that it may very well be early Spring before we plan to have a meeting there, but sooner or later we shall plan to do so.

Thanks for thinking of us.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Jekyll Island

The Wanderer 635-2211 | CORSICA 635-2272 | Stockade CARRIAGE INN 635-2201

FAMOUS YEAR 'ROUND RESORTS AT GOLFHAVEN ON AMERICA'S HOLIDAY AND CONVENTION ISLAND

(AREA CODE 404) 233-1950
1706 LENOX TOWERS WEST
3390 PEACHTREE ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30326

(8)

August 22, 1966

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Attention: PAUL ANTHONY
Exec. Director

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Just a note to say hello, and let you know that we are still very much interested in hosting one of your future meetings.

The best time of year for undisturbed business sessions and relaxation is the fast approaching Fall season. Rates are especially favorable, the heavy vacation traffic is over, complimentary golf is included, and the weather is most pleasant.

We certainly hope you will keep us in mind; and don't forget that our personal invitation to you and your family will always be open.

Come to see us soon.

Cordially,

JEKYLL MOTELS, INCORPORATED

Dexter

Dexter Gatehouse
Sales Promotion

WDG/njo

AAA | QUALITY COURTS | MASTER HOSTS

MANAGEMENT: JEKYLL MOTELS, INC. JEKYLL ISLAND, GEORGIA 912--635-2211

Trasp. ■

Delta to St. Simons ■

Jekyll Island

The Wanderer 635-2211 | CORSAIR 635-2202 | Stuckey's CARRIAGE INN 635-2601

FAMOUS YEAR 'ROUND RESORTS AT GOLFHAVEN ON AMERICA'S HOLIDAY AND CONVENTION ISLAND

(AREA CODE 404) 233-1950
1706 LENOX TOWERS WEST
3390 PEACHTREE ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30326

November 8, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., 5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We are very pleased to confirm accommodations at Stuckey's Carriage Inn, December 1-4, for your professional staff conference. Our reservations department will be instructed to appropriate suitable rooms for approximately 25 persons.

Special rates for your group will be: (a) poolside - $14 double & $11 single; (b) oceanside - $11 double & $9 single. These rates include complimentary golf.

There is no charge for meeting or special dining facilities. Audio-visual aids and other necessary equipment are also complimentary.

Meals can be ala carte or modified-full American Plan. For comparative figures, consider our Full American Plan Menu, which is based on $1.50 Breakfast, $2.50 Lunch and $4.00 Dinner (add 3% Georgia sales tax and 15% gratuities). Deluxe banquets, featuring island gourmet specialties - such as seafood buffet jamborees or outdoor charcoal-broiled strip sirloins - run $4.50-$6.00. You may also choose ala carte breakfasts sprinkled with planned luncheons and dinners if you like.

Cocktails are available to all meeting groups through our beverage department. You may consider individual drink prices of $.75-$.85 for cocktails and $.40-$.50 for beer. Recommended fifth prices, including light hors d'oeuvres (and tax, tip & service), are $10 for Manhattans & Martinis, $12 for Bourbons & Blends and $14 for Scotch.

Island recreation is most diverse and stimulating. Six all-weather tennis courts (1 indoor championship and 5 outdoor) are available for both day and nighttime play. Charter boats at the Jekyll Island Marina schedule regular trips for deep-sea, trolling and sport fishing. Two nearby fresh water lakes offer superb trout and bass fishing. Swimming is made year round through the utilization of Jekyll's luxurious indoor, heated Aquarama pool.

Golf remains King, whether you select the brand-new Dick Wilson championship eighteen or the Jekyll Club Millionaires' oceanside nine. An additional 18-hole course is presently under construction, to be opened in early 1967.

If any ladies are included, we suggest a guided bus tour of Jekyll Island, with special stops at the Rockefeller Museum, Faith Chapel and Jekyll Club Hotel. The tour lasts 1:30 minutes and costs $1 per person or less, depending on the size of the group. An all-day tour, including lunch at the Cloister and a visit to Fort Frederica national monument runs slightly higher. Bridge and bingo parties are very popular and inexpensive. They can be pleasantly interrupted by coffee-sherry-and danish pastry breaks.

By next year, with the restoration of the Jekyll Millionaires' Estates, we will add complete tours of all village homes. A new boat marina will also greatly increase angling potential for Jekyll.

Transportation is provided from both the local (Brunswick) St. Simons Island (serviced twice a day in and out from Atlanta by Delta Airlines) and the nearby Jacksonville, Florida, (serviced by varied major airlines) airports. Driving time from St. Simons to Jekyll is 20-25 minutes. Motel auto & limousine service is available at $5 for one person, and $1 for additional persons. If more than 15 persons arrive at one time, we will send a bus (holding 35 passengers and luggage) for a flat price of $25.

The same personal transportation is available from Jacksonville (allow 1:15-1:20 minutes for comfortable driving time) at $15 initial charge for one, and $1 for additional persons. Using a large bus (44 passengers no luggage; 35 passengers with luggage), we can drive you in from Jacksonville for $75-$100.

Paul, we sincerely appreciate your continued interest in Jekyll Island. I hope you will allow us to reciprocate, in the future, by visiting the island with your family as our guest.

When you have formulated a program outline, please forward it, along with other specific requirements, to Mrs. Lynn Cheek, our Convention Coordinator, c/o Stuckey's Carriage Inn, Jekyll Island, Ga. 31520.

We will be looking forward to your visit later this Fall.

Most cordially,

JEKYLL MOTELS, INC.

Dexter

Dexter Gatehouse
Sales Promotion Mgr.

WDG/njo

Jekyll Island

The Wanderer 635-2211 | CORSAIR 635-2292 | Stuckey's CARRIAGE INN 635-2501

FAMOUS YEAR 'ROUND RESORTS AT GOLFHAVEN ON AMERICA'S HOLIDAY AND CONVENTION ISLAND

file
S. of gen

November 11, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Fifth Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We were delighted to learn from Dexter Gatehouse that your meeting here at Stuckey's Carriage Inn has been made firm for the dates December 1-4, 1966. We are holding twenty rooms for your group, for arrival on Thursday, December 1 and departure on Sunday, December 4, 1966.

As soon as you have formulated the plans for your program, we would appreciate your letting us know of the dates, times, places and requirements for each event, so that we may outline a work schedule for our staff. Our final work schedule should be distributed to the staff five to seven days prior to your arrival, after it has been approved by you.

Again, we are delighted to have this opportunity to be your hosts, and we will look forward to seeing you next month.

Sincerely,

JEKYLL MOTELS, INC.

Lynn Cheek

Lynn Cheek (Mrs.)
Convention Office

cc: Dexter Gatehouse,
Sales Manager

/lc

MANAGEMENT: JEKYLL MOTELS, INC. JEKYLL ISLAND, GEORGIA 912--635-2211

AAA | QUALITY COURTS | MASTER HOSTS

NORTH CAROLINA FUND
OPPORTUNITY

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

M E M O R A N D U M:

TO : Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

FROM: Lucy Watkins and Richard First LRW-RF

DATE: November 22, 1966

Enclosed is a copy of the things we talked about over the telephone. Please react to the program outline and give some thoughts to the resource people for the various opening slots. Specifically, can you provide one workshop chairman and one recorder? We will try to line up two recorders and one chairman plus Cliff Campbell from the Ford Foundation.

In addition to this very brief schedule, it might be helpful to have a one-page set of discussion questions and a full list of participants to pass out on December 1.

Our staff members would like to have a little background information on SRC. Can you please send us about 30 copies of a recent annual report or similar publication?

Enclosure

cc: Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.
Mr. Nathan T. Garrett

P.S. Confirmation from the Ford Foundation, pending plane reservations only: Paul Ylvisaker, Cliff Campbell, and Joan Dunlop, Mr. Ylvisaker's secretary, will arrive Thursday noon. Mr. Ylvisaker and Mrs. Dunlop will stay until Friday morning; Mr. Campbell until Saturday.

File
Inc + North Carolina Fund Staff Conference (Jekyll Island) + put in Sec Staff Section

File

Paul,

I've reserved a car for you with AVIS to be picked up in Brunswick on December 1 after plane arrival at 12:50 PM. Reserved through Saturday noon. All confirmed.

I have also given copies of the Jekyll Island meeting agenda to VJ, EV, PW, BA, RHA, AU, MS, ES, JB, AND Glenda.

Paul Anthony

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

M E M O R A N D U M:

TO : Nathan Garrett, Dewitt Sullivan, Billy Barnes, Mike Brooks, Jim McDonald, Carol Van Alstyne, Cynthia Gubernick, Dick First, Bill Flowers, Moses Burt, Ron Semone, Rocco Fazio, John Strange, Archie Hargreaves, A. I. Dunlop, Edwina Williams, Walter (Bob) Smith, Bob Walker, Sarah Herbin, Royce Jordan, Preston Kennedy, Martha McKay, Lucy Watkins, Cliff Campbell, Paul Ylvisaker, Tom Hartmann, John Wheeler, Howard Fuller

FROM: George H. Esser, Jr.

DATE: November 22, 1966

RE : Jekyll Island Conference

The Southern Regional Council and The North Carolina Fund have arranged a joint meeting for the purpose of getting to know each other's staffs and programs, to examine in an informal way the problems of the region and the political climate in which we both work, and to think through some ideas and approaches to those problems. I want to urge each of you to attend. An agenda will be sent to you today. It is rather freely structured because we want to leave room for discussion of any ideas that may prove of interest to both groups.

Date: 2:30 p.m., Thursday, December 1 - about noon, Saturday, December 3, 1966

Participants: N. C. Fund staff members and Southern Regional Council staff members

Place: Stuckey's Carriage Inn, Jekyll Island, Georgia

Transportation: November 30: Charter bus leaving N. C. Fund 4:00 p.m. Spend night in Charleston, South Carolina.
December 1: Leave Charleston 9:00 a.m. for Jekyll Island.
December 3: Return Saturday afternoon to Durham.

Rates: Staff members are invited to bring their wives or husbands, but must pay their expenses. As many of them as possible can ride free in the bus. Poolside rooms are $14 double, $11 single; oceanside rooms are $11 double and $9 single.

Dress: Very informal - slacks for meetings and dinners. The ocean is too cool for swimming, and we are not sure whether the pool is heated. Temperature ranges 60° to 73° during the daytime.

Recreation: Golf and walking on the beach.

Please let Lucy Watkins know immediately whether you and your wife or husband will be going.

GHEJr:jcm

PA

PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE

JOINT MEETING BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

December 1-2, 1966

Jekyll Island, Georgia

Chairman: Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

<u>December 1, 1966</u>

2:30 - 3:15	"Where Are We?"	George Esser Paul Anthony

This opening session will provide a brief overview of the objectives and current operations from the vantage point of the respective agency directors. The brief presentations will be followed by a discussion of the program for the next day and a half. The main objective will be to facilitate meaningful communication between the SRC and the Fund staff members and to learn of the respective programs.

3:15 - 4:00	Discussion of conference plans
4:15 - 5:45	Three concurrent work groups (Chairmen and recorders to be announced)

Workshop participants will be asked to give particular thoughts to taking a hard look at the question of race and southern politics, specifically, to engage in a post-election analysis of how such factors as increased Negro registration, white resistance, black power controversy, and reactionary candidates affect the drive for social change. In addition, the participants should look at various techniques for helping the poor and disadvantaged play a more decisive role in the local and state decision-making processes.

6:00 - 6:45	Social hour	
6:45 - 8:00	Dinner - Nathan Garrett, Deputy Director, NCF, introduce speaker. Paul Ylvisaker, Director, Public Affairs Division, Ford Foundation - Comments on the questions under discussion.	
8:00	Open evening, with option for work groups to continue their discussions	

December 2, 1966

9:15 - 10:30	"What do we do about it?"	Paul Anthony Chairman
	Presenter	Tom Hartmann, Program Director, New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity and former Deputy Director of Program at N.C. Fund

The opening session will be designed to stimulate creative thinking about institutional changes in the southern regions. The role of the presenter will be to open up ideas that can be discussed and "brain stormed" in the concurrent work groups.

10:45 - 12:30 Three concurrent work groups

The work groups will be asked to pick up the "how" for attacking some of the crucial issues outlined in or arising from the discussion in the opening session. Group members will be asked to focus on new ideas and programs for effective "opportunity structure". This session would look at various opportunity programs that have not been tried, but which hold some promise, and either need to be demonstrated or require legislative action. Such programs might include leadership training, income maintenance, new towns and economic development, and increased union activity.

12:45 - 1:45	Lunch	
2:00 - 4:00	Three concurrent work groups (Continuation of the morning discussions)	
4:00 - 6:00	Free time (Recorders will be asked to prepare brief reports during this time.)	
6:00 - 6:45	Social hour	
6:45 - 9:00	Dinner	Paul Anthony, Chairman (Brief reports from concurrent work groups) Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC, introduce speaker. Cliff Campbell, Consultant, Public Affairs Division, Ford Foundation - Comments on conference.

<u>December 3, 1966</u>

9:00 - 12:00	Free time, agency staff meeting, or further discussion time.
12:30	Luncheon (Open for individual or family relaxation)

November 29, 1966

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
STAFF CONFERENCE
December 1-4, 1966
STUCKEY'S CARRIAGE INN
JEKYLL ISLAND, GEORGIA

FINAL SCHEDULE

ATTENDANCE ---------- 45 persons - 7 single, 19 double rooms required.

ARRIVE ---------- Thursday, December 1, 1966

DEPART ---------- Sunday, December 4, 1966

RATES ---------- $14.00 double poolside
$11.00 single poolside
$11.00 double driveside
$ 9.00 single driveside
$ 2.00 additional persons

DEPOSITS ---------- Requirements waived

GOLF ---------- Complimentary, as follows: rate of $14.00 or more two tickets to 18-hole course or two to 9-hole course. Rate less than $14.00, one ticket to 18-hole course or two to 9-hole course. Tickets obtained only at motel front desk.

BILLING ---------- Make individual folios for each person, but bill to association master account, all rooms and meals.

MEETING ROOMS -------- No charge

ARRANGEMENTS BY ------ Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W., Fifth Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1966

2:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Meeting (45) Surrey Room South

(a) Speaker's table, 4 places, podium, ice water, ash trays.

(b) Theatre style, chairs for 45 persons.

6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. Hospitality (45) Lounge

(a) Arrangements and prices with Mr. Albert Crews.

7:00 p.m. Dinner (45) Lounge

(a) Arrangements, prices and menu with Mr. Crews. Mr. Anthony will select menu upon his arrival.

(b) Group may remain in Lounge after dinner.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1966

7:00 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Breakfast (on own)	Restaurant
9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Meeting (45)	Surrey Room South
	(a) Same as before.	
12:00 noon	Lunch (45)	Lounge
	(a) Arrangements, menu and prices with Mr. Albert Crews.	
6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Hospitality (45)	Lounge
	(a) Arrangements with Mr. Crews.	
7:00 p.m.	Dinner (45)	Lounge
	(a) Arrangements, prices and menu with Mr. Albert Crews.	
	(b) Group may remain in Lounge after dinner.	

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1966

Nothing Planned

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1966

Nothing Planned

ST. ANDREWS

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE

Religious

Rec'd 11/5/65

LAURINBURG, NORTH CAROLINA

November 3, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of October 22 expressing interest in our program and your availability to come to Laurinburg January 4th.

We are planning a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee responsible for the event on November 18th. At that time we shall discuss the problem of balancing points of view and make a final selection of panelists from among those available to participate.

We very much appreciate your willingness to cooperate in our HAPPENING VI; I think I can promise that you will be hearing from me again after November 18th.

Very truly yours,

W. Forrest Altman

W. Forrest Altman
Associate Professor of English
Chairman of Freshman English

WFA:llc
cc: Hervey Evans, Jr.

Bring up.
Dec. 20, 1965

October 22, 1965

Professor W. Forrest Altman
Chairman of Freshman English
St. Andrews Presbyterian College
Laurinburg, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Altman:

Thank you for your invitation to participate in your conference on January 4. I shall be pleased to do so.

As to expenses and honorarium, it would be very good if you could take care of my travel expenses; no honorarium is necessary, so this can be left to your discretion.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ST. ANDREWS

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE

Read 10/21/65

LAURINBURG, NORTH CAROLINA

October 18, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations has suggested that I write to you in connection with a program which we are planning at St. Andrews Presbyterian College next January.

We have incorporated in our freshman English course a series of six HAPPENINGS, described on the enclosed sheet. The first of these, which included Ernest Gruening, Senator from Alaska, was quite successful in stimulating intelligent thought and writing on a current topic of importance, and we hold as high hopes for the final one of the series.

I am writing to ask whether you would be available to come to Laurinburg on January 4 to participate as a member of a panel discussing the problems of leadership in the current Civil Rights Revolution. We are fortunate to have secured as chairman of the event Mr. Hervey Evans, manager of McNair Farms, Inc. and a member of the Community Betterment Committee, which since 1959 has been active in promoting better human relations in Laurinburg.

If you would be free, would you please write telling me what sort of remuneration you would require for expenses and honorarium.

Our hope is that we can obtain panelists representing a continuum of approaches ranging from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to the Governor's and Mayor's Committees and including CORE, NAACP or the Human Relations Council. As soon as I have heard from the various individuals whose names have been recommended, we can proceed to select a balanced panel.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

W. Forrest Altman

W. Forrest Altman
Associate Professor of English
Chairman of Freshman English

WFA/b

P.S.

If you have suggestions as to book or pamphlet material on the topic of leadership in the Civil Rights Revolution, I'd be very grateful. Our practice has been to order a few copies of a range of pamphlet materials and to put these on reserve in the library along with significant books.

HAPPENINGS* IN ENGLISH 101

I. Monday, September 27, 7:30-10:30 p.m., National Guard Armory. Teach-In on Vietnam. Speakers supporting and questioning the government's policy.

II. Monday, October 11, 8:00 p.m., National Guard Armory. Walter Kaufmann of Princeton University, speaker in the Concert-Lecture series.

III. Wednesday, October 13, 7:30 p.m., following freshman chapel in the L. A. Auditorium. Panel discussion on Albert Camus moderated by W. D. White.

IV. Tuesday, November 16, 8:00 p.m., National Guard Armory. Mr. Banarjee of the Indian Embassy, speaker in the Concert-Lecture Series.

V. Thursday, December 2, 8:00 p.m., National Guard Armory. Willie Ley, expert on rockets and space travel, speaker in the Concert-Lecture Series.

VI. Tuesday, January 4, 1966, 7:30 p.m., National Guard Armory. Panel discussion on the Civil Rights Revolution.

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*HAPPENING -- "an excitement that produces other excitements." The HAPPENINGS in the freshman English course are designed to stimulate intelligent reading, listening, thinking and writing on vital current issues.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

February 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Lewis

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please add the following to the Inter-Agency

Mailing List:

Mr. Morris Mitchell, President
Committee on a
Friends World College
5722 Northern Blvd.
East Norwich, New York 11732

February 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send a copy of just about anything of importance or significance that we have to the following:

Mr. Morris Mitchell
East Norwich, New York

Label is attached.

May 20, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Lewis

Regarding your memo concerning Special Projects Advisory Committee, Friday, June 17, meets with the approval of all concerned; Moreland Smith, Ed Stanfield, Emory Via, Vernon Jordan, Al Ulmer an d Dr. Gomillion.

Please advise if I, or you, will contact members of this committee.

MJ - file PA Speech

SEMINAR IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Fountainhead Lodge
Checotah, Oklahoma
June 19-22, 1966

Co-Sponsors:

Leadership Committee - Oklahoma Association of Secondary School Principals

Consultative Center - Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies

Leadership Training Center - Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies

Keynote Address------Paul Anthony

I take this occasion very seriously tonight and I tried to get some thought of what to say to you that would be worthy of this occasion. I am very grateful to be here. I made a mistake of writing most of this speech on airplanes, and I realized last night it was a little too long and a little too sanctimonious. I tried to rewrite it and I'm going to give it in unsanctimonious terms. Don't misunderstand me I'm no shrinking violet and I'm certainly not modest. I'm very proud of the opportunity that I have to be staff director of an organization that I'm not only very dedicated to, but which I have the deepest respect for. I'm also very respectful of the field of education and the world of the professional educator. I am not here on the pretense of being an educator to comment on your field and your skill. I am here, however, as a very concerned citizen and person with a lay interest in education. I would like to try to make some observations from that vantage point only. And incidentally, Mr. Chairman, my career in education lasted for exactly one year, and I decided that if there wasn't any easier way to make a living I was prepared to tough it out.

I might be using some terms tonight and you know terms can get very confusing. This reminds me of a story. A few years ago a very ambitious young worker in the U. S. Department of Agriculture was down in central Florida. He was

planning his annual banquet and he sent word to Washington that since this was an extremely important banquet he wanted as distinquished a speaker as they could provide for the occasion. Back came word that the honorable Brooks Hayes, special assistant for the President, would be that speaker. The more the young man thought about it the more he became uneasy. It was true that this man was a long time distinguished Congressman from Arkansas. It was true he was the immediate past president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and that now he was a special White House aide to President John Kennedy. The young man was afraid that Mr. Hayes was a little controversial because everybody knew that he had been defeated on the race issue and that it might harm his program. So when he met Mr. Hayes in Ocala, as gently as he could he said, "Now Mr. Hayes this is pretty conservative country down here and I would appreciate it if you wouldn't say anything controversial." Mr. Hayes was a little irritated at this and said, "Don't worry, young man, I'm going to give my speech, stick right to the text, and go back on the next airplane. I'm not interested in starting any controversy in your county." That's exactly what Mr. Hayes did. The subject of the meeting was irrigation. Mr. Hayes talked about the history of irrigation. He talked about the promise of it. He talked of the way in which, indeed, irrigation could feed the hungry masses of the world, and he ended on the ringing note of the full pledge that the Kennedy administration would support sound irrigation policies for the

future. At the end of the speech a gnarled old farmer came up and said, "Mr. Hayes, I don't care what you say about irrigation being inevitable. The colored in this county have their own schools and their own sit-ins." Terms can be very misleading and perhaps we're going to have some trouble with terms tonight, but I'm going to be wondering about here for the next several days. During those times you can take exceptions and take some pot shots back if you want to, but for the moment I have the floor. Incidentally, that was a true story about Brook Hayes; not one that was made up.

I believe very seriously that in our American society there are three institutions basic to the greatness and would-be greatness of this country. I think they are the absolute corner stones, foundations, bed rock, or what have you of everything that this society is built on. They are to me these three; government and all its levels, the Church, and public education. Government of a sound and democratic nature is absolutely essential if man is to have an orderly existence. Man must make rules not only to govern his behavior, but to pool resources so that the very best for the common good can come by the sharing and responsibility of all. Good government is essential, and we have developed a good system of government. The second basic institution is the Church. If man is to be bigger than himself; if man is to get away from his own selfishness and the size of his own individual being to share with his fellow man, and more

particularly to recognize a Being larger than himself, then the Church is essential in society. And so the Church is, I think, the second bedrock of our civilization. The third is public education, that phenomonally frightening responsibility that has been institutionalized, in which you take the absolutely untouched and innocent and frighteningly absorbing mind and turn it from the innocent child into the young man or the young woman prepared to live life both spiritually and technically. Now if I am correct, I think we have cause during this time right now to take the very long and serious look at these bed rocks of our society to see what they mean to us and see what their implications are. I think in terms of government that things could be a great deal better. One of the finest comments I have heard in a long time was made by a fellow in Washington a couple of weeks ago. After traveling all over the city and looking at those thousands of buildings and tens of thousands of people in them commented, "Thank God we don't get all the government we pay for." Government has become a frighteningly overloaded bureaucratic, inefficient self-serving instrument in our society in this country. Lest you think I'm going into a political talk, let me hasten to add that I base my observation on the federal government, the state government, the county government, and the city government. I honestly believe that one of the few things that sincere and honest men can agree on, regardless of their political philosophy, is the sad state of our public institution called government

at all its levels in this particular time. And, incidentally, I'm a liberal democratic. Secondly I think that the state of Church is not very good either. We have for all purposes a system of faith by Gallup poll. That is, find out what the people want, what the people think, and thereby make it the faith. There's a great new song out called Why Sin When you can do it all in Church? I think the state of organized religion in our twentieth century American society is very weak. I think it is not serving the people well, and I think it is not leading the people at all.

Now it might be a somewhat shrewd thing, if I were going to say anything critical of the field of education here this evening, to have first softened the blow by making these comments about government and about the Church. For indeed, I think there are some serious criticisms about our educational institutions that need to come out in a meeting like this. But the truth of it is, I deliberately brought in government and the Church not to soften the blow, but as examples of perhaps the most serious indictment of public education today. Those men in the leadership of the Church today, from the theologian to the pastor; and those men on every level of government who are running our cities and our counties and our wards and every bureau of the federal government, are by and large products of our system of education. If there is anything whatsoever wrong today with the Church and government, surely the responsibility must in part rest with the education that produced them. I was

reminded of this today when I read a comment of a recent college graduate, a young man who said, "Man, we're the leaders of tomorrow, how does that grab you?" I think you ought to know that I approach any criticism of education in the sense of the deepest appreciation for its importance for its profound role in past, present, and future of American life. And more particularly, it's much more important that I look on you as a group of professional educators who have dedicated your lives to this field as being responsible enough, mature enough, and sure enough of your own field that you can hear criticisms and discuss them among yourselves with that assurance of a man who knows his field is vital and his performance is sound.

I'm reminded of what happened in sociology in this country a few years ago about the time I was a student and when sociologists were a very uncertain group with a great sense of inferiority. They were really very uncertain whether they knew anything or had any different body of knowledge or not. So, in self defense they developed a jaragon all their own. They found it impossible anymore to say that you drive on the right. They took eight paragraphs of completely meaningless words to say the same thing. They created a shield of armor, and I think that field is just now growing out of that great sense of inferiority. I mention this only to say that I think the educator has no reason for that kind of thing, but rather the role of the educator and the vital part of its place in public life is so

secure that I trust that we can have a dialogue based on that with no sense of inferiority. Now I am not a disciple of the idea that education can do everything from training children to drive to reading, writing, and arithmetic to sex education. I think there is absolutely a limit to what the educational system can be expected to carry. It cannot do everything and it cannot correct every evil or every ailment in the society; but by exactly the same measure I think there are absolute minimums to what education must be expected to do, if it lives up to its responsibility. And there are places where it must absolutely be expected to lead and not to follow.

We all talk about the fact that these are extremely serious times. I've never been more struck by this than about a year and a half ago when I was given an opportunity to go to an international conference in England sponsored by the British government. People from 25 countries were talking about things like East and West and North and South. Now, I have lived North and South almost as much as you Texans and Oklahomans have lived in S. O. B. country and remind each other of it. But I found out a new definition of North and South; the Northern part of the globe and the Southern part of the globe. And I found out, although I had gone there to be some sort of a specialist on race relations in the U.S.A., that no one could care less about race relations in the U.S.A.; that the whole spectrum of the emerging nations of the world; the undeveloped nations of

the world; the literally billions of starving people of the world creating such serious problems that any given internal domestic problem in the U. S. was almost insignificant by comparison in the minds of these brilliant people. I suddenly got this great feeling not of East and West and communism and democracy and what have you, but this terrible thing of how the world was so harshly divided between the haves and the have-nots. I suddenly got this great sense of urgency that those who were the haves absolutely had to develop systems to assist the have-nots, or as so often has happened in history, the have-nots would overwhelm the haves. And then I came back home profoundly impressed by the fact that we've got to get all this nonesense over with in this mess that we have at home. We have far too many grave problems facing us to divide ourselves one iota---as rich and wealthy and as affluent as we are. We have absolutely no place for the least degree of inefficiency. The least degree of waste is absolutely vital for our country and our people. And it is vital to our country and our people that we move on and move on quickly.

Get this domestic problem settled what ever it is; be it poverty; be it racial relations; or what have you, and begin to concentrate as one unified people on these awesome problems the world faces. We are inevitably in the midst of these problems. All that's well and good. Everyone is forever giving ringing cries that we must go on and solve these problems, but we are concerned here with educa-

tion and what education means for us. I think the field of education has rapidly got to get out of the 19th century with all its thinking and its practices. We must leap frog the 20th which has already gone by for all purposes, and literally pull and jerk the whole society into the 21st century very quickly. You know as well as I do that there is a growing criticism, that's a rumble all over the country, that threatens to become a crescendo of criticism against the whole field of education. I hear it in every place; from the United States Office of Education to the board room of the American Embassy. Education can't do it, education has failed, the educator didn't produce it. Whether this criticism be right or wrong, I think we need to face up to that fact and we need to attack it head on.

Here we are not only going to enhance the reputation of the educator but infinitely more important, we are going to build the kind of public support for education that we must have. I think a careful reading of history, with which you are probably more familiar than I, will show, for instance, that there is by no means the deep public committment to education that we would like to believe that there is. I think we can look at education from the beginning in the state you represent, and in those states I know best, and see great vacilations and a great tendency to go to a certain point only. Incidentally, I think we see all too much vacilations on the part of some educators. I think it is absolutely essential at this moment that the field of

education prove to the entire society its vital role as one of the three corner stones of American society. And notice I use the term prove. It's very hard for an established institution to prove itself. To give you an example that has nothing to do with your field, in January this year, in Atlanta we had an unnaturally cold night, and the temperature went down to 5 below 0. I was sitting at home the next morning worrying about important things, like whether the bushes had frozen and so forth, and what the water pipes were doing, and the young man on my staff called me and said, "I'm over on such and such street and you've got to come over here immediately." So I went, and he was in a tenement house in which there were about 40 families huddled around a few wood burning stoves, no running water, no bathroom facilities, no electricity, and the people were literally freezing to death. He said, "We've got to do something to help these people," and I said, "Fine." Incidentally we are not in the social work field, but this young man had found this situation and couldn't turn his back on it, neither could I, once I had seen it. And so we all went to work; we tried to find churches that would open doors and fire the furnaces; I practically blackmailed the Red Cross and the local War on Poverty. To make a very long story short, that evening at 9 o'clock at a pick-up point where supplies and blankets and so forth were to be brought, the Red Cross delivered ten blankets and ten sleeping bags and a requisition form asking that they be returned at

9 o'clock the next morning! The local War on Poverty office had an official driver with a new Buick station wagon deliver two blankets! Now, I'm not saying this to make light of the Red Cross or the War on Poverty. I have great respect for both of them. I'm saying it only to prove that two outstanding institutions in our society that meant well---honest to goodness meant well---and a smaller insignificant one by comparison, my own agency which meant well, simply could not adjust themselves to the needs of the people in the emergency of the moment.

We all get in terrible ruts. I think that I speak here of the nation. I do not know too much about your two states, but I'll wager that by and large its true with them also. I think, for instance, that during the last decade in this horrible, pitiful race that American education has failed its chance. I think that the educator has allowed the lawyer, and the politician, and the court to take the whole initative and botch it up very badly. I think it is absolutely criminal that we have placed so much burden on the individual Negro pupil and the Negro child. I think it is perhaps even more criminal that the field of education has not brought its full resources, its skills, its thinking and its professional integrity to this problem.

I'm sure you've all seen---I'll bet it appeared on the front page of every paper in America this morning, including the New York Times---the speech and analysis of Commissioner

Howard Howe. I'm equally sure that some of you disagree with it and feel very impatient about it. Perhaps, many of you do. I think that there was great wisdom in what Commissioner Howe said, and I think he stuck his neck on a block by saying it. Whether he did or not, I think it was a ringing challenge. It should be going not to the courts, not to the South, not to the North, not to the lawyer, not to the judge, not to the politician, but to the professional educator. We've got to take this problem and be done with it. I think the only way that education can live up to its responsibilities in this awesome context of one of the sacred institutions of our society is for the educated to become very agressive; to become the leader rather than the follower; to become the man who will enter into the debate and argument on every local level and stand for the concept---I am the professional educator; you must listen to my side of the story.

Now I know what I am saying, and I know they are ringing terms and difficult statements. I'm reminded of one of the first Republicans we elected from the deep South to the Congress. Year before last he was hearing an argument in the Halls of Congress on the virtues on the Great Society. One man got up and said, "We cannot push these utopian measures so rapidly." The new Congressman wanted to make his maiden speech. When he finally got a chance to get to the floor he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I assure you we can't achieve Ethiopian measures in a day." Well I know we can't achieve Utopia or Utokia in public education. I know

also we've got to have an entirely different kind of progressive force coming from within the profession than we've had in the past. I know too that we are a part of something criminal if we go along with our regular practices and our regular performance.

There is not an adult in this room who did not grow up in an entirely different world than the one that we live in right now. We can use a very tired example of Buck Rogers movies and the Buck Rogers comic strips of our day. And things infinitely more strange are now happening in typical day-by-day situations. We have an opportunity, and we have an absolute obligation to do something for our children right now that we cannot vacilate about. We cannot take the horrible choices of carrying on in the same old pattern. We simply must find completely new and different ways of doing anything that has been conceived by an educational experiment in this country today. We've got to take the six year old children and within fifteen years have them capable of walking in space; of negotiating peace and war; of serving in this democracy and straightening it out; of becoming the spiritual leaders of this country; and above all else, of becoming men and women in a democratic society where we are whole and where we are one.

I think that if there is any man or woman in public education who is afraid of either the concept or the challenge, we've really got to shake everything up. That

person should do society a favor and quietly slip away into some other field. And when I think of all those men and women who literally understand the awesome responsibility they face and how rapidly we must do so much---they should glory in the challenge of the call in which they serve.

File

File
~~Nat'l Co~~
P.A. Speaking Engagements
1967

January 20, 1967

Mr. George M. Stephens, Jr.
National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty
1634 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Stephens:

This will confirm my appearance before the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty at 2:00 p.m. on February 2nd.

I appreciate this opportunity and look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

January 20, 1967

Mr. George M. Stephens, Jr.
National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty
1634 Eye Street, N. W.
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Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY
1634 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

January 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are pleased to advise you that you are scheduled to appear for direct testimony at the hearing of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty in Memphis, Tennessee at the United States Courthouse, 167 North Main Street, Room 936, on February 2, 1967 at 2:00 p.m.

The agenda allows 30 minutes for your testimony. We request that you summarize your statement in a 15 minute oral presentation, leaving 15 minutes for questions by the Commission. We also request that you prepare a written statement to be submitted for the record. A one page summary which we would reproduce for the press would also be useful. Your statement will not be released until the day of your testimony.

Kindly make your own travel and lodging arrangements.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Stephens, Jr.

George M. Stephens, Jr.

GMS:ldh

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

348P EST JAN 16 67 AA420
DEB404 DE WA004 GOVT PD 12 EXTRA WASHINGTON DC 16 NFT ME 503P PA MAILED
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLA 5 FORSYTH ST NW
WE ARE PLEASED TO ADVISE YOU THAT YOU ARE SCHEDULED TO APPEAR FOR DIRECT TESTIMONY AT THE HEARING OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY IN MEMPHIS TENNESSEE AT THE UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE, 167 NORTH MAIN STREET, ROOM 936, ON FEB. 2, 1967 AT 2:00 P.M. THE AGENDA ALLOWS 30 MINUTES FOR YOUR TESTIMONY. WE REQUEST THAT YOU SUMMARIZE YOUR STATEMENT IN A 15 MINUTE ORAL PRESENTATION, LEAVING 15 MINUTES FOR QUESTIONS BY THE COMMISSION. WE ALSO REQUEST THAT YOU PREPARE A WRITTEN STATEMENT TO BE SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD. A ONE PAGE SUMMARY WHICH WE WOULD REPRODUCE FOR THE PRESS WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL. YOUR STATEMENT WILL NOT BE RELEASED UNTIL THE DAY OF YOUR TESTIMONY. KINDLY MAKE YOUR OWN TRAVEL AND LODGING ARRANGEMENTS

351-1844

SF1201(R2-65)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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GEORGE M STEPHENS NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY
1634 EYE STREET, N.W. ROOM 501 WASHINGTON, D.C. PHONE 202-DU-2-6532.

SF1201(R2-65)

January 4, 1967

Mr. C. E. Bishop
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on
Rural Poverty
Office of the Executive Director
1634 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Bishop:

Thank you very much for your invitation to testify before the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. I have reserved both dates -- February 2nd and 3rd -- and can be in Memphis on either date. Late morning or early afternoon would be preferable, but even that is not necessary.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Return to PA

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
1634 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

December 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation conveying to you the invitation of the Chairman, Governor Edward T. Breathitt and the members of the Commission to appear for direct testimony at the public hearing of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. The hearing will be held at the Federal Building in Memphis, Tennessee on February 2 and 3, 1967.

As I indicated during our discussion, the President has requested the Commission to make a comprehensive study of the economic and social life in rural America and its relations to conditions existing in urban areas. He is seeking new insights into the problems of people living on farms and in rural communities, and the problems encountered by people who move to urban areas. The President also is seeking information concerning the effectiveness of current programs and changes needed in programs to make them more effective. I am enclosing a copy of the Executive Order establishing the Commission for your information.

The agenda provides 15 to 20 minutes for the presentation and 10 to 15 minutes for discussion and questions by members of the Commission. Since this is a public hearing, the press will be in attendance. If it is convenient for you to do so, therefore, it would assist the Commissioners and representatives of the press if you could bring with you 50 copies of a summary outlining the major points of your testimony. In addition to your oral testimony, we request that you file two copies of a written statement with the Commission for incorporation in the proceedings of the hearings and for transmittal to the President.

Please advise me of your preference concerning the time and date of your appearance as soon as possible in order that we can schedule your presentation in accordance with your wishes. We also need to know how your name, title and organization should be listed on the agenda. We are looking forward to having your views and recommendations.

Sincerely yours,

C. E. Bishop

C. E. Bishop
Executive Director

Enclosure

Presidential Documents

Title 3—THE PRESIDENT

Executive Order 11306

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON RURAL POVERTY AND THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. *Establishment of Committee.* (a) There is hereby established the President's Committee on Rural Poverty (hereinafter referred to as the "Committee").

(b) The Committee shall be composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, who shall be Chairman of the Committee; the Secretary of the Interior; the Secretary of Commerce; the Secretary of Labor; the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity; and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration. Each member of the Committee may designate an alternate member, who shall serve as a member of the Committee whenever the regular member is unable to attend any meeting of the Committee.

SEC. 2. *Duties of the Committee.* (a) The Committee shall:

(1) Appraise the means by which existing programs, policies, and activities relating to the economic and community welfare of rural people may be coordinated or better directed or redirected to achieve for the rural population the quality of living and levels of opportunities available to other segments of the population.

(2) Develop recommendations for action by Government or by private enterprise as to the most efficient and promising means of providing opportunities for rural people to share in America's abundance and better levels of living.

(b) In developing its recommendations the Committee shall take into account the final report of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty established by Section 3 of this order, which report shall be transmitted to the President with the recommendations of the Committee.

SEC. 3. *Establishment of Commission.* (a) To assist the Committee in carrying out its functions under Section 2 of this order, there is hereby established the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of twenty-six members appointed by the President. The President shall designate the Chairman of the Commission from among its members.

(c) The Commission shall meet on the call of the Chairman.

(d) Each member of the Commission may be compensated for each day such member is engaged upon work of the Commission, and shall be reimbursed for travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 55a; 5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(e) The Commission shall have an Executive Director, who shall be designated by the President. Under the direction and supervision of the Chairman, the Executive Director shall direct and supervise any staff employed by or detailed to the Commission under this order.

SEC. 4. *Duties of the Commission.* (a) The Commission shall transmit to the Committee its independent analysis, evaluation, and recommendations with respect to all matters assigned to the Committee for study and recommendations.

(b) In carrying out its duties under subsection (a) above, the Commission shall:

(1) Make a comprehensive study and appraisal of the current economic situations and trends in American rural life, as they relate to the existence of income and community problems of rural areas, including problems of low income, the status of rural labor, including farm labor, unemployment and under-employment and retraining in usable skills; rural economic development and expanding opportunities; sources of additional rural employment; availability of land and other resources; adequacy of food, nutrition, housing, health, and cultural opportunities for rural families; the condition of children and youth in rural areas and their status in an expanding national economy; the impact of population and demographic changes, including rural migration; adequacy of rural community facilities and services; exploration of new and better means of eliminating the causes which perpetuate rural unemployment and underemployment, low income and poor facilities; and any other related matters.

(2) Evaluate the means by which existing programs, policies, and activities relating to the economic status and community welfare of rural people may be coordinated or better directed or redirected to achieve the elimination of underemployment and low incomes of rural people and to obtain higher levels of community facilities and services.

(3) Develop recommendations for action by local, State or Federal governments or private enterprise as to the most efficient and promising means of providing opportunities for the rural population to share in America's abundance.

(c) The Commission shall submit its final report and recommendations to the Committee no later than twelve months after the date of its appointment, and may make any interim reports to the Committee which it deems would expedite the work of the Committee.

SEC. 5. *Federal departments and agencies.* (a) The Committee or the Commission is authorized to request from any Federal department, agency, or independent instrumentality of the Government any information deemed necessary to carry out its functions under this order; and each department, agency, and instrumentality is authorized, to the extent permitted by law and within the limits of available funds, to furnish such information to the Committee or the Commission.

(b) Each department or agency the head of which is named in Section 1(b) of this order shall, as may be necessary, furnish assistance to the Committee or the Commission in accordance with the provisions of Section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134; 31 U.S.C. 691), or as otherwise permitted by law.

(d) The Department of Agriculture is hereby designated as the agency which shall provide administrative services for the Commission.

SEC. 6. *Construction.* Nothing in this order shall be construed as subjecting any Federal agency, or any function vested by law in, or assigned pursuant to law to, any Federal agency, to the authority of the Committee or of the Commission or as abrogating or restricting any such function in any manner.

SEC. 7. *Termination of the Committee and the Commission.* The Committee and the Commission shall terminate ninety days after the submission of the final report of the Commission under Section 4(c) hereof.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 27, 1966.

[F.R. Doc. 66-10747; Filed, Sept. 29, 1966; 11:39 a.m.]

File PA Speeches, 1967

Final Copy

Testimony before Natl. Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Memphis, Tennessee, February 2, 1967

"THE WAY IT IS"

To create attractive option among styles of life available to its people and to afford its people both the freedom and the capacity to choose among those options must be primary considerations in any society which aspires to be humane and creative. But humanity and creativity are revealed to be more pretentious than they are aspirations of the United States when the restricted, choiceless, and impotent existence of most of the poor in the rural South is considered. This paper's aim is to stimulate efforts to change that existence by providing choices that make a difference in "the way it is."

THE SOUTHERN RURAL POOR IDENTIFIED

By currently accepted census and economic definitions of the respective terms, the South is by far both the most rural and the most impoverished region in the U.S. More than 41% of its population is classified as rural by the U. S. Bureau of Census. Only 10.8% is rural-farm, however.

In the 1960 Census, of the 22,797,630 Southerners designated as rural, nearly 18 million are white and nearly 5 million are non-white. (In the South, almost all non-whites are Negroes.) The "rural" designation

can be divided into farm and non-farm categories. Among southern rural non-farm people, 13.5 million are white and 3.3 million are non-white. Among rural farm people, 4.4 million are white and nearly 1.5 million are non-white. There are only 1.6 million rural farm non-whites in all the U.S.; thus, most are concentrated in the South.

The poverty of the South is reflected in a recent study in the Social Security Bulletin. According to the study by Mollie Orshansky, more than half of the nation's poor live in the South.

Moreover, whereas the majority of the poor in other regions reside in urban areas, considerably more than half the South's poor reside in rural areas.

The extent of poverty in the rural South knows no racial bounds. (There are more white poor than black poor in the region.) Yet a much higher percentage of rural Negroes are poor. More than 80% of Negro rural people in the South had annual family incomes of less than $3000 according to the 1960 census. Forty percent had family incomes below $1000 annually. By contrast, the percentage of white rural non-farm families with less than $3000 annually ranged from 39% in S.C. to 47% in Alabama. The range of white farm families below $3000 annually was from 49% in S.C. to 60% in Alabama. Thus both races suffer. The degree of poverty is greater

among rural Negroes but, because there are more rural whites, the total number of white poor is greater.

Why, then, will what follows attend more to the problems of the rural Negro in the South? The answer is not at all obvious nor is it ultimately possible to destroy poverty solely in a racial frame of reference.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE INFLUX

The reality of our present situation is that the rural poor are being forced off the land by immense economic and technological pressures which strike most immediately at the Negro rural poor but which will more and more destroy the option of rural life for the white poor, also. In an April 8, 1966 memorandum, the National Sharecroppers Fund estimated that mechanization and reduced acreage allotments in the cotton belt will create from a narrow economic perspective, 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 southern states in the next 10 years.

Because King Cotton's semi-feudal socio-economic order is no longer useful commercially, and because this order no longer requires an abundance of cheap, unskilled black labor, the abrupt changes fall most heavily on the "surplus" Negro poor. The result is the prospect of a mass migration of untrained rural people against their will to join others in the dense and explosive city

ghettos of the North and increasingly, the South.

It is in the face of this prospect that the present paper asks whether other options should not be provided the rural poor. Should rural people be afforded the dignity of choosing not to abandon the rural culture? Should they be forced to opt for the pathologies of slum life solely because they have no way to survive if they remain in the rural setting?

Is it not socio-political dynamite literally to dump "surplus rural labor" into bulging, impoverished urban slums? Is it not pragmatic and prudent, to say nothing of humane, to create viable new ways of rural life even on an interim basis in order to allow longer term efforts against existing urban poverty to take effect without being swamped by a sharp new influx of the rural poor to the cities? This new influx has begun with dire consequences for the nation. It is in the nation's interest to stem the tide. Providing the option of a new viable rural life for the rural poor is no longer a matter of pastoral romanticism and Jeffersonian nostalgia as it once was for many.

THE NEGRO FARMER: ATTRITION, ABOLITION, OR ADVANCE?

The depth and the dimensions of the rural poverty syndrome can be recognized when some facts about the Negro farmer are considered. Calvin Beale, writing in

The American Negro Reference Book, is realistic:

"To be optimistic about the future of Negro farmers would be to disregard almost every facet of their past and present status and of the factors that impinge upon them. But then, the odds have always been against them even in the period when they reached their greatest number." Beale goes on to give some suggestions that try to assure a successful future for the Negro farmers who remain today and to prevent their being driven to the cities. We will return to Beale's suggestions for improvement and others later in our regional rural development proposals. Now we must see how difficult the problems are from Beale's and other agricultural census data.

At their peak in 1920, Negro farmers numbered 926,000, including all tenant farmers. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operators are left. This is 3% of all Negro men. (Another 8% of all Negro men are employed as wage-earning farm laborers).

The desperate problem of the Negro farmer, however, has been a lack of land. This dilemma is becoming worse. In 1964, there were approximately 80,000 Negro farm owners or part-owners out of 180,000 Negro farm operators. This means that the majority of Negro farmers work another man's land.

The average size of the Negro farm was 52 acres in the 1959 census of agriculture, an increase of only

8 acres since 1935. By contrast the average white farm had increased by 118 acres since 1935 to an average size of 249 acres. This lack of land on which to work and the consequent need to pay rent to or share crops with a landowner is reflected in the following statistic: Somewhat less than 24,000 non-white southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products in 1959 when U.S.D.A. estimates that a farmer must sell $10,000 of products to make $2,500. Of these 24,000 in 1959, only 7,000 own their land, and some of the others who were tenants, according to Beale, have probably lost their lease or share arrangements since the 1959 census of agriculture. Nevertheless, Beale estimates that it is in this core of Negro farmers that the future potential for commercial success by Negroes in full-time farming would come if the majority of the 24,000 without land could be provided a homestead.

In addition, there were 3,000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who produced few goods for sale but had rather steady farm work, according to the census. Beale's judgment is that this group of 44,000 plus the 17,000 who marketed more than $5,000 of products but do not own the land on which they are dependent -- these 61,000 out of 180,000 Negro farm operators are the

ones with "a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm or nonfarm work." The reader should note that even this "successful" group includes many whose income level is below current poverty lines.

But what of the other Negro farm operators who are not "successful" or the other thousands who work as hired men in burgeoning "agribusiness" corporate farms and in neo-plantation servitude. In Beale's view, the crucial factor once again is land. "The possession of land is the key to the future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators." Once again, "the farmer who does not control the land he works does not control his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership experience at a disadvantage."

Nevertheless, Beale proposes that many more than 61,000 of the present "successful" Negro farmers could be made really "successful" if land in the hands of small-scale owners could be "combined through lease or purchase into larger units, or if Federal programs of assistance in land purchase could be made effective on a widespread basis for low-income landless farmers, or if additional non-farm employment opportunities became available for rural Negroes." We should add immediately that present

loan and credit programs are of virtually no help. Moreover, it can be asked, in view of the national commitment to end poverty, whether a new program of land grants should not be considered as a means of halting migration to urban areas.

Our basic purpose, however, is to show the extremity of the Negro farmer's predicament as part of our larger plea that the rural poor in the South be given options which will not force them into an alien urban environment and alienated urban existence. We should note, in addition that most of the rural poor are not farm operators. The plight of the Negro hired farm worker is often more desperate than that of the farm operator in the South. Clearly, land reform alone will not suffice to transform their deprivation and dependence, but it might, if combined with agricultural training programs and effective minimum wages legislation or income subsidies, offer options to the virtual serfdom which now prevails.

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL POLICY

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the various approaches which treat the "farm problem" solely as an economic issue of efficiency, productivity, and resource allocation. Yet the narrowness of such approaches must be pointed out. To most such approaches, the "ultimate solution" is to move people off the farms, to destroy the "myth" of the family farm, and to

approach food and fiber production with every resource of modern management and technology available. Typical of this approach was the much publicized, corporation sponsored study, An Adaptive Program for Agriculture, prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Similar in approach but not in all details are Roots of the Farm Problem by Earl D. Heady and others of the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development and Farm Policy: New Directions by Geoffrey S. Shepherd, an economist also of Iowa State University. It is not within our competence to judge the technical economic judgments made in these documents by professionals except to note that they are contradicted by the technical judgments of other professions that we shall consider shortly.

However, it is within our competence to question the social vision which is the context of these judgments. The center of our critique is that these proposals fail to see the issue in a broader context of the surplus of untrained rural immigrants fighting to survive the cultural shock of change to an urban style of life being added to their burden of poverty and/or discrimination.

It is also within our competence to criticize the regional myopia of these approaches. When we consider these proposals for national policy from a regional standpoint as well as a social policy standpoint, we are impressed

by the extent to which they project as national goals solutions relevant only to the Middle West. The Committee for Economic Development program barely alludes to the "farm problem" as seen in the context of Appalachia. It ignores the nation's and the South's racism as it blithely suggests moving "surplus" farm labor to cities. Seen from the perspective of what is faced by the rural, southern Negro moving to Atlanta, New Orleans, or even Chicago, the C.E.D.'s easy optimism about finding employment "off the land" has at best a superficial quality.

Don Paarlberg, an agricultural economist of Purdue University, in his book American Farm Policy, makes a comment which suggests that, wittingly or unwittingly, these "experts" have become mired in three cliches of the farm policy "right wing" which:

1. ....Considers "the farm problem" to be overproduction.
2. ....Assumes that reducing the number of farmers will reduce the output of farm products.
3. /Believes that/ to the degree that the farmer at the low end of the income scale enters the problem at all, he is considered only as an impediment to the aspirations of the big farmer, the one who really counts.

Paarlberg concludes that "all these points are questionable on either economic or ethical criteria, or both."

Whether all of Paarlberg's criticism applies to the sources cited here, their peculiarly Mid West regional perspective requires that we plead for a consideration of other regions, the poor, and racial minorities whose problems are obscured by Iowa's tall corn.

BROADER CONSIDERATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

The contention of this section is that some economists and social planners have gone beyond mere economic considerations in studying agricultural policy. It is the heart of our position that rural poverty cannot be separated from urban poverty and that agricultural policy must be consistent with general economic and social policy. It is also central that the South's unique regional problems not be overlooked in national programs. We wish to indicate some who have moved in the direction of broader considerations and to conclude with suggestions from this broader perspective which are applicable to the South as a region.

Edward Higbee clearly sets his analysis of agricultural policy in an urban context in his book, Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age. He recognizes the human as well as the social disintegration that accompanies forced migration of rural people to urban areas. He argues that there could be only two acceptable justifications for federal funds being used to move "inefficient" farmers from the land. One is that a food shortage might require that land be put in hands capable of greater productivity. But no such national shortage presently exists. The other justification might be that farming's "surplus" manpower was demanded by other fields with labor shortages. But since this manpower is untrained to fill shortages of technical labor and since there is already a high rate of

urban unemployment among the unskilled, this labor is not needed elsewhere. Higbee concludes: "until the nation needs their land and labor, inefficient farmers may be better off where they are than if they were to head for the city's slums and welfare rolls."

But Higbee's contribution to our understanding goes beyond his comprehension of the social context of the farmer's dilemma. He is also helpful in providing a socio-economic typology of farmers today. He proposes three major categories; first, middle, and third class.

The first class covers all producers who make sales of $20,000 or more annually. They number 312,000 (8.3% of all census farmers) but they are the source of 50% of all production. Within this category, Higbee includes the 1,200 elite farms which made $1.5 billion of the national total of $30.6 billion of farm sales in the last census year. (1959). Each of these farms had sales sold of $500,000 or more each year. Also within the first class category are all units selling more than $40,000 per year. These numbers102,000 and are the top 3% of all farms. Moreover, this top 3% produce more than the bottom 78% per cent of farms. Concludes Higbee: "It is the amazing productivity at the very top of American agriculture which sets the sizzling pace for all the remainder. Unless the magnitude and intensity of this competition is grasped it is impossible to understand why the majority of farmers are in trouble."

At the opposite extreme, Higbee identifies third class farms. He is highly critical of the census definition which creates this category. By marketing "more than $50 and less than $2500 a year," 1.6 million "farms" enter this third class category. Closer examination reveals that while these "farmers" average $217 net annual income from agriculture, they averaged $2,884 from other sources. Higbee contends that most of these people are not farmers and that, therefore, their needs and their poverty cannot be adequately dealt with solely through agricultural policy.

On the other hand, Higbee recognizes that within this third class of 1.6 million farmers, there is a large minority of 350,000 families who have negligible non-farm income, who average farm product sales of only $438 annually, and who are among the most impoverished people in America. We should note that most in this group are rural and Southern. They comprise many of the Negro rural people whose plight was considered earlier as well as many rural whites. They will benefit most by a broad, understanding of agricultural policy which considers social as well as economic needs.

Between the extremes of efficient and inefficient farming lies the middle class of 1.8 million farms which sells 45% of all farm goods. Higbee distinguishes the $483,000 upper middle class farms ($10,000-$20,000 annual sale) from the 1.3 million lower middle ($2,500-$10,000

annual sales). He comments that the farmer is most similar to the stereotype of the successful family farm. The latter are at the point of lacking viability in that net incomes average about one-third of sales and hence these farmers make $800-$3,300 annually. Most of these men will be forced off the farm unless they are given access not now available to sources of capital to buy machinery and land. But present federal programs of credit and crop subsidy favor the first class and upper middle class farms. Among this group, too, are many rural southern Negro farmers who have the potential for success <u>if</u> capital can be made available and cooperative production and marketing methods can be implemented.

Yet it is the success potential of such farmers as these and other poorer ones which is most severely questioned by those who make efficiency and no change in federal land and credit grants the twin pillars of their world of agricultural assumptions. To them, Leon H. Keyserling, economist and former presidential adviser, directs a strong and persuasive response in <u>Agriculture and the Public Interest</u>, by the Conference on Economic Progress.

In Keyserling's view, the attempt to justify the move from smaller family-type farms to corporate, "agribusinesses" on the basis of the efficiency of the latter fails on four counts. First, except for farms whose land is sub-standard,

there is no lack of efficiency or of increased productivity. Second, "there is no conclusive and perhaps no respectable evidence that the large to giant-size farm is more efficient than the family-type farm, when the latter receives enough income to realize its full potential." Third, even if larger farms were more efficient, that economic benefit would be taken away by the rapid shrinkage in the number of farmers (who would presumably enter the depressed unskilled labor market of urban areas.) Fourth, productivity in agriculture and in the entire economy has become so great "that we need to become more deeply concerned about the quality of farm life, and not merely about the efficiency of farm production. This means that we should strive constantly for a more appropriate balance and distribution among farms of different sizes, with particular accent upon the family-type farm....The only hope for most of the substandard farmers is that they be accorded opportunity to operate family-type farms."

"Accorded opportunity." it is precisely this which present national agricultural, land, and credit policies fail to do in the cases of the South's rural poor, alll Negro farmers, and marginal or sub-standard farmers of both races. What follows are some suggestions to accord opportunity in the rural south. While much of the region's poverty is common to all the poor, i.e., a lack of money for minimum expenses, and while this lack must be made up for all by some new form of income maintenance, guaranteed

income, or children's allowances, there are many measures which would be especially applicable in the South.

TOWARD OPTIONS AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

1) LAND AND CREDIT

(A) An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the lack of land owned by Negroes and the unavailability of low interest, long term financing to correct this. For instance, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres. The average for Negroes is 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. This in turn, of course, reflects the amount of products sold, the amount of income and all other aspects of Negro, white comparisons. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes and poor whites for the ownership of land.

(B) Related to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. Present USDA programs need to be much more concerned with this, particularly for the small Negro farmer, and entirely new imaginative programs need to be developed. For instance,

the Franklinton Center in Bricks, North Carolina has concluded a very successful experiment in which they required a relatively large plot of land and settled six farm families on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years this center worked closely with these families in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers are purchasing the land which they work. While small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management. We need a great many more experiments of this kind.

MMore significant and needed on a much wider basis are programs in farm management such as that in Tennessee conducted under MDTA.

(C) In regard to the above two problems and opportunities, we need promptly a far more detailed study than has heretofore been done on the opportunities for relatively small farm operations. We have been going on the assumption that there was need for less and less agricultural production and that there was every economic reason for larger and fewer farm units. Both of these assumptions no

longer seem correct and need to be reviewed in light of our recognition of the need for food throughout the entire world and our new encouragement of crop increases. We need, particularly, to know far more than we do at this time about the opportunities for at least partial income from the small farm unit. As this study is conducted it must take into account the rapidly rising yields per acre and the possibilities that good farming techniques, expanding markets and the new opportunities for truck farming produce to be sold to nearby cities may well make it possible for feasible operation of farms heretofore considered too small for profitable operation.

(D) Relative to the above, but separately as well, there is a need in working with all southern agriculture, but again particularly with the smaller farmer to change completely the base of our agriculture. Cotton is no longer profitable and no longer needed. The future role of southern rural people on land is to produce meat and food products for the anticipated 100 million increase in the population of the east, which will occur during the coming thirty years.

Alabama corn production averaging 20 bushels per acre twenty years ago increasing to 40 bushels per acre in 1966 is still an inadequate yield to

compete with midwest corn-hog production, with midwest corn yields at 80 to 100 bushels per acre. The pork from both areas will be needed. Alabama and Mississippi food crops, vegetables and fruits, will also be needed. Their production and processing may employ southern labor and help to stop excessive migration of southern families to northern cities. This beginning, plus all the investments of capital and housing, school rooms, hospitals, medical and school personnel and southern town building may create an adequate number of jons--and a tax recovery base--to stabilize the southern rural population.

(E) In all of this there is an assumption that efforts need to be made to devise ways for many relatively small farms to become adequate income producing units for the families which run them. This should not, however, preclude a strong interest in determining the extent to which a small farm can provide supplementary income to some other occupation away from the farm where the two together will provide total family unit with income beyond the minimum poverty level.

(F) Stanley Andrews in The Farmer's Dilemma, proposes "beneficial use" land grants to younger men who want to farm for a living but who lack land and/or capital. This idea has merit.

2) HOUSING

(A) A great need in the rural areas is adequate housing. This may also be one of the simplest problems to meet ff there is a national commitment to do so. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a cost of from three to five thousand dollars per unit. Given an adequate structure under which low interest, long-term loans can be arranged it will be possible for home owners to meet this kind of a financial demand. The construction of such houses has the added advantages of contributing substantially to the economy of these regions, to providing jobs and to providing training experiences. A small amount of work in this area is allowed for under Title III B Funds. But the funds are very limited and they have at present all of the disadvantages of the operations of a cautious bureaucracy. (There are some indications that Title III B Funds may be even harder to come by soon.)

(B) Any programs concerned with housing cannot be approached in a vaccuum. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in economic development. It is also possibly a mistake to locate housing units close to present cities on the assumption owners may commute and thereby finance them. There are several projects, partly federally financed, now being discussed in Mississippi

where new housing units would be placed within ten miles of medium sized cities on the assumption that the persons living in these new units would be able to find jobs in these towns. Given the present lack of job opportunities in the typical deep South community, and the lack of training on the part of persons in need of housing, this seems like an unsatisfactory idea.

(C) In developing programs for housing a minimum part of the funds, but considerable planning, should go into total community development. For instance, in practically every area where there is a serious need for more adequate housing there is a need also for community centers, for buildings to house day nurseries, and the like. These facilities should be developed and financed along with individual housing unit development.

3. INDUSTRY

(A) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas even while we strengthen and support family farms for some. Much can be done in developing adequate housing, the small farm, and providing outside jobs as a companion to the total situation.

(B) Programs must be encouraged that will assure that

some industry goes to the rural areas where the people now are, although caution must be exercised so that non-exploitative, long term commitments are made. Many variations of this have been suggested but quite obviously there will be a need for public funds to encourage such moves. This could be done through providing public funds for the construction of plants and facilities and very likely it would be a sound idea to provide on a short range basis a subsidy for the industry. In recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities, training programs for that labor must also be provided.

(C) It goes without saying, of course, that quality industry must be bought in. At the present time a great deal of industrial development in the rural and small town areas is of the fly-by-night type which provides an inadequate wage for the workers and nothing for the community. It is a long tradition of the federal government to provide public funds for such items as farm mechanization. We see nothing inconsistent with these recommendations of public funds for industrial development.

(D) The idea of industry in the rural areas has

certain dangers that must be guarded against. This is no magic formula as is frequently believed and there are limitations that should be imposed on any such program. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, ie, industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

(E) Beyond being concerned with the type of industry there are other protections which should be guaranteed for new industry. These would include guaranteed protection for labor unions, guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed working conditions on a par with those in the nation as a whole. We believe great care will have to be taken and much deliberate planning done to avoid establishing sweatshops.

(F) Groups and agencies engaged in attracting industry must, in some way, begin to develop the ideas of less competition and more concern with the welfare of a large area. For instance, Atlanta now seeks industry without any concern for any other part of the state of Georgia. On a state, and perhaps

regional basis planning must be done on where industry is most needed for the good of the whole economy and not on the basis of what particular locality can offer the most attractive package to new industry.

4. RURAL RECLAMATION

(A) Much needs to be done in the way of making rural areas more livable and more attractive. This is consistent with the current national policy on beautification and has in it implications for federally funded programs to employ large numbers of people and in the opportunities for developing substantial tourist and recreation business. It has recently been announced that $1,500,000 in anti-poverty funds will be used in the project known as Green Thumb. This idea was developed by the outspokenly liberal National Farmers Union and that group has been chosen to run it. Many other such projects need to be developed. The Farmers Union hopes to realize from this program an expanded economy which will employ 325 or more retrained farmers. (See the Wall Street Journal - February 9, 1966).

(B) Any rural reclamation program should tie in directly with expansion of the recreation industry. There is now every reason to believe that this is one of our promising industries for employment for the future, and that increasingly as population grows

and the economy expands, more and more in the way of recreational areas will be needed. Considerable employment of local people is a possibility here if there is the proper development. Programs of reclamation and beautification should not be conducted in a vacuum but should have direct tie-ins to the availability of population, recreational areas that will attract tourists and the like.

(C) In this area great care must be taken to see that poor rural people actually benefit on a reasonable basis. This is not necessarily happening in our present program in the Appalachian area. There, for instance, many small farmers (a large number of them conducted the poultry farms in the past) have been pushed from the small farms they occupied. Much of the land is going into speculation. In North Georgia, for instance, tens of thousands of acres of land are being bought for speculation purposes by wealthy individuals in the surrounding cities. This has actually hurt the small farmer and has tended to shove a number of additional people off the land rather than making it possible for them to remain there as land values go up and new tourist possibilities open. Programs must be developed with these situations in mind and the opportunities for speculation, particularly unscrupulous speculation, must be accounted for.

(D) Reclamation or giving considerable attention to beautification and recreation should not overlook the other substantial opportunities. These would include, for instance, preserving our timber supplies and greatly expanding them on a more planned and logical basis. They include giving needed attention to some of the natural resources in the region, particularly mineral deposits. This area should concern itself with the fishing industry and related industries along the coast of the region. Particular attention, for instance, should be given to the oyster beds along the coast of South Carolina. SRC is now attempting to get federal assistance for this purpose for a group of persons in South Carolina who earn a seasonal income from the oyster beds. We envision concern with this aspect of the economy, housing, and other suggestions reflected in this memo if such private efforts are to be encouraged, supported and greatly expanded by the federal government.

5. ARTS AND CRAFTS

(A) There is substantial employment and economic potential in this area for the first time. In the past a limited amount of work has been done in improving the skills of persons engaged in arts and crafts and finding a market for their products. Most of this has been done in the Appalachian area.

With our expanding economy and the interest of our population in such things, there is now a substantial and larger market. This field offers a real potential if it is properly assisted and developed. Someone concerned with the research aspects of this subject should do substantial work in what has been done and what is possible. One source of valuable information is the magazine Mountain Life and Work. The Magazine of the Appalachian South, published quarterly by the Council of Southern Mountains, Inc. The Spring issue of 1965 and the Spring issue of 1966 and the Winter issue of 1965 have articles on programs being carried on in the Appalachian area. In rural Alabama a group of women are currently making quilts and are attempting to market them on a cooperative basis. A skilled group in rural South Carolina is currently considering the establishment of a gift shop and otherwise looking for markets for its products. Enough effort is now going on and enough skills exist that a study of the problems of quality, marketing and distribution should be made to determine the extent of opportunity in this area.

(B) If there is real potential for substantial employment here it will require considerable assistance. One thing needed is training. We have found many instances where there are commendable basic skills but still need for some training, particularly on quality control. Marketing, of course, is the other

important area. At present there are only very limited marketing outlets and too much of this depends on a sympathy market. At the moment, for instance, the quilting group in Alabama is enjoying substantial sales in a sympathy market sponsored by the Episcopal Church in New York. This is obviously not a stable situation. In the case of the Alabama effort, we are now attempting to arrange to have persons skilled in arts and crafts spend the summer in that community to concentrate on the problems of quality. Other efforts are being made in marketing. These are, of course, very limited efforts and the South needs a substantially expanded effort whose logical support would be public funds.

6. PLANNING

(A) There is quite clearly a need for overall planning in these areas. We have attempted to say earlier in this memo that one cannot attack a problem in isolation. Housing is related to jobs and so forth. We must have state and regional planning in the coordination of a number of efforts if rural progress is to be achieved.

(B) Planning on an area basis is essential for industrial locations. We have referred to this earlier, but we need also to think of planning in terms of a rural educational effort. Such planning would consider how, for instance, recreation can fit into

the economy and job situation; how arts and crafts can affect an area or a community; how education can concern itself with adults as well as with children; how local and regional situations can be called to the attention of such agencies as agriculture, with the understanding that not all programs should be the same for the entire nation.

(C) Private agencies have an important role to play in all of this and their interest and experience should be used. So, too, present reluctance to put funds into private agencies should be changed. Many groups are coming forward and expressing the willingness, indeed asking, to be able to develop programs. This should be encouraged, not discouraged. In this regard those who supply funds must be prepared for failures. We will have many failures if we embark on truly experimental programs. It should be realized too that some of these programs will be unorthodox, indeed radical. We should welcome this. Many of the ideas outlined in this memorandum, and many others which are being developed around the region, are radical in nature and will never be tried out successfully, if we go through the conventional channels, the conventional local leadership, local agencies, and regular structure of the federal government. Above all else we should realize that to restore the rural areas of the region and to allow the people to remain in these areas under adequate circumstances will require truly

radical changes, and anyone who brings forward a program that offers any opportunity of help in this regard should be encouraged and financed.

The Southern Regional Council has a strong interest in this whole problem. We would be happy to offer our resources in research, and the information we are now gathering under our community organization project to any persons, either public or private, who might wish to take advantage of them.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

PAUL ANTHONY Speaking Engagements

REGARDING

Speech at Banquet March 10th at Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville

DATE

3/16/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

JACKSONVILLE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

PAUL ANTHONY Speaking Engagements 1967

REGARDING

Regrets unable to accept invitation for May 6th and 7th. Letter of 3/16/67

DATE

3/16/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

File
PA Speaking Engagements
1967

October 18, 1967

M E M O

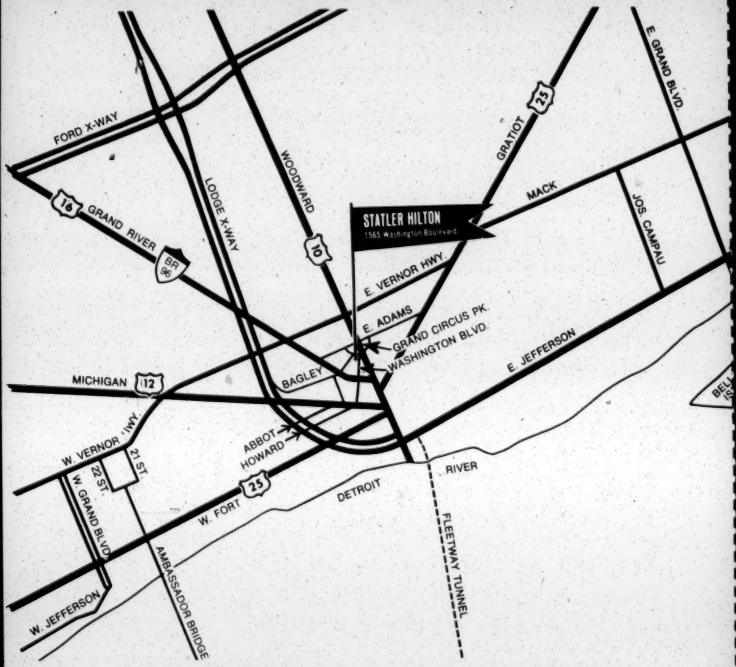
TO: Ruth Alexander
FROM: Paul Anthony

Please make a check to NAIRO for $40.00 to cover Conference fee for NAIRO meeting.

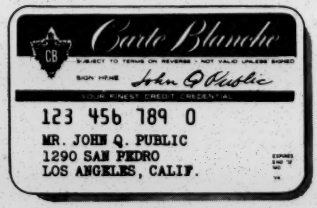
PA/km

THE *Statler Hilton*
DETROIT

While you are here
. . . enjoy the
Steak House Bar
Steak House
Hungry Pilgrim
Cafeteria



PASSPORTS TO CONVENIENCE



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Remember JL

PLAN FOR NAIRO NOW

Attend the 21st Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in Detroit, Michigan November 14 through November 17, 1967.

All roads lead to Detroit's Statler Hilton Hotel, NAIRO's conference headquarters. Join your fellow NAIRO members and help make this the most exciting conference ever.

This year's Conference Theme is:

RACIAL ISOLATION: POWER, POLITICS AND INTERGROUP PRACTICES

Some of the nation's most knowledgeable and dynamic authorities, including James Farmer and Dr. Samuel Proctor, will explore in depth the changing dimensions of intergroup relations involvement.

Conference sessions will examine the relationship of Employment, Housing, Education and Law Enforcement problems to urban growth and "ghettoization."

The "Conflict of Group Goals and Priorities" and the impact of emerging power groups will receive major emphasis during the busy three-day Conference which includes a tour of Detroit's riot areas.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION AND INFORMATION CENTER

The Registration and Information Center will be located in the Mezzanine Foyer. Registration will begin at 5:00 p.m. on Tuesday, November 14, 1967. Come early and register early to avoid the rush. Save even more time by completing and returning the attached Advance Registration form (and you'll help the registration committee, too).

MESSAGES

Messages for delegates will be posted on the **bulletin board** in the Main Mezzanine Foyer. Messages for posting may be left at the Conference Information Center. Delegates should also check their **hotel mail boxes** at regular intervals for special messages regarding the conferences.

TICKETS

Tickets are required for all meal functions. Additional tickets (for spouses) may be purchased at the Conference Information Center.

File PA - Speaking Engagements - 1967

October 30, 1967

Mr. William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director
Family Service Agency
323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403

Dear Bill:

Thanks for the clippings. I very much enjoyed being with you in Chattanooga. Do plan time to visit when next you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

President CLYDE V. BRYANT
Vice-President LEONARD TANNER
Secretary MRS. ADDISON WEBB
Treasurer THE REV. BILLY WALLACE
Executive Director WILLIAM L. GALBRAITH

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

STRENGTH TO FAMILIES UNDER STRESS

323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403
Telephone 267-2138

October 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Here are the newspaper clippings of your talk here. As you can see, Joe's story made the first page. The speech was very well received and many people have commented favorably upon it.

On behalf of the Community Services Club, I want to thank you for participating in our program. The meeting was better attended than anyone could remember. It was a pleasure to work with you, and I hope we might meet again.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director

cc Mary Sue Bethea
Kathleen Harris

MEMBER OF THE FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED FUND OF GREATER CHATTANOOGA

P.A.

note: Oct. 9
rent a car Monday
for Wed. trip

October 3, 1967

Mr. William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director
Family Service Agency
323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403

Dear Bill:

I shall plan to drive up next Wednesday and will come by the office before the meeting.

Look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Mr (Edna) Clarence Shaw

President CLYDE V. BRYANT
Vice-President LEONARD TANNER
Secretary MRS. ADDISON WEBB
Treasurer THE REV. BILLY WALLACE
Executive Director WILLIAM L. GALBRAITH

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

STRENGTH TO FAMILIES UNDER STRESS

323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403
Telephone 267-2138

October 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

If you drive to Chattanooga for your address to the Community Services Club on October 11th, please come directly to the Family Service Agency at Fourth and High Streets. Take Interstate 24 and Interstate I24 North to the Fourth Street exit. High Street is seven blocks east. We can go to the meeting together. It will be my privilege to introduce you.

The press and television stations have been invited to the meeting. Our speakers usually get good coverage. At least two reporters belong to the club, and attend regularly.

The meeting announcements and press releases will go out soon. We are looking forward to your visit. If anything comes up you may call me collect at 267-2138.

Sincerely,

Bill

William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director

St Pauls - Episc.

WLG/lh

September 5, 1967

Mr. William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director
Family Service Agency
323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403

Dear Mr. Galbraith:

Thank you for your letter of August 31st which arrived while Mr. Anthony was away from the office.

Enclosed yourwill find the requested glossy print of Mr. Anthony. We hope that it may be returned to us when you have made use of it.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Bring up Sept. 25

President CLYDE V. BRYANT
Vice-President LEONARD TANNER
Secretary MRS. ADDISON WEBB
Treasurer THE REV. BILLY WALLACE
Executive Director WILLIAM L. GALBRAITH

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

STRENGTH TO FAMILIES UNDER STRESS

323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403
Telephone 267-2138

August 31, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

From the biographical material you sent a suggestive news release has been prepared for the publicity chairman. A copy is enclosed. It would also be helpful if we could have a photograph of you. Other developments are that all programs will be tape recorded.

In my last letter I told you the Mayor would be the first speaker. He has cancelled and his replacement will be the director of the Full Employment Committee.

The other programs scheduled are: December - Dr. John Dyer of Chattanooga Progress, Incorporated; January - Dr. Gideon Fryar of the University of Tennessee School of Social Work; February - State Health Department representative on Title XIX; March - Director of Project Re-Ed for emotionally disturbed children; April - ?; May- Executive of the Council for Community Services.

Yours truly,

W L Galbraith

William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director

Enclosure
CC: Mary Sue Bethea
Kathleen Harris
Geneva Ray

MEMBER OF THE FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED FUND OF GREATER CHATTANOOGA

TO: Geneva Roy, Publicity Chairman

FROM: Bill Galbraith

SUGGESTED RELEASE FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES CLUB

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta will speak to the Community Services Club of Chattanooga at the monthly luncheon meeting Wednesday, October 11th at St. Paul's Church. His topic will be " Foundation Philanthropy and Health and Welfare Services."

The speaker has been on the staff of the Council since 1956 as Administrative Assistant, Executive Assistant, and Director of Field Services before this appointment to his present position in 1965. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, conducts surveys, conferences, and research for the improvement of civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South.

Mr. Anthony is a Virginian. He graduated from the University of Miami (Florida) and also attended Lynchburg College (Wirvinia). He was awarded the Honarary degree, Doctor of Human Letters, by Miles College in Birmingham. Mr. Anthony has served in the U. S. Air Force, taught school in Lynchburg, and represented the Wall Street Journal in the southeast.

The Community Services Club meets monthly for luncheon and a program of interest to the fields of welfare, health, recreation, and education. Membership in the club is open and dues are $ 1.00. Cost of the luncheon is $ 1.25.

Bring up Sept. 18th

August 18, 1967

Mr. William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director
Family Service Agency
323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403

Dear Mr. Galbraith:

Thank you very much for your further suggestions about the talk. They are very helpful. The title sounds fine to me.

Enclosed is a brief biographical data sheet.

At a later date I will let you know my travel plans; though most likely I shall drive.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Bring up Sept. 18

Ret to PA e 300 Sept.

President CLYDE V. BRYANT
Vice-President LEONARD TANNER
Secretary MRS. ADDISON WEBB
Treasurer THE REV. BILLY WALLACE
Executive Director WILLIAM L. GALBRAITH

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

STRENGTH TO FAMILIES UNDER STRESS

323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403
Telephone 267-2138

Elmore

August 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The questions you raised about your talk before the Community Services Club here October 11th have been discussed with the President, Mary Sue Bethea and the Program Chairman, Kathleen Harris. We plan to invite local foundations to the meeting. A list is enclosed.

Some of the things we hope you can cover are: the philosophy of foundation philanthropy (if there is one); why are they established, what is their purpose? Since the particular field of interest is so important, how can this be learned? What kinds of things usually attract foundation support (research and development projects, education, direct services, et cetera)? What do you see as the boundaries between government support, organized subscription (United Fund) and philanthropic financing? Examples might be projects of the Southern Regional Council and their sources of support, if appropriate.

These are just some of the areas you might cover. We would like to have a topic to announce such as " Foundation Philanthropy and Health and Welfare Services." If you have a biographical statement it would be helpful to our publicity chairman. Our meetings are usually covered by the press and sometimes by television news.

Let me know your travel plans. If you drive take Interstate 24 then I-124 North to the Fourth Street exit, east seven blocks to High Street. Or if you prefer, Greyhound has buses leaving Atlanta at 8 A.M. which arrives at 11.

Thank you for accepting this invitation on an " expense-only " basis.

Sincerely yours,

W L Galbraith

William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director

WLG/b
CC: Mary Sue Bethea
Kathleen Harris

Enclosure:

The Benwood Foundation
506 Maclellan Building
Chattanooga

The Caldwell Foundation
% American National Bank and Trust Co.
Chattanooga

Cherokee Foundation (Neil McDade)
% Neil McDade
1600 Rossville Avenue
Chattanooga

Con Cona Foundation
2101 Rossville Avenue
Chattanooga

The Evans Foundation
540 McCallie Avenue
Chattanooga

Hand Foundation
% John Stophel
Maclellan Building
Chattanooga

Kendall Welfare Foundation
1221 East Main St.
Chattanooga

Krystal Foundation
% American National Bank and Trust Co.
Chattanooga

Maclellan Foundation
203 East Brow Road
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

R. J. Maclellan Foundation
% American National Bank and Trust Co.
Chattanooga

Memorial Welfare Foundation
% American National Bank and Trust Co.
Chattanooga

Welfare Foundation
% Cartter Lupton
Volunteer Building
Chattanooga

Manuel Russ
818 Mt. Belvoir
Chattanooga

Siskin Foundation
529 Oak St.
Chattanooga

Tonya Memorial Foundation
% American National Bank
and Trust Co.
Chattanooga

Program file 1. Oct. 2

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

323 HIGH STREET CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE 37403

June 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for prompt acceptance of the invitation to speak to the Community Services Club. We will be looking forward to seeing you October 11th.

You will be hearing more from me or from the Program Chairman later. I just wanted to acknowledge your letter at this time.

Sincerely,

W L Galbraith

William L. Galbraith, ACSW
Executive Director

WLG/b

Bring up
Oct 2, 1967

June 23, 1967

Mr. William L. Galbraith
Executive Director
Family Service Agency
323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37203

Dear Mr. Galbraith:

It is thoughtful of you to think of me in regard to sepaking before the Community Services Club. I would be happy to come up on October 11th and, if this day is not convenient, we could discuss a later date. However, until I hear from you I shall keep October 11th clear.

Certainly no honorarium is required, although I would appreciate any help toward expenses which the club might be able to provide.

I would appreciate any further guidance you can give me on the interest of the club related to sources of private support and any emphasis you could suggest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

President CLYDE V. BRYANT
Vice-President LEONARD TANNER
Secretary MRS. ADDISON WEBB
Treasurer THE REV. BILLY WALLACE
Executive Director WILLIAM L. GALBRAITH

FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

STRENGTH TO FAMILIES UNDER STRESS

323 High Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37403
Telephone 267-2138

June 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I was very impressed by your discussion of " Sources of Private Support for Special Projects " at the Georgian Terrace Hotel meeting for Executives of Agencies with Project ENABLE, on March 10th. I recently began to receive NEW SOUTH and was interested to see that my friend Paul Christopher of Knoxville is a Vice-President.

My purpose in writing now is to ask if you might be available to speak on a similar subject in Chattanooga. The Community Services Club is an organization of staff, board and volunteers in the health, welfare and recreational agencies. The group meets for lunch once a month, on the second Wednesday, from September through May except for November. The executive committee is planning programs for the year and has already pencilled in a program for September. This is all tentative but it would help to know if and when you might be available, except for September. One very important consideration is cost. The Club has no funds for an honorarium but might be able to meet some expenses.

If you will let me know I will report back to the executive committee so that a decision can be made. In any case, if you are ever in Chattanooga you are invited to visit the Family Service Agency. We are in the downtown area and not far from the Interstate.

Yours truly,

W L Galbraith

William L. Galbraith
Executive Director

WLG/b

File
PA - Speaking Engagements
1967

Ret. to P.A.

November 21, 1967

Mr. Chester H. Jones
Consultant
National Social Welfare Assembly
345 East 46 Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Jones:

This will simply confirm my presence at your meeting on Friday, December 8, at 9:00 a.m.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY INC.
345 EAST 46 STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 • MUrray Hill 7-8300

WILLIAM H. BULKELEY President WINSLOW CARLTON Chairman Board of Directors C. F. McNEIL Director

November 13, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for accepting our invitation to participate in the Southern Regional Field Staff Conference meeting, which is being held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia.

You will find a copy of the program enclosed. Please note that your presentation is scheduled for 9:00 A.M., Friday, December 8, 1967.

The advanced registration for the conference indicates that we will have representation from most of the national organizations with regional representatives in the southern states.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Chester H. Jones

Chester H. Jones
Consultant

CHJ/gs
Enclosure

NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY
345 East 46 Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Southern Regional Field Staff Conference
Miss Eileen E. Muir, Chairman

Program

Theme Community Planning - Urban Crisis
December 7 - 8, 1967
Thursday, 2:00 P.M. - Friday, 3:00 P.M.

Dinkler Plaza Hotel
98 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: 524-2461

Thursday, December 7, 1967

1:30 - 2:00 P.M. - Registration
2:00 - 2:30 P.M. - Introductions - Announcements
2:30 - 3:30 P.M. - Addresses:

Dan MacDonald, Executive Director
Health & Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis

Duane Beck, Executive Director
Community Council of the Atlanta Area

Subject: Community Planning vs the Urban Crisis

3:30 - 3:45 P.M. - Break
3:45 - 5:00 P.M. - Discussion
5:15 P.M. - Social Hour

Friday, December 8, 1967

9:00 - 10:00 A.M. - Addresses:

Honorable Julian Bond, Representative
136th District, Georgia House of Representatives

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Subject: Barriers to Community Planning-
What must be done to overcome them?

10:00 - 10:45 A.M.- Discussion
10:45 - 11:00 A.M.- Break
11:00 - 11:55 A.M.- Discussion
11:55 - 1:15 P.M.- Lunch

Friday, December 8, 1967

1:15 - 1:45 P.M. - Address:

Chester H. Jones, Staff Consultant
National Social Welfare Assembly

Subject: The Significance of New Assembly Structure

1:45 - 2:15 P.M. - Business Meeting

2:15 - 3:00 P.M. - Address:

John W. Forrest, Program Coordinator
Region IV, Department of Health, Education & Welfare

Subject: Challenge to Private and Public Agencies

Discussion

Bring up Dec. 5
file
for arrangements
1967

November 27, 1967

Mr. Harold B. Williams
Assistant Director
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20201

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the invitation to the meeting in Pete Libassi's office on December 12th. I shall be there.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

NOV 21 1967

Dear Paul:

This is to inform you that a meeting with special individuals and Leadership Conference personnel will be held in Peter Libassi's office on Tuesday, December 12, at 2 p.m. Secretary Gardner has agreed to attend the meeting and to spend some time with those who are present. Your attendance would be appreciated.

Mr. Libassi has requested Mr. Marvin Caplan to ask someone in the Leadership group to be prepared to address themselves to the question of "Black Separatism and the Growing Implication for D/HEW Policy and Leadership Conference Programs." I thought you should be advised of this so that your comments can be added for the good of the discussion.

The meeting is to be held in Room 5067, 330 Independence Avenue, S.W. I would appreciate your advising me as to whether you will be able to attend this session.

Sincerely yours,

Harold

Harold B. Williams
Assistant Director
Office for Civil Rights

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

See Pa Speaking Engagements 1967

PA

December 1, 1967

Dr. L. A. Potts
Office of the Dean
School of Agriculture
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Dear Dr. Potts:

This is simply to inform you that I shall be there on Tuesday, December 5th.

I assume the meeting is at Dorothy Hall. If not, will you please leave word at the desk where I should go?

I shall be driving over to Tuskegee and hope to arrive on campus around 10:00 a.m.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

November 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5th and Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30300

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for expressing a willingness to assist us with our conference here next month.

As the attached tentative program and circular information will indicate, the conference will begin on December 4 and continue through December 5, 1967. We are asking you to give the final statement at the conference at the 10:25 - 12:00 session.

The purpose of this conference is to stimulate more positive action on the part of rural leaders. We believe all of us face new responsibilities and greater opportunities. Any statements you make in your address that are related to our purpose will be satisfactory to us.

Yours truly,

L. A. Potts
for
B. D. Mayberry, Dean
School of Agriculture

LAP/BH

Enc-1

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

RURAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOR 1967

For the past twenty-four years Tuskegee Institute has been conducting the Professional Agricultural Workers Conference (PAWC). These annual conferences have been designed mainly to keep professional agricultural workers abreast with the everchanging progressive developments in agriculture such that they could be of maximum value to their rural clientele. With the full cooperation and support of federal, state, and local agencies, participants in these conferences have been almost exclusively men who were engaged in professional agricultural work.

In recent years, the focus of these conferences has shifted from managerial and technical agriculture to a more comprehensive concern for the whole gamut of problems which affect rural people, including human resource development. In order to deal most effectively with this more comprehensive concern, it is considered necessary to involve rural leadership more broadly than has been the case in the past.

To facilitate making the shift in focus indicated above, it is considered highly essential to change the name from Professional Agricultural Workers Conference (PAWC) to Rural Leadership Conference (RLC). This new name will likely be much more appropriate for the more comprehensive work program of the conference now envisioned.

In implementing this new concept, there is still a very essential and indispensable role to be played by the Professional Agricultural Workers. In addition, however, there will be the opportunity to involve more effectively such other very essential leaders as rural ministers, board chairmen, and staff directors of the Community Action Agencies, Public Health Personnel and High School Counselors.

The general theme of the conference this year will be "Community Organization, The Key To Human Resource Development." A battery of highly qualified persons have been secured to serve as consultants, lecturers, and discussion leaders. This conference promises to be one of the most beneficial since the initiation of the series. We are inviting, and are therefore hopeful, that there will be participation in this conference (December 4 and 5, 1967) by representatives from every major public and private agency which serves rural people in Alabama and adjacent states.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

November 3, 1967

Announcing:

The Twenty-Fifth Annual Rural Leadership Conference (Formerly, 'The Professional Agricultural Workers Conference').

When:

Monday and Tuesday, December 4, 5, 1967.

Where:

Tuskegee Institute, with headquarters in the Dorothy Hall Guest House, Second Floor Lobby.

Registration:

Registration Fee, $5.00 to cover the cost of the banquet and part of the cost of communication, guest contributors and conference proceedings.

Accommodations:

A limited number of overnight accommodations are available in the Dorothy Hall Guest House. Requests for reservation should be mailed to Dorothy Hall, Tuskegee Institute, or telephone (AC 205) 727-3400. When Dorothy Hall is filled, requests will be referred to the Macon Motel or to the Floral Park Motel, both in Tuskegee, Alabama.

Travel:

Air travel participants should fly to Columbus, Georgia, or to Montgomery, Alabama. In either case, rental cars will be available for your convenience.

Train travel participants should go to Chehaw (via the Western Railway), five miles from the Campus. Taxi service is usually available.

Greyhound Bus service is available to Tuskegee. For private auto travelers, Tuskegee is located 40 miles east of Montgomery on U.S. 29, U.S. 80, and Interstate 85.

For additional information, please call or write:

B. D. Mayberry, Dean
School of Agriculture
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
36088
(205) 727-8452

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
RURAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

December 4, 5, 1967

PROGRAM
(Tentative)

Monday, December 4. 8-10 A. M.
Registration
Dorothy Hall, Upper Lounge

Monday, December 4. 10-12 A. M. First Session
Wilcox A Auditorium
Mr. L. J. Washington Presiding
Farmers Home Administration USDA
Washington, D. C.

Prayer
Reverend Raymond Harvey

Welcome
Dr. L. H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute

Keynote Address
Mr. Billie Matthews
Acting Director RCDS-USDA
Washington, D. C.

Discussion Leader
Dr. Henry Taylor
Rural Community Development Service USDA
Washington, D.C.

Monday, December 4. 12:00-1:30 P. M. Lunch

Monday, December 4. 1:30-3:00 P. M. Second Session
Wilcox A Auditorium
Mr. James Hughes Presiding
Soil Conservation Service
Washington, D. C.

Home Management Outreach Services of the Farmers Home Administration
Mrs. Ella Nae Berdhal
Home Economist, FHA-USDA
Washington, D. C.

Discussion Leader
Mrs. Cleo Walker
Coop. State Extension Service
Auburn, Alabama

Ways and Means of Community Involvement
Mr. Elbert B. Jean
State Director OEO
Nashville, Tennessee

Monday, December 4. 7:30-9:00 Dinner Session
Tompkins Dining Hall
Dr. Cozy Ellison Presiding
School of Agriculture
Tuskegee Institute

After Dinner Speaker
Rev. Isaac Igarashi
National Council of Churches
Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, December 5. 9:00 to 10:30 A. M. Group Sessions
Group I, TAP Agencies
Dr. C A. Williams, Chairman
Mr. Victor B. Phillips, Co-Chairman

Group II, CAP Agencies
Mr. Clarence Franklin, Chairman
Mr. Roy Jones, Co-Chairman

Group III, Private Agencies
Mr. Joe L. Reed, Chairman
Miss Shirley Mesher, SWAFCA

Tuesday, December 5. 10:45-12:00 Noon. Summary Session
I. Group Reports

II. Conference Summary
Mr. Sherman Brisco

III. Address
Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
1776 PEACHTREE STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

File PA - Speaking Engagements

December 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Kindly accept my sincere appreciation for your participation at the recent Trade Union Conference.

The wise and informative remarks which were articulated by you at the Luncheon gave evidence of your depth of understanding in the area of employment and unemployment. Also, the sincerity which was portrayed in speaking to the conference was, I am sure, greatly appreciated by the delegates and evidently by the press; for the nuggets which fell from your lips were those rightly seized upon by the alert newsmen.

Thank you again, and please call upon us whenever you feel that I or the office may be of service.

Cordially,

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

P.A. ENGAGEMENTS 1968

REGARDING

Jim Gibson's role in arranging conference between SRC and Bureau of .Census delegations on underenumeration of non-whites in censuses

DATE

12-22-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. GOVT. * Dept. of Commerce

file PA - Speeches, 1967 file copy draft

The Future of the South as it leaves its past

Periodically, since Henry Grady first used the phrase, one must analyize and write about the New South. It is a convenient term and always a pertinent one since at any given point this fast changing region can always honestly bear the impli ations of that term. And, it is acceptable because those in the region - of whatever persuasion are always facinated and enamoured of it, and occasionally those outside the region are sincerely curious about it.

In recent years therehave been several times when the term was particularly appropriate. The years of World War II was one of these. Industrial expansion in the South - much of which lasted - and the out-migration of people to the opportunities of the "Northern" cities were cause for lasting change. (An aircraft factory starting in Georgia would, in twenty years, produce a payroll greater than the annual income from cotton grown in that state.) So too was that time when Detroit and Chicago and New York would become the centers of Negro population in the Country. Recent soldiers - young men Negro and white - returned to the region. They had been far and seen much and isolation would never be quite the same. while it would remain

May 17, 1954 stands out of course. Then, for all the later turmoil, confusion, and irrisponsibility in the South and the Nation, Segregation was doomed. As of then the legal basis for segregation was to be fatally undermined and the region's minority was to gain an essential

weapon for the fight for justice. This date too, or at least one occuring within the next twelve months, was to mark the beginning of "Massive Resistance." The South's tired, racists political leadership was to gain a decade of power. The region in turn was to pay the price of the closed schools of Little Rock, the screaming women of New Orleans, and the pathetic exposure of bigoted immaturity of Mississippis's finest at Ole Miss. In retrospect, the new hope and the incredible patience of the region's Negro citizens were so strong as to now seem incomprehensible. The white citi ens delusions and gullibility for false prophets, while no less comphrensible, was certainly more saddening.

From gullibility and delusions and patience and hope was, owever, to come one of the most dramatic revolutions in history. Records can barely do justice to what happened in this region in the decade, 1954-1964. Certainly statistics can not.

For the mind of the Southern whites an even of greater importance than the Supreme Court school decision occured in Montgomery in 1956. It was in the cradle of the confederacy in thatyear that an essential educational process began. Gradually, as they watched southern Negroes -all Negroes, educated and uneducated, poor and affluent - walk rather than segregated buses did Southern whites begin to comprehend that"their Negroes"

were dissatisfied. It was an essential lesson. One could rationalize a Supreme Court gone mad under radical influence and one could accept irrational, self-serving Yankees goading ~~of~~ a happy child-like people. But what trauma to realize that ones own domestic had walked to work and, on Saturday night at the mass rally, had contributed partof her salary to the NAACP. (And, what a short time ago that that organization was to the whites the personification of all that was estreme, radical, and irresponsible.)

Along the way here integration became a communist ~~ix~~.x plot. McCarthyism in its initial ~~its initial~~ wave missed the South. But, slow as it sometimes is, the South generally catches up and when it was of interest the South went through its period of McCarthyism. It was a very personal thing. A last defense against admitting that most Negroes and some whites wanted change was to hope and attempt to prove that it was all a communist plot. While those who were a target went through a rough time, the charges were so unfounded that this too was but a passing phase.

In Greensboro in January, 1960 there began a movement and a tactic that shall forever more be looked on as the pure period. Here well dressed, well-mannered young Negroes sat at a lunch counter and asked to be served coffee in places ofcommerce where they were otherwise encouraged to spend their money. The tactic spread across the region largely undirected

and unaffiliated. White conscience, which surely exists, was confronted as it has neverbeen before or since. Change was phenominal. More important, the Southern businessman began ~~to~~ secretly to desire a law that would ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ resolve his economic and moral delimma. In small part because of this desire such a lwa was forthcoming and in large part because of it, it was obeyed.

There came later the final phase of the decade of revolution. It is best illustrated by Birmingham. The leadership of the "movement" ther was not unexpected, (Nobel prize winner Martin King had become an international influence) and certainly the response of Negroes was not.) The significance of Birmingham is not what ~~Whitexxxxxxxxx~~ Negroes didbut how whites responded. Martin Luther King, Jr. may have been important to Birmingham, 1964; Eugene " Bill" Conner was essential. The nation- including the South - was shown a spectacle of dogs and fire hoses and billy clubs that inevitably moved a cautious Kennedy administration to a national ~~law~~ advocacy that a Johnson administration was to complete. Then and since it has been essential to the protest movement that a cruelly defiant South would respondto the demands of the innocent and history will have to record ~~andhistory will have to record~~ the contributions of the Orville Faubises and the Bill Conners of the region. Without them progress would have been infinetly slower.

Begin ing in 1965 much of the uniqueness of Southern history ended. The region retained its uniqueness - but less so - and many pockets of Southern absurd ty remained. But the South had reached the national norm. The region had moved uptown.

Arg, regrettably, that it seems the nation has moved downtown.

Draft

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Between the South and the rest of the nation, that for all purposes the South like the rest of the nation had reached tokenism. Token Negroes began to appear across the entire economic spectrum in employment. Token Negroes began to appear in the "white" schools and in terms of social history as revolutionary as it was not a great deal had happened to affect the mass of people. The region's promises that had been so great began to be damned and obscured.

Into this picture we must insert some comment on the war on poverty. The very name "war on poverty" was a exciting ~~fighting~~: definite, challenging, determined, absolute. The national administration largely personally was the words of President Johnson and Mr. S____ "fill the nation's press and its airways with the promise that poverty would end with this generation in America". It was a challenging and exciting thing. It had the value first of all of educating millions of persons to the fact that poverty in serious amounts did indeed exist in the very heart of this incredibly affluent society. And to those in the midst of poverty it had the sincere ring of we know youare there, we know your plight, and the public body is going to do something about it. In retrospect perhaps the most damaging thing about the last several years in our national war on poverty has been the disillusionment that set in on the part of the poor. They were promised that they would be given jobs. They would be retrained. They would be properly housed. Their children

would be given an opportunity. They would be given dignity. Little, if any of this, has come to pass and we cannot underestimate the damage which has been done the human spirit. Perhaps in the long run in the political sphere nothing is more damaging or more dangerous than to promise to be believed and then to not deliver.

In the early days of the war on povery was an exciting thing. There was of course all the cumbersomeness of the bureaucracy which is always to be found and there was certainly a timidity on the part of thousands of bureaucrats that things not be done too drastically. But in time slowness and the ineffectiveness of these programs was to be shattering. For instance, for all of the promises to young, untrained men and women who were school drop-outs that there would be a job corps to train them, to give them "a last chance". During the time when such a program was established and when 5,000 young men and women from all over the nation were placed into them - during that same time in the early days of the New Deal more than 2½ million young men had been placed in a civilian conservation corps. At best the war on poverty became a skirmish.

And even the skirmish began to emphasize the safe programs. For instance, currently the most popular program is a headstart program for young pre-school children. Here let me make it emphatically clear I am in not in any measure opposed to the headstart programs. I wish we had

far more of them. But it is basically safe to take young hungry, ill clothed children to give them medical examinations, to give them some instruction in color, and for a very brief time, a matter of a few weeks-give them one well balanced meal a day. No one can object to this. But what is its lasting effect and to what extent does this get to the root of the problem of tens of thousands of people unable to find jobs or extremely poorly paid in jobs they can hold. The slum housing conditions to all of the factors that are going to prey on the life of the 5 or 6 year old. Six weeks of a headstart program are guaranteed to do nothing more than hold out a slight promise to an opening mind and then to slam down that promise as absolutely as if the program had never occurred.

For all purposes this, too, this war on poverty is now a part of our history. A milestone, and an important one, but one that is perhaps continued more to the mess we are now in than any other.

Where are we now and where are we going? At least in terms of public dialogue we are now in the midst of great discretion about the trouble the war on poverty is in and its chances of continuing even as a skirmish in the future. We are in the midst of the most serious and sombre discussions of the backlash of disenchantment of white America.with its Negro minority. And, needless to say, we are in the midst

of the cries of Blackpower and the serious and sombre discussions of Negro Americas disenchantment with the great majority.

All of these things are true. The national resolve on conducting war on poverty is certainly weakening. There is without question I think in anyone's mind a real white ~~xxxxxxx~~ backlash of substantial proportion that is nationwide and certainly there is the rising cries of Blackpower in whatever way it may be expressed by whatever quarter. Most importantly here perhaps and quite apart from the emotionalism that surrounds ~~it and~~ the term Blackpower, I sense that I have never sensed in the years past the growing disenchantment and disillusionment in the minds of all Negro Americans. A serious question of whether or not the white man has ever meant it, of whether or not Negro Americans were not fools to believe and to be optimistic and to be patient and of whether or not integration is worthwhile in this society. Can we possibly underestimate how serious this is and can be. In fact I would even go so far as to seriously raise the question "Can we properly comprehend dangers to this society if indeed it is a fact that more than 20 million of its citizens are seriously questioning that that society is well meaning enough or desirable enough to be joined? Certainly this situation is serious enough and one of the sound observers and historians of the movement, Dr. Vincent Harding of Spellman College, was moved to write late last year in an issue of NEW SOUTH magazine an article entitled "Where Have The Lovers Gone".

This was and is a serious question and it was Dr. Harding's observation that the lovers are no longer in command of the Negro American civil rights movement. There is no longer, even among the greatest advocates of this philosophy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., talk of redemptive love and saving the soul of the whole society. Whether we talk about a march across a bridge in Selma or a march around the fringes of Cicero, Illinois there simply no longer is a movement in the minds of those who are a part. Time for talk about lovers in the face of the howling mob.

These are somber, dire predictions and it is not enough for us to simply leave these dire predictions hanging as the fact without hoping to do something about them. What then might be done. These, I think, are our priorities. 1. Largely, almost exclusively, on the part of white America there must be from those who understand a massive campaign of education. Whatever action it chooses to take white America must know of the continuing plight of the Negro citizen in the society. White America must know most importantly that the Negro does not yet have an equal chance and that the gap between reality for the Negro and an equal chance isn't so awesomely great that society must make a new and heretofore unattempted campaign to see that this is so. Until we have indeed a reached society in which every man and woman in it has an opportunity to equality we have a society which is too sick to hope for a continued existence. We must whatever the response the white citizens

of this county understand this.

2. There must be on the part of the Negro in America, no matter how fair or unfair it is, an extraordinary effort toward self-help. For all the odds against them Negro citizen and for all their unfairness the same things which make them awesome and unfair make it essential that the Negro society help this country band together as it has not done before. And conduct an incredible campaign in its own self-interest. This includes very specifically neighborhood self-help programs, community uplifting programs, most importantly generation of substantial additonal capital within the Negro community and reinvestment of that capital in the Negro community. The Negro has got to have business know-how and he has got to have funds to back up that business know-how. No matter how many millions of dollars the American public are prepared to put into support of war on poverty Negroes must generate their own capital in millions and indeed billions. Housing financing was not made available to a would be Negro home-owner until Negro lending institutions proved that it was an extremely sound venture. To this day Negroes are considered by some of the largest insurance companies in this country to be unsound insurance risk while in there very midst some of the soundest business Negroes directed in this country have been built the obvious indication that exactly the opposite is true. And that in the future everything from the corner Mom and Dad grocery store to the largest financial institution in this region must be built and developed and directed by the young

Draft

men and women of the present Negro community.

3. We must have a complete rebirth of our urban areas and this program will cost the equivalent to a true war on poverty. We must make our cities livable again at a time when no matter what society we create we are building a physical environment which is becoming increasingly intolerable for human beingsto live. We must distribute our population better in the process of doingso. It is not inevitable that millions of people shall be jammed together under crowded conditions and we need millions of square miles of countryside available. Rebirth and redistribution of our our physical areas today is a high priority for our future.

4. While recognizing the serious extent to which Negroes are uniquely trapped in this situation for all of our people we must have a true war on poverty. It is intolerable that in the richest society in the world more than 1/3, I repeat more than 1 out of every 3 people in it, are living in poor circumstances. If we, as a democratic society, as a society committed to a particular form of economic development and organization, as a society committed to the fact that all men are created equal and have an opportunity to live in the pursuit of happiness and not do these things then who can and how.

5. This American society of ours must rapidly while

doing all of the things outlined above undertake a serious campaign to feed the world. This is not to say that we must grow all the grain for all the world but we must grow initially a great deal of it or much of it. We can do many things, including self-help programs abroad, strengthening agricultural in the undeveloped countires of the world and what have you. But the great issue hanging over us like the hydrogen bomb that backs it is not all of the cliches, we use of the east and west or communist or non-communist It is very simply the haves and the have nots, the starving and the well-fed, The starving of the world are going to be fed.or they are going to devour us all. By every consideration I would hope first religious ones and humanitarian ones. But even if we choose to limit it purely to self interest considerations the hungry of the world must be fed and we must quickly heal ourselves in this country. Make the soceity one. Call on all of its strength. Call on every bit of its manpower. Create the strongest possible society and set ourselves about this destiny which we should glory in having.

January 11, 1968

Miss Dorothy Height
National Board of the YWCA Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dorothy:

I am so sorry to have let you down on the 8th. The flu simply made it impossible.

Do let me have an opportunity to make it up to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See - PA - Speaking Engagements 1968

(Km - Please make a file for 1968 Speaking Engagements)

January 11, 1968

Miss Edith M. Lerrigo
Executive Director
National Board of the YWCA Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Lerrigo:

This is merely to express my deepest apology for being unable to meet with you on the 8th. The Asian flu simply made it impossible. I regret any inconvenience this caused you and the National Board.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Ref. to P.A.

January 3, 1968

Miss Edith M. Lerrigo
Executive Director
National Board of the YWCA Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Lerrigo:

This will confirm my plans to be with you on the afternoon of January 8. I amy be able to get to the last portion of the morning session. Whatever, I shall be there for lunch with Dorothy and Ken at 1:00 p.m.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y., 10022
212-753-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

MRS. ROBERT W. CLAYTOR
President

MRS. AMBROSE L. CRAM, JR.
Vice President

MRS. PAUL MCCLELLAN JONES
Vice President at Large

MRS. RALPH A. MCCANSE
Vice President,
Chairman, Central Region

MRS. FRED J. CHURCH
Vice President,
Chairman, Eastern Region

MRS. HOWARD GRIMES
Vice President,
Chairman, Southern Region

MRS. CHESTER ROOT
Vice President,
Chairman, Western Region

MRS. HERBERT P. CATLIN
Secretary

MRS. DALLAS B. SHERMAN
Treasurer

MRS. ROBERT R. PENN
Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
Executive Director

December 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are most grateful to know that you can be with our National Staff on the afternoon of January 8 and help us try to better understand the present situation in our country.

You know us well and what help we most need. You may be interested in some of the objectives which the Planning Committee hope to achieve:

"To help every Staff Member to:

... know and feel the impact of the present revolutionary situation, especially as related to racism

... admit her own involvement, examine her personal response, and change in the light of new understanding

... consider what all this means to the organization in which she chooses to work

... determine her peculiar part, role and function as a professional worker in moving toward accepted goals

This is an effort to express our concern for and to learn to act in relation to the most urgent problems of this day -- race is front and center."

Our plan is to spend Monday on <u>The Meaning of Blackness in the U.S.A.</u> We want this to include consideration of:

... the meaning of blackness
... the dimensions of crisis
... the prospects for change

In the morning, Mr. Preston Wilcox and one or two others will work with the group. As you know, our staff, both those based at headquarters and those in the field, are working day by day with local YWCA leaders in communities and on college campuses. Our staff, as they advise these local staff and volunteers, must have some understanding of the Black Power thrust, the civil rights struggle and separatism. Mr. Wilcox will help them on this.

YWCA ®

In the afternoon we hope you and Dr. Kenneth Clark and any others you want to involve will help us reexamine the meaning of integration and our commitment to action. The afternoon session will begin at 2 o'clock and run until 4:30 with a break.

If you could be with us for the entire day it would be most helpful. We will begin with coffee at 9:30. The session will start at 10 A.M. There will be some "setting of the stage" and Mr. Wilcox will start about 10:30. That session, with a break, will continue until 1 o'clock. We will reconvene for the afternoon session at 2 o'clock and go until 4:30. Do be with us for the whole day if you can. If it is not possible, I am suggesting to Dr. Clark, who has a class in the morning, that he arrive at 1 o'clock and you, he and Dorothy Height have a sandwich lunch in our office so she can tell him (and you if you cannot be present) what happened in the morning session. Then you and Dr. Clark can plan to build on this in the afternoon.

We are exceedingly grateful to you for giving your time to help us on these crucial questions.

Very sincerely yours,

Edith M. Lerrigo

Edith M. Lerrigo
Executive Director

EML:lcw

File - PA - Speaking Engagements 1968

January 11, 1968

Mr. Samuel Adams
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sam:

Enclosed is brief biographical information. Whenever I get around to travel arrangements I will let you know.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

St. Petersburg Times
FLORIDA

January 8, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your kind letter. We look forward to seeing you, and we wish to arrange your activities here in accordance with your wishes.

When you visit here January 28, 1968, I shall have the responsibility of introducing you and seeing that you get to and from the site of your speaking engagement. Send whatever infomation I will need, including times of arrival and departure from Tampa International Airport.

Having to write this letter without secretarial help reminds me of how much I miss Janet and Nobbie.

Warmest regards to all my friends there.

Sincerely,

Sam

Samuel Adams
Enterprise Writer

File Speaking PA engagements 1967

January 16, 1968

Dr. B. D. Mayberry, Dean
School of Agriculture
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Dear Dr. Mayberry:

While the transcript of my address correctly indicates my rambling sentence structure it is also, I think, reflective of what I said.

It was a pleasure, as it always is, to be with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

December 27, 1967

Dr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

May we take this opportunity to express again our sincere appreciation for the part you played in making our Rural Leadership Conference the great success that it was. Your presentation was very much in line with the kind of thing that must become action in order to initiate and execute an effective program of human resource development.

We have attempted to prepare your presentation for the Proceedings. This, of course, was taken from tapes. It is possible that we may not have been able to do an exact transcription which would meet with your approval. We are therefore sending to you a rough draft in the hope that you will read it and make such editorial adjustments as you feel desirable and appropriate. Should you feel, however, that our transcription is sufficiently accurate, then you need not bother to do a redraft.

If we do not hear from you within the next two weeks, we will assume that this transcription meets with your approval.

Thank you very kindly.

Very truly yours,

B. D. Mayberry

BDM/BH

B. D. Mayberry, Dean
School of Agriculture

Address Given By Dr. Paul Anthony

Director Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia

Speakers are always supposed to say something about the exaggerated introduction when they start off; I can simply say to you that in all sincerity nothing humbles me more than to be introduced by one of the greatest men in America, past or present.

There is every likelihood, from what little I have heard of your conference, that every idea I have (and I have very few of them to share with you this morning) has already been expressed and expressed better than I will do them. I won't prolong your meeting by taking too long with you. I really only have a four-minute speech, but I will fill in with a sufficient number of generalities to cover the waterfront in between. Generalities lead me into my USDA joke which I cannot resist sharing with you. About six years ago a very ambitious USDA employee was sent down from Washington to central Florida to work in a county on a special project regarding irrigation. At the end of the first year, he sent word that he wanted a really big-name speaker, that their farm group was going to have a banquet, and he really wanted it to be a successful occasion. Back came word that Mr. Brooks Hayes would be that speaker. He should have been very pleased. Mr. Brooks Hayes was a distinguished Congressman from Little Rock for a number of years; he was an immediate past president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and was then serving as a White House Aide of President John F. Kennedy. But this young man was very conscious of the fact that Mr. Hayes was a Liberal who was defeated during the integration crisis in Little Rock, and this worried him. So when he met Mr. Mayes at the Melbourne Airport, he said, "Now, Mr. Hayes, this is very controversial territory down here and I am pretty conservative. I hope you won't say anything that will harm my program. This irritated Mr. Hayes, who said, "Don't worry, young man, I intend to make my speech, stick to the subject, and take the first plane back to Washington. And this he did, and since the subject of this group was, and their project was, irrigation, Mr. Hayes limited his speech to commenting on irrigation. He spoke of the history of irrigation. He spoke of the present of irrigation. He spoke of the promise of irrigation, and ended on a ringing note pledging the Kennedy administration to an even more vigorous irrigation policy.

Afterwards an old farmer came up and said, "Mr. Hayes, I am white. Of course I don't care what you say about irrigation, the colored in this county have their own schools and they ought to stay in them."

Generalities can get into the real trouble, and I want to assure you that I identify with rural areas, because I was born and grew up in Link Station, Virginia. We had two distinguished citizens at Link Station, Virginia, who had very successful careers as boys. They were very competitive, and in time one got a scholarship to Notre Dame and one was appointed to West Point. As the years went on, they lost track of each other. One day when both of them had

arrived back in the village to spend the weekend it was Sunday afternoon and both were standing on the train platform waiting for the plane back to Washington. By then the Notre Dame alumnus had become a Bishop and the West Point man had become a General. The Bishop sort of wandered over to this splendid bemedaled man, tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "Pardon me, conductor. What time does the train leave?" The General whirled around with fire in his eyes and then recognized his boyhood friend and said, "The train leaves in 10 minutes, madam, but in your condition I don't think I would travel."

It is a beautiful day, and I wish we could spend another few minutes laughing together, and let it go at that, but unfortunately we cannot. Now I will share with you the first half of my speech and go to my generalities.

This nation is in serious trouble. It is not a time of "business as usual". It is not a normal day in which we gradualy, in the best of the tradition of this country, see things improving within it. We are fighting a war abroad, I am not here to speak for or against it, to be either a hawk or a dove, but I think we have to start off noting that this nation is in one of the most costly wars and one of the most expensive, and quite conceivably, one of the longest durations, of any in the history of this country. It is not a time of normalcy. Internally this nation has the immediate threat of rebellion, a situation which has never existed before in wartime or in peacetime in this country. Only last summer we saw the handwriting on the wall, and the handwriting on the wall was very faint compared to what its potential is. We are a nation that faces immediate rebellion in this country. This is an extremely serious thing, and since we limit our interest in this conference largely to the rural area, I will limit my remarks and generalities to the rural area. But they have homologous implications for our urban area, as you well know.

In the heart and in the midst of the richest country in the world, a country where among all the billions of people of mankind, incredibly, one nation of some 200,000,000 people controls over 50% of all the wealth that exists in the world, In the midst of the richest nation in the history of mankind, a nation incredibly rich by all standards, eastern and western, and what have you, of our day, there are within our midst millions of people whose lives are doomed and who are starving to death. It is an incredible fact that there is within our nation a minimum of approximately 30,000,000 who are outside of our governmental system, neither contributing anything to it, nor for all purposes, receiving anything from it. There is within our country a minimum of 30,000,000 people neither contributing to our economic system nor sharing benefits from it. No country in the world is rich enough, no government in the world is sound enough, or strong enough, for this large a group of people to be outside of our systems and not tear those systems down. This is the heart of the crisis that this nation faces today.

Even at the time of the Civil War, it faced no greater crisis than that. It is an incredible thing that we have responded so slowly or have been so ignorant. The nation has not only responded slowly, but it has been genuinely ignorant of the conditions of these people.

We speak a great deal about guns and butter. There is no doubt whatsoever that a nation as rich as this can afford both guns and butter, but at the same

time it becomes increasingly clear whether or not this nation has the potential for that, we are going to finance both guns and butter at a time when we have never known more of the plight of our people, at a time when some people have never understood more the pressing urgency, not only for humanity and humane actions, but realistic,practical self-help and self-interest actions. This nation has no inclination to provide the ideas, the programs, or the funds for what we must have if every individual in this country is to have an opportunity for a decent life. From all of the signs of our political trends in this country, of all of the parties, including your honorable party being financed here in Alabama, there is no indication whatsoever, at least in the immediate future, that we will have adequate programs to meet the needs of this society. This has created a terribly grave situation.

I can never drive to Tuskegee (and there is no place in the country that I enjoy coming to more than Tuskegee) without thinking (because you are in the automobile and there is nothing else to do, and you are always, no matter what route you take, driving through dreary areas of southwest Georgia and rural Alabama before you get to this lovely oasis). On every turn, whether it is the tumbledown shack or the unkept cotton field, or while creeping along the hill behind the cottonpicker (all of which I saw this morning) you are reminded over and over and over again of an economy that has suffered all of its history, from the moment those cotton fields were first plowed, of an economy that has bled the land and bled all of the people on it, not just the Negro people, but everybody who has walked on it - a living monument of tragedy, and such a tragedy.

You have already discussed the greatest tragedy, in human terms, of our present situation with large rural Negro populations in the most desperate straights of people all over the country. And that, my friends, is making quite a statement. It is a fact of life that these people are no longer wanted, because it has been said that these people no longer have an economic value. And kid yourself not, when they go to the city they have even less of an economic value and even less of a chance. There is at least clean water down at the spring and a few vegetables in the summer time. When they wind up in the ghettos of the Detroits and the Newarks of the world, inhumanity has become supreme, and hopelessness has become absolute. Also, incidentally, the Atlantas of the world, the Birminghams, the Memphises, the Nashvilles, the Charlottes, the Dallases which are building such magnificent buildings. We are being so smart; our chambers-of-commerce are doing such a great job, and we haven't got sense enough to look right up the road at Newark and see what happens when you build in horrible ghettos and pack more and more people into them with no opportunity to earn a living or live a decent life. For all of our enlightened leadership, and for all our shiny buildings. I'll pick on my own city, Atlanta, which I am very fond of. If we are real lucky, we are ten years down the road from where Newark is now. If we are not that lucky, we are much closer. So here we are building in this intolerable society with people who are not wanted.

Now mind you, Negroes are not the only people in this society who are not wanted, but they are the most conspicuous group, and make up the largest single part of it. We simply have a situation in which it is not getting a little bit better as time goes on, it is getting far worse. Ten years ago in rural Alabama, southwest Georgia, Black Belt Mississippi, (and this goes all the way from Black Belt Virginia to East Texas, it is not just a fluke in Alabama or

Mississippi) these people still did have an economic value. There still was some chance with forty acres and a mule. There still was some need for them. And now I make this as a sweeping generalization which I am prepared to prove by chapter and verse, by no means to a unanimous degree, but to a very regrettable degree, - innumerable public-funded programs (including those in which a majority of the money is being provided by the Federal Government, and all of it being provided by the taxpayers of the U. S.) are now being used as direct tools of intimidation to keep people down and to move them out. In some instances there is a carelessness, and (I am honestly trying to speak responsible and truthfully) it is really immaterial whether the truth is the hearse or the Greyhound Bus.

I am prepared to prove every sentence I am saying here. Over and over again. I passed this morning through one county where the name "Calloway" was everywhere. I am not being partisan. Mr. Calloway happens to be a very successful Republican in my state and a very wealthy man. You could see physically how that name and how that presence in that county was helping everything - "Calloway Gardens" here, "Calloway Quail Preserve" over there, "Calloway Airport" on this road. That same gentelman, building a magnificent county physically, and creating jobs for some people, has been leading a strong fight (and he is a strong man politically and financially) to keep any kind of food distribution program out of that county. It is just a fact from the newspaper what he has contributed to that county and what leadership he has contributed to fight a food distribution program. This is public information.

There can be only one serious reason for this - the dark-skinned people who live in that county have no economic need or economic value. Their presence offers nothing to those who are attempting to set the policies; therefore the "Devil take the hindmost". Whether these unfortunate people wind up in Atlanta or whether they wind up in Newark is perfectly immaterial, so long as they wind up "somewhere else".

A nation this callous, a nation this confused about its national purpose, a nation not sufficiently concerned out of self-interest (I have no objection to self-interest; some of the most magnificent things in the world have been done out of self-interest) this ignorant or unconcerned that such a large body of people are outside of our system, has got to realize the sense of crisis and the sense of urgency or it is endangering everything from what we call "the democratic political process" to the "free enterprise system". We simply aren't strong enough and rich enough.

Now we talk a lot about 'Black Power". Everybody says they don't know what it is. I do. Wholesome "Black Power" is politics, and money, and organization. Unwholesome Black Power is the contemporary of the Klu Klux Klan. I have never supported prejudice in one form, and I don't intend to support it in the other. I can just hear 'Stokey' now and see him looking at the 'Hunky' standing up there trying to talk for the Black Man. Kenneth Clark some time ago in Atlanta gave a very profound speech, I think, in which he said the extremists of the Black Power Movement were turning their backs because of not only disillusionment, but the conviction that the white man is no good. They were absolutely convinced that this whole system of a western democracy in a relatively free enterprise system just won't work; it never will, and there is just no sense in playing with it any longer.

I was wondering too, while driving here this morning, if Booker T. Washington was right in 1900 in his famous "separate is the finger, but one is the arm" or something. We will never know. The simple reason that we will never know is that it is like so much else in this country - it doesn't get limited to Negroes. Indians could tell us a lot. The white man has always honored the part of an agreement that was convenient, and completely dishonored the other. We will never know whether Booker T. Washington compromised on what was best for the Negro in the South. The white South accepted Washington's terms "separate are the fingers" but never gave the least sincere overture to "one is the wrist".

"Separate but equal" was an honored tradition, a law. We always had "separate" with a vengeance. It was not until after the Supreme Court ruled out "separate but equal" that the southern public treasuries began like mad to create equal as a reality. This nation has got to be honest with itself. We are in a crisis. It is not "business as usual".

There is one thing, little perhaps, and perhaps not enough, that a group like this can be aware of and contribute something to. Most of the people in this room are public servants. They are on the public payrolls for programs of good intent. No matter how limited programs are, no matter how little authority they have, no matter how little money there is, sincere, dedicated, imaginative, hard-working people can contribute something to them. Now I make one statement in primacy - if there is anyone on any public payroll that is there to be holding down a job that will not take the responsibility of knowing what the facts of life are, who will not speak those facts from every place they can talk, who will not push, they are not only dishonest, they are traitors to the United States of America. And if any man is in a position of public trust and has an opportunity to contribute even a little to resolving this national crisis, they should glory in it and be gloried forever.

File
Paul Anthony
Speaking Engagements
1968

January 19, 1968

Mr. Samuel Adams
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sam:

I shall arrive at the Tampa Airport on Sunday, January 28th at 1:10 p.m. on Delta Flight # 893. Since this is right in the middle of a normal Sunday dinner hour, please don't bother to meet me. If you will send me your home address, and are free, I will make my way to Tampa and take a taxi to your home -- perhaps arriving around 2:30 p.m. I shall be returning to Atlanta at 7:20p.m. that evening.

It breaks my heart to leave such beautiful country, especially in late January, so early. But, so be it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mrs. Edna Johnson Larson

Return to PA on 18th with reminder of travel arrangements

Bring Up Jan 18

January 5, 1968

Mrs. Edna Johnson Larson
Managing Editor
The Churchman
1074 23rd Avenue, North
St. Petersburg, Florida 33704

Dear Mrs. Larson:

Thank you for the copy of the brochure and for Sam Adams' gracious invitation. Regrettably, I will have to return to Atlanta that evening. I shall, however, write him and thank him.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

The
CHURCHMAN

1074 23rd AVE. NORTH, ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA 33704

January 3, 1968

Dear Paul Anthony:

Enclosed is the Friends Forum brochure, for your use.

Our friend, Sam Adams (reporter on the St. P. Times) has said that he would love to have you as his house guest, and will write you about it soon. Also, I believe he will be the one to introduce you.

We look forward to your being here on January 28. We have just sent out these brochures and already have a fairly good response. We expect the attendance to be greater than ever this year because it is in a more central location in the Unitarian Church.

Again, our thanks and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Edna Johnson Larson

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

FOUNDED 1804

(DETACH AND KEEP THE REST OF THE BROCHURE FOR REFERENCE)

I (we) desire to have membership in the Friends Forum for the 1968 series.

Enclosed find membership fee. ($3.00 single, $5.00 couple.)

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ Zip _____

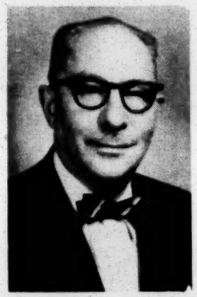
☐ I (we) will be glad to promote forum attendance by trying to interest one or more of our friends to become forum members. Send _____ additional brochures.

Mail to: AFSC Forum, P. O. Box 5202, St. Petersburg, Florida 33707.

JANUARY 14, 1968

THE BRAIN-SHRINKER AS A SOUL-SHRINKER

HENRY WINTHROP



Henry Winthrop, professor in the Social Science Division of the University of South Florida, Tampa, received his doctorate in 1953 from the New School for Social Research, New York. He has authored articles, including interdisciplinary studies, for some 400 publications, on some of which he serves as an editor. He has taught in several colleges and institutes in the field of psychology. He is a research consultant to the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory; advisor in sociology to Agra University, India; member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Institute for Cybercultural Research; social science consultant for Science magazine; lecturer and consultant to the Army on management and morale problems; Trustee of the Commission for Research Into The Creative Faculties of Man; Charter Sponsor of the American Association of Humanistic Psychology; and member of the National Board of Academic Development of the World University.

FEBRUARY 11, 1968

THE POLITICS OF DISCONTENT

HAROLD SCHULTZ

Harold Schultz, has been teaching history at Stetson University, DeLand, Florida, since 1959. A native of Port Burwell, Ontario, Canada, he received his B. A. degree from Goshen College in Indiana, his M.A. from the University of Michigan, and his Ph. D. from Duke. His specialty is Africa, which country he visited last year, and has taken postdoctoral African Studies at Boston and Harvard Universities. Another of his majors is British and Commonwealth studies. He is in the process of completing two books; one titled "History of England," and another on Canadian politics. He is chairman of the International Studies Committee at Stetson University.

JANUARY 28, 1968

UNDERSTANDING THE NEGRO'S DEMANDS

PAUL ANTHONY

Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, has an Honorary Doctorate Degree from Miles College, Birmingham, Ala. Before joining the Southern Regional Council in 1956, he was a public school teacher in Lynchburg, Virginia, Senior High School. He enlisted in the U.S. Air Force where he served in Information and Education duties. He did Field Service work in the Southeast for the Wall Street Journal. He is a member of the Advisory Board of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House; vice president of American Friends of Wilton Park; a member of the Advisory Committee, Southern Project, National Student Assn.; member of the Executive Committee, National Assn. of Intergroup Relations Officials; member of the Committee on Intergroup Relations, National Social Welfare Assembly. He is a Wilton Park Fellow — an honor conferred by the government of Great Britain.

FEBRUARY 25, 1968

NEED WE BE AFRAID OF CHINA?

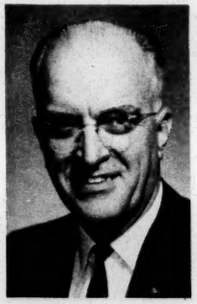
C. P. FITZGERALD

Professor C: P. FitzGerald, a distinguished international historian, is head of the Department of Far Eastern History in the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. He was born in London in 1902 and was educated at Clifton College, Bristol, England, and at the School of Oriental Studies in London. He lived in China from 1923-39, with short intervals in Europe. He held a Leverhulme Fellowship for Anthropological Research in China, 1936-39, and has traveled widely in Western China since that time. His recent visits there were in 1956 and 1958. He is the author of several books on China, among them; "Revolution in China," "The Chinese View of Their Place in the World," and "A Concise History of East Asia."

MARCH 10, 1968

RELIGION FOR A UNITED WORLD

REV. JOHN OGDEN FISHER



When Dr. Fisher attended the International Association of Religious Freedom in London in 1966, where Buddhists, Brahmans, and representatives of other Eastern religions joined with Christians, he became convinced that such liberal broadness has meaning for a new spiritual maturity of man. Before coming to St. Petersburg in 1961 he held ministries in Croton, Framingham, and Newton, Massachusetts, and in Oklahoma City. He served in the U. S. Army, 1943-46, stationed in the European Combat Zone. Born in Beaver Falls, N.Y., he received his various scholastic degrees at Ohio Wesleyan, Boston University, and Harvard. He stands for "equality for all religious liberals" in the International Association of Religious Freedom. Dr. Fisher is Minister of the host church.

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Responsibility for carrying out the program is assigned to the American Friends Service Committee. They have set up a local Forum Committee, the members of which, not necessarily all Quakers, are:

Samuel Adams

Anna D. France

Edna Johnson Larson

Louise Lynch

Mrs. Irving Sohon

Charles D. Smith

THE FRIENDS FORUM

(Founded in 1962 by Charles F. MacLennan)

is a non-profit program offered as a community service by the American Friends Service Committee. All funds received in support of the series are used to promote the forum and pay travel expenses and honoraria for speakers.

The Forum Committee and the American Friends Service Committee issue a cordial invitation to the people of Greater St. Petersburg to membership in the Friends Forum. Forum speakers are chosen on the basis of their reputation for having significant contributions to make in the area of their respective subjects. We trust the 1968 series will prove to be an informative and stimulating experience.

•

1968 FORUM SCHEDULE

January 14, 28

February 11, 25,

March 10

Sundays 4:00 - 5:30 P.M.

UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST CHURCH AUDITORIUM

Mirror Lake Drive at Arlington Avenue North

St. Petersburg, Florida

(Any communications should be sent to P. O. BOX 5202, ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. 33707.)

THE

AMERICAN FRIENDS

SERVICE COMMITTEE

FRIENDS FORUM

1968 SERIES

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UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST AUDITORIUM

(Main church sanctuary)

MIRROR LAKE DR. AT ARLINGTON AVE. NORTH

SUNDAYS 4:00 - 5:30 P.M.

JANUARY 14-28 — FEBRUARY 11-25 — MARCH 10

•

A FORUM FOR THOUGHTFUL

SOCIALLY CONCERNED PERSONS

OF GREATER ST. PETERSBURG

Sponsored by

The American Friends Service Committee

See
Speaking
engagement
1967

November 30, 1967

Mrs. Edna Ruth Johnson
Managing Editor
The Churchman
1074 23rd Avenue, North
St. Petersburg, Florida 33704

Dear Miss Johnson:

Enclosed is the requested photograph and biographical data.

As a title what of: "Race Relations 1968, A Need for Greater Understanding."

Again, I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures--2.

The
CHURCHMAN

1074 23rd AVE. NORTH, ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA 33704

November 29, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are quite delighted that you can come to speak for the Friends Forum on January 28. This rounds out our program for the season nicely. (Your address is familiar - the same as that of ESCRU.)

I shall remind you several weeks beforehand, as you suggest. Someone will meet you at the Tampa airport, unless you drive down. I-75 is excellent all the way to Tampa, and now it joins with I-4 coming into St. Petersburg. You could make it, as I did two months ago, in about four hours (I think it was).

As for your subject, we'd rather you would choose it. You know what needs to be said, what the developments are. Perhaps the word "understanding" ought to be included in the title?

We would appreciate two things within a week or so, if you can comply: A small photograph, to be reduced to the size we will need for the brochure (copy of last year's enclosed), and the title - even tentative - of your talk.

Again, much thanks and best wishes.

FOUNDED 1804

Sincerely yours,

Edna Ruth Johnson
Managing Editor

(Detach and keep the rest of the brochure for reference)

I (we) desire to have membership in the Friends Forum for the 1967 series.
Enclosed find membership fee. ($3.00 single, $5.00 couple.)

Name .....

Address ..... Phone .....

..... Zip .....

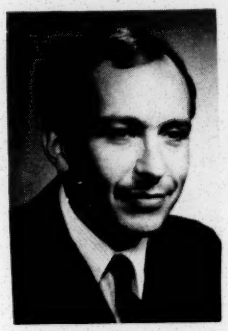
☐ I (we) will be glad to help promote forum attendance by trying to interest one or more of our friends to become forum members. Send ..... additional brochures.

Mail to: AFSC Forum, P.O. Box 5202, St. Petersburg, Florida 33707

January 15, 1967

CHINA - U. S. RELATIONS

Jonathan Mirsky

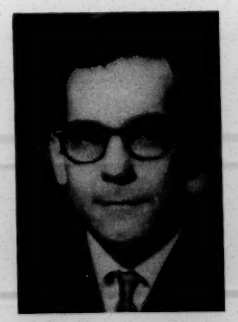


Jonathan Mirsky received his education from Columbia University and Cambridge University, England. From 1958 to 1962, Dr. Mirsky has resided in Asia, and has traveled extensively throughout the region, including Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia. In 1965, he returned to Southeast Asia under the auspices of the Inter-University Committee for Debate of Foreign Policy and now serves on its Planning Board. During 1965 he visited Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. Dr. Mirsky has researched and written several articles on China and Vietnam. He was on the teaching staff of Cambridge University, England, and the University of Pennsylvania in the Oriental Studies Department. He was a co-author of **Peace In Vietnam** prepared for the American Friends Service Committee and has participated in over 200 speaking engagements from New York City to California, Vermont to Georgia. He is an Assistant Professor of Chinese at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.

January 29, 1967

HUMAN RIGHTS - SOME GAPS

Leonard Lubin



Since graduating from the University of Miami law school, Leonard Lubin has been practicing law in Florida for seventeen years, eleven of them in St. Petersburg. Having an innate sense of justice, Mr. Lubin has served on numerous civil and human rights committees. Although he has lately taken an interest in the peculiar problems attendant to the handling of incompetent persons (he is one of the drafters of liberalized Pinellas County Court Rule for duties of Guardians of the person of Incompetents), his experience has been of broad scope in the entire field of civil liberties. Mr. Lubin is married and has two children.

February 12, 1967

INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION

John van G. Elmendorf

Dr. John Elmendorf is president of New College, Sarasota, Florida. A Quaker who served as Deputy Commissioner for Europe for the American Friends Service Committee in 1946, Dr. Elmendorf has a humanitarian approach toward education. He is a linguist who has taught French, Spanish and German in various American schools, including the University of North Carolina, 1946-49. He was executive director of the Mexican-American Institute, Mexico City, 1950-52, and then became Vice President, Dean of Faculty, and professor of linguistics of Mexico City College until 1961. He was Vice President of Brown University, 1961-65, when he came to New College. He currently serves on the Executive Board of the Anglo-American Committee for U.N., and has served on the Board of the American School Foundation. He was President and Trustee of the Mexico City Academy 1959-61. He is married and has two children — a son at Amherst.

February 26, 1967

MORAL DILEMMAS IN AMERICAN POLICY

Norman Whitney

Among Norman Whitney's far-reaching activities in the realm of Quaker peace education, was being a member of the working party which produced the booklet, "Speak Truth To Power." He has traveled and lectured extensively in the United States and abroad. He represented the American Fellowship of Reconciliation at the International Fellowship Conferences in Sweden, 1946, and in Holland, 1952. For many years he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the AFSC and is now Consultant in Peace Education for the AFSC. His wide experience abroad with AFSC projects including a summer in Mexico — plus his knowledge of world affairs, have made him a frequent speaker among teenagers, college seminars and institutes. He represented the AFSC at the Christian Peace Conference in Czechoslovakia in 1960. He recently gave the commencement address at the Friends School in Monteverde, Costa Rica. For the past twenty years he has been chairman and director of the Syracuse Peace Council.

March 12, 1967

A NEW APPROACH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Dorothy Hutchinson

For the past 25 years, Dorothy Hutchinson has been a writer and lecturer on international relations.

She is on Speakers Bureau for: United World Federalists, World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, and Friends Peace Committee. She is on the National Advisory Board for United World Federalists; is the International Chairman of Womens International League for Peace and Freedom. She is one of the authors of **Peace in Vietnam: A New Approach in Southeast Asia** (a book prepared for the American Friends Service Committee). She earned a B.A. degree from Mount Holyoke; a PhD. from Yale University.

●

Responsibility for carrying out the program is assigned to the American Friends Service Committee. They have set up a local Forum Committee, the members of which, not necessarily all Quakers, are:

Anna D. France
Rev. William O. Harris
Edna Johnson Larson
Louise Lynch
Mrs. Irving Sohon
Charles D. Smith

The Friends Forum

is a non-profit program offered as a community service by the American Friends Service Committee. All funds received in support of the series are used to promote the forum and pay travel expenses and honoraria for speakers.

The Forum Committee and the American Friends Service Committee issue a cordial invitation to the people of Greater St. Petersburg to membership in the Friends Forum. Forum speakers are chosen on the basis of their reputation for having significant contributions to make in the area of their respective subjects. We trust the 1967 series will prove to be an informative and stimulating experience.

●

1967 FORUM SCHEDULE

January 15, 29

February 12, 26

March 12

Sundays 4:00 - 5:30 P.M.

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER

8167 Elbow Lane, North

St. Petersburg, Florida

(Any communications should be sent to P. O. Box 5202, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33707.)

The

American Friends Service Committee

Friends Forum 1967 Series

●

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER

8167 Elbow Lane, North

Sundays 4:00 - 5:30 p.m.

January 15 - 29

February 12 - 26

March 12

●

A FORUM SERIES FOR THOUGHTFUL SOCIALLY CONCERNED PERSONS OF GREATER ST. PETERSBURG

Sponsored by

The American Friends Service Committee

Bring up
Jan. 15, 1968

November 27, 1967

Miss Edna Ruth Johnson
Managing Editor
The Churchman
1074 23rd Avenue, North
St. Petersburg, Florida 33704

Dear Miss Johnson:

Thank you for your invitation to address the Friends Forum. January 28th is a convenient date for me, and if this is still suitable with you I shall be pleased to come to St. Petersburg on that day.

I would be grateful if several weeks before that time you would remind me of this commitment and give me any further guidance on the audience and what you feel it would be most interested in.

Enclosed is a brief biographical data sheet.

I look forward to being with you on January 28th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Make file
P.A. Speaking
Engagements - 1968

The
CHURCHMAN

1074 23rd AVE. NORTH, ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA 33704

November 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Leslie Dunbar of the Field Foundation suggested I write you about the possibility of your speaking in St. Petersburg this winter on what's happening in the South these days. I am on the board of the Friends (Quaker) Forum which is going into its sixth season of lectures, with a question-and-answer period. The dates we have open are January 28 and March 10. We meet on a Sunday afternoon at 4:00 til 5:30, the last half given to questions. We could pay between $50 and $100.

Is it possible for you to come to St. Petersburg to address us on either of those dates? We would be honored to have you join us. The 300 to 400 who attend these meetings in the Jewish Center are St. Pete's liveliest - and smartest.

I wald be grateful if you could let me know soon as we are going into a printed program. Also, if you can, we would like your autobiography - in a nutshell.

FOUNDED 1804

Much thanks, and best wishes,

Edna Ruth Johnson
Managing Editor

Bring up
Feb. 19, 1968
(Make speech for appearance
Mar. 7-8 at U. of Tex.)

See
for Speaking Engagements
1968

February 12, 1968

Dr. Joseph P. Witherspoon
Professor of Law
The University of Texas
2500 Red River
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Dr. Witherspoon:

Enclosed are the requested two photographs and a biographical data sheet. An extended illness has thrown me somewhat off schedule. However, I shall make every effort to prepare my remarks and send a copy of them to you in the very near future.

It sounds as if you are going to have an excellent meeting, and I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 3.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
SCHOOL OF LAW
2500 Red River
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78705

January 23, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I enjoyed very much my visit with you and Ed Stanfield over the proposal for formation of a Southwestern Regional Council. It helped me to understand better the value of such an organization and its potentiality for our region. I shall continue to think about the problem of forwarding the proposal and will be in contact with you and Ed Stanfield at a later date. Thank you both for the courtesy you extended to me.

I have enclosed a copy of the tentative program for our Conference on Human Relations and the Law to be held March 7-9. The printed announcement of the conference program will be in the mail in a few days. The first general press release has already been made.

Already there is a very considerable interest, indeed excitement, in many professional and business quarters concerning the conference. It is clear that we will have a full house as well as a very representative group of officials, businessmen, and professional men from at least a five-state area.

We would like to have either an outline of your speech or a copy of it, if you are preparing a manuscript (for use in our advance publicity). Subsequently, since we are planning to publish the proceedings of the conference for widespread distribution, we would appreciate a definitive copy of your presentation or the permission to make and use a copy from the transcription to be made at the conference for this purpose. We have planned for a one-hour presentation by you with additional time being available in the discussion period.

We have reserved rooms at the Villa Capri for our panelists and discussants. This is a very excellent motor hotel quite near our School of Law. I have enclosed a Check List which we would appreciate your returning to us, together with a biographical data sheet and two glossy prints of yourself.

We are planning to contact leading organizations having human relations functions with a view to inviting them to display their literature at the conference. We are also contacting publishers similarly with respect to displaying appropriate publications. We would be delighted to have your organization join in this aspect of the conference if this seems appropriate to you. Many of the people attending this conference will generally be getting their first significant exposure to the problem of providing leadership in human relations matters and will be looking for guidance.

Should you have any suggestion relative to the conference, we would be most pleased to have it.

Our Assistant Dean, Byron Fullerton, may be writing you relative to the details of our conference. He is an extraordinarily able and helpful person.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Witherspoon

Joseph P. Witherspoon
Professor of Law

JPW/arl

Enclosures

CONFERENCE CHECK LIST

Rooms have been reserved at the Villa Capri.

I will need a (single) (double) (twin).

Date of Arrival_____.

Time of Arrival_____.

Date of Departure_____.

I will arrive on _____Airlines, Flight No. _____

at _____(a.m.) (p.m.) on _____(date).

I wish to be met at the airport_____.

I will be able to attend the Banquet Friday evening._____

A luncheon has been planned for Thursday and Friday noon for the panelists and discussants.

_____ I will be able to attend the Thursday luncheon.

_____ I will be able to attend the Friday luncheon.

I will need the following special equipment for my talk:

_____

_____
(Name)

Tentative Program

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE LAW
March 7-9, 1968

Thursday Morning (10:00 a.m.)
Chairman: Dean W. Page Keeton

Panel: Underlying causes of intergroup relations problems and the rationale supporting integration of all institutions

Panelists: Charles Evers, Jackson, Mississippi, Field Director of NAACP for Mississippi, "The Status of the Negro in our Society."

Ambassador Dr. Hector P. Garcia, Corpus Christi, Texas, United States Delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, "The Status of the Latin American in our Society."

Sol Rabkin, New York City, legal director of Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, "The Significance of the Urban Riots."

Discussants: State Senator Barbara Jordan, Houston, Texas
Commissioner Albert Pena, San Antonio, Texas
Rev. Charles Palms, C.P., Austin, Texas

Thursday Afternoon (2:00 p.m.)
Chairman: Professor Charles Alan Wright

Panel: Existing general conditions in intergroup relations

Panelists: Edward Rutledge, New York City, executive director of National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, "The Problem of Housing."

Louis Mason, member Pittsburgh City Council and, formerly, executive director of Pittsburgh Human Relations Commission, "The Problem of Employment."

Dr. John T. King, Austin, Texas, president of Huston-Tillotson College, "The Problem of Education."

Discussants: Robert Ornelas, Houston, Texas
Dr. Jack Otis, Austin, Texas
Mrs. Frances Farenthold, Corpus Christi, Texas

Thursday Afternoon (4:00 p.m.)

Workshops

Friday Morning (10:00 a.m.)
Chairman: Judge Alfred J. Hernandez, Houston, Texas

Panel: The role and contribution of private human relations organizations

Panelist: Paul Anthony, Atlanta, Georgia, executive director of Southern Regional Council.

Discussants: Charles Evers (if possible)
Sol Rabkin
Ed Idar, San Angelo, Texas
Mrs. Juanita Craft, Dallas, Texas

Friday Afternoon (2:00 p.m.)
Chairman: Mr. Ben F. McDonald, Jr., Corpus Christi, Texas

Panel: The role and contribution of official human relations commissions

Panelist: Frederick B. Routh, Washington, D.C., executive director of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

Discussants: Sol Rabkin, New York City
Louis Mason, Pittsburgh
Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon, Austin, Texas
Sidney Stahl, Dallas, Texas
Lee G. Williams, Austin, Texas

Friday Afternoon (4:00 p.m.)

Workshops

Friday Evening (8:00 p.m.)
Chairman: Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon

Whitney M. Young, Jr., New York City, executive director of the National Urban League, "The Future in Human Relations."

Saturday Morning (10:00 a.m.)
Chairman: State Senator Barbara Jordan

Panel: Problems of minority groups and the poor with administration of justice.

Panelist: Charles Morgan, executive director of American Civil Liberties Union, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta, Georgia.

Discussants: Maury Maverick, Attorney, San Antonio, Texas
Ambassador Dr. Hector P. Garcia, Corpus Christi, Texas
Leon Jaworski, Houston, Texas, former president of Texas State Bar Association
Judge Carlos Cadenas, San Antonio Court of Civil Appeals
Professor Leon Lebowitz, Austin, Texas

Saturday Morning (11:45 a.m.)

Summarization session.

File Pending
Bring up file
Bring up
Feb. 26, 1968
re: Mar. 8 engagement at
Univ. of Tex., Austin

LS
Ret MMJ

August 1, 1967

Professor Joseph P. Witherspoon
School of Law
University of Texas
2500 Red River
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Professor Witherspoon:

Thank you for the information about your interesting and very important meeting in March. I shall be pleased to speak at the meeting on March 8 and otherwise be of any possible assistance.

On his return to the office later this week, I will discuss your memorandum with Ed Stanfield and you will hear from one of us further.

While we very much hope you can find money for the conference, should it be necessary

we may be able to provide a modest amount of financial help.

Please feel free to call on us for any help we may be able to give.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
SCHOOL OF LAW
2500 Red River
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78705

July 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It has been a pleasure to work with Ed Stanfield. He has been very helpful with regard to our planning for the scheduled Conference on Human Relations Organizations of our School of Law. And, of course, as earlier stated in our letter to him, we greatly appreciated his visit to Austin to speak before and counsel with the Citywide Committee for Human Rights, Inc.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to be the principal speaker at one of the five scheduled plenary sessions of our conference. The session in question will be held Friday morning, March 8, in our Townes Hall Auditorium of the School of Law. The subject of the session is: "The role and contribution of private human relations groups." We will also have a panel of about four persons drawn from human relations organizations and other similar resource agencies to discuss your presentation. We are very hopeful that you will find it possible to accept our invitation.

I have also enclosed a memorandum from me to our Assistant Dean, Byron Fullerton, summarizing the present status of our firm planning decisions on the scheduled Conference. We will give this conference a very extensive promotion beginning in September.

As you will see from our memorandum, we need assistance in further planning for the conference and look hopefully to your organization and to NAIRO for professional guidance in our first venture into this field.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Witherspoon

Joseph P. Witherspoon
Professor of Law

JPW/kr
Encl.
cc: Dean Keeton
Associate Dean Ruud
Assistant Dean Fullerton
Mr. Frederick B. Routh

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
SCHOOL OF LAW
2500 RED RIVER
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78705

July 27, 1967

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Executive Director
National Association of Intergroup
Relations Officials
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

COPY

Dear Mr. Routh:

We were delighted to receive your letter of June 6 indicating the probability that your organization would be able to join our School of Law and the Southern Regional Council in co-sponsoring our scheduled Conference on Human Relations Organizations.

I have enclosed a memorandum from me to our Assistant Dean, Byron Fullerton, summarizing the present status of our firm planning decisions on the conference. We will give this conference a very extensive promotion beginning in September.

The main purpose of this letter is to ask you to be the principal speaker at one of the five scheduled plenary sessions of our conference. The session in question will be held Friday afternoon, March 8, in our Townes Hall Auditorium of the School of Law. The subject of the session is: "The role and contribution of official human relations commissions." We will also have a panel of about four persons drawn from human relations organizations and other similar resource agencies to discuss your presentation. We are very hopeful that you will find it possible to accept our invitation.

As you will see from our memorandum, we need assistance in further planning for the conference and look hopefully to your organization and to Southern Regional Council for professional guidance in our first venture into this field.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Witherspoon
Professor of Law

JPW/kr
Encl.
cc: Dean Keeton
Associate Dean Ruud
Assistant Dean Fullerton
Paul Anthony, SRC

MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1967

TO: Byron Fullerton, Assistant Dean

FROM: Joseph P. Witherspoon

SUBJECT: Conference on Human Relations Organizations

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize our present planning for the Conference on Human Relations Organizations.

2. The conference will be held March 7-9, 1968 in the School of Law with major presentations scheduled for the auditorium in Townes Hall which holds 750 persons.

3. The purpose of the conference is to inform local and state officials and lawyers, businessmen, and leading private citizens generally concerning the nature of intergroup relations problems at the local and state level; the pressing need for adequate measures for dealing with these problems; the history of public and private human relations organizations, and their respective roles, structure, and activities; and the existing literature on and responsible people dealing with intergroup relations problems.

We hope that persons attending this conference will be better motivated and enabled to provide informed leadership in their cities and states relative to intergroup relations matters. While the focus of the conference will be upon the possibilities of leadership at the local and state levels, we will plan to examine the relationship between activity at these levels and activity at the federal level.

4. The principal persons at which the conference will be aimed are religious, business, and professional leaders from each of the three main ethnic groups and officials in each of the cities of Texas, However, efforts will also be made to obtain some attendance by persons from certain cities in surrounding states (New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Little Rock, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and Albuquerque, for example).

5. The conference will consist of five plenary sessions, each with a speaker and a panel of about four persons to respond to the presentation. The discussants should be drawn from a large number of human relations organizations and

resource agencies in the field of intergroup relations. Three workshop sessions will also be held.

The sessions and workshops will consist of the following:

Thursday morning, March 7th:
Session on the underlying causes of intergroup relations problems and the rationale supporting integration of all institutions.

Thursday afternoon, March 7th:
Session on existing general conditions affecting intergroup relations, including recent history and status.

Thursday afternoon, March 7th:
Workshop on subjects of first two plenary sessions.

Friday morning, March 8th:
Session on the role and contribution of private human relations groups.

Friday afternoon, March 8th:
Session on the role and contribution of official human relations commissions.

Friday afternoon, March 8th:
Workshop on subjects of the Friday plenary sessions.

Saturday morning, March 9th:
Session on problems of minority groups and the poor with administration of justice.

Saturday morning, March 9th:
Workshop on subject of Saturday session.

The workshops on the first day might be divided into groups representing businessmen, officials, housing interests, educators, churches, unions, and similar groupings. The remaining two workshops might more properly be divided into groups from each of the major cities.

6. Suggestions are to be solicited from the Southern Regional Council and National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials concerning speakers for the main presentations. We have already decided to invite Paul Anthony, executive director of SRC to speak on the role and contribution of private human relations groups; Fred Routh, executive director of NAIRO to speak on the role and contribution of official human relations commissions; and Charles Morgan, Southeastern Regional Director for the American Civil Liberties Union, to

speak on problems of minority groups and the poor with administration of justice. We require help from SRC and NAIRO in selecting and lining up suitable speakers for the two Thursday sessions. We also need suggestions from them for members of the panels for each of the five plenary sessions. We also need suggestions on the procedure for selection of chairmen of the three workshops and their separate sections.

7. We would like to have a banquet Friday night and a speaker for this occasion who would be a person of note capable of speaking generally about the need for leadership in intergroup relations at the local and state level. We are inclined toward a person like Roy Wilkins but also would welcome any suggestions of other persons for this occasion.

8. I will serve as general chairman of the conference and you will represent the School of Law in coordinating the various activities and functions connected with planning and conduct of the conference.

9. We will seek funding to the extent necessary after our speakers, panelists, and workshop chairmen have been selected.

cc: Dean Keeton
Associate Dean Ruud
Ed Stanfield
Paul Anthony, SRC
Fred Routh, NAIRO

See Pa. Speaking Engagements 1968

February 16, 1968

Mrs. Anna D. France
Friends Forum
P. O. Box 5202
Gulfport, Florida 33737

Dear Mrs. France:

Thank you so much for your letter of the 15th and your thoughtful comments. It was my pleasure being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Put on Media } done -

file - P.A. Speaking Engagements

March 7, 1968

Mr. Kyle Goddard
Tulsa Tribune
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dear Kyle:

I remembered, but not as soon as I should have.

Enclosed find biographical materials and photograph.

You are being put on our mailing list for publications and releases.

It was good meeting you last Saturday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Separate Mailing
New South - Last issue

File
PA Speaking Engagements
1968

May 7, 1968

Dr. Gordon Purrington
Assistant Professor
Department of Educational Administration
College of Education
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Dear Dr. Purrington:

Enclosed is the requested statement of my expenses for your meeting yesterday.

It was a pleasure getting to know you, and I do hope you will have an early opportunity to visit us here during one of your trips through Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Expense Form) $54.00
(540 Miles at 10¢ Mile)

P 9

April 24, 1968

Dr. Gordon Purrington
Assistant Professor
Department of Educational Administration
College of Education
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Dear Dr. Gordon:

Thank you for the information in your letter of April 19th and, indeed, for the invitation. I look forward to being with you.

I am especially pleased that Dr. Cook is coming. I think he will make a particularly valuable contribution to the meeting.

I shall probably drive to Tallahassee if I can arrange to spend several days elsewhere in Florida after your meeting. I would, however, appreciate your arranging for me a motel room for Sunday and Monday nights.

Enclosed is the requested vita sheet.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
BC: Sam Cook

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

April 19, 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

I am writing in response to our telephone conversation in which you accepted our invitation to address our "Summer '68 " conference on May 6th and 7th at Moore Auditorium on the Florida State University Campus.

The conference will be key-noted by Lewis M. Killian of Florida State University, author of The Impossible Revolution. Ray Murphy, Department of Sociology, U.C.L.A. will center his remarks on black militancy and its impact on the Negro community, while Marilyn Affleck , F.S.U. Sociology Department will focus on the impact of black militancy on the white community. Dr. D. Samuel Cook, Political Science Department, Duke University, has tentatively agreed to speak on another aspect of the militancy, its influence in the 1968 elections. We are waiting for final confirmation from Dr. Cook. These four will speak on the first day of the conference and a panel will react to them.

We are asking you to discuss specifically the effect of the black militancy, or the direction(s) of the civil rights movement, on education in the U.S., particularly elementary and secondary education but not excluding higher education. Please feel free to adjust the topic to your particular interests and studies. Your presentation will be Tuesday morning, May 7th, and will be followed by a panel reaction to your presentation. The conference will be concluded at noon on the 7th. I am additionally delighted that you will be able to attend the conference on the 6th. I am sure that much that is said that day will have implications for your remarks.

You will receive travel expenses and a per diem allowance in addition to the $200 honorarium. We would like to make your stay with us as comfortable as possible. If you would like me to make reservations for you at a near-by motel, I would be most happy to do so. Please let me know your travel plans. Would you also send me a brief vita for our announcements. I will need this as soon as you can get it to me.

Again, if there is any way we can make your stay more pleasant, let us know. We are looking forward to your visit and remarks.

Sincerely,

Gordon Purrington

Gordon Purrington
Assistant Professor

GP:ps

Dr. Cook, barring unforeseen circumstances, has confirmed that he will be at the conference —

File
Speaking engagements
re: San Francisco
Nat'l Conf on Soc. Welfare
May 27 - 1968

May 7, 1968

Mrs. Adele S. Trobe
Assistant Field Director
Planned Parenthood World Population
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Trobe:

Thank you for the further information about the meeting.

Enclosed is the requested biographical information.

Again, I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Biog.)

Planned
Parenthood
World
Population

515 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) PL 2-2100

CABLE: PARENTHOOD, N.Y.

Bring up May 1st, 1968

March 4, 1968

Founded by
Margaret Sanger
1883-1966

PRESIDENT
Alan F. Guttmacher, M.D.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
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R. Gordon Douglas, M.D.
Henry L. Freedman, M.D.
Fritz Fuchs, M.D.
John L. S. Holloman, M.D.
Sherwin A. Kaufman, M.D.
Sophia J. Kleegman, M.D.
Kermit E. Krantz, M.D.
Ernest W. Kulka, M.D.
Vaughan C. Mason, M.D.
John MacLeod, PH.D.
Rowland L. Mindlin, M.D.
J. George Moore, M.D.
John McLean Morris, M.D.
Gordon W. Perkin, M.D.
Anne Bingham Pierson, M.D.
Duncan E. Reid, M.D.
Mortimer W. Rodgers, M.D.
Joseph J. Rovinsky, M.D.
Edward R. Schlesinger, M.D.
Sheldon J. Segal, PH.D.
William A. Silverman, M.D.
Aquiles J. Sobrero, M.D.
Stuart S. Stevenson, M.D.
Christopher Tietze, M.D.
Winslow T. Tompkins, M.D.
Samuel M. Wishik, M.D.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The attached memorandum will give you a broad idea of the program. We are delighted you can be a major participant. Would you be good enough to send me your biography for Mr. Pelavin? I hope Miss Smythe can get her paper to you sufficiently in advance. We may not be so lucky with Mr. Jones whose paper should be available to all. If it does come, I'll send it along to you too.

I also enclose an informative pamphlet for you from NCSW. Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Adele S. Trobe

(Mrs.) Adele S. Trobe
Assistant Field Director

AST/hh

Encls.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD-WORLD POPULATION IS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION

See Speaking Engagements 1968

June 17, 1968

Mrs. Adele S. Trobe
Assistant Field Director
Planned Parenthood World Population
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Trobe:

Thank you for your nice note. It was my pleasure to be with you, and I only regret that we had so little time.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Planned
Parenthood
World
Population

515 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) PL 2-2100

CABLE: PARENTHOOD, N.Y.

Founded by
Margaret Sanger
1883-1966

PRESIDENT
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CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
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Fritz Fuchs, M.D.
John L. S. Holloman, M.D.
Sherwin A. Kaufman, M.D.
Sophia J. Kleegman, M.D.
Kermit E. Krantz, M.D.
Ernest W. Kulka, M.D.
Vaughan C. Mason, M.D.
John MacLeod, PH.D.
Rowland L. Mindlin, M.D.
J. George Moore, M.D.
John McLean Morris, M.D.
Gordon W. Perkin, M.D.
Anne Bingham Pierson, M.D.
Duncan E. Reid, M.D.
Mortimer W. Rodgers, M.D.
Joseph J. Rovinsky, M.D.
Edward R. Schlesinger, M.D.
Sheldon J. Segal, PH.D.
William A. Silverman, M.D.
Aquiles J. Sobrero, M.D.
Stuart S. Stevenson, M.D.
Christopher Tietze, M.D.
Winslow T. Tompkins, M.D.
Samuel M. Wishik, M.D.

June 12, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks so much for your remarks made at the National Conference. They were "punchy" and electrified the audience. You really talked to the point. Several people around me said, "That's the man we want tospeak at our next Conference".

I truly appreciate your participating.

Very sincerely yours,

Adele S. Trobe

(Mrs.) Adele S. Trobe
Assistant Field Director

AST/hh

PLANNED PARENTHOOD-WORLD POPULATION IS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION

See Sept Speaking Engagements

DEPARTMENT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICES
ARCHDIOCESE OF ATLANTA
329 IVY STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

AREA CODE 404 524-7911

REV. JAMES F. SCHERER
SECRETARY

June 25, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

A sincere thank you for your help with the "Day of Human Awareness". It was appreciated.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jim

Bring up Feb 24

File
Speaking engagements
1969

February 11, 1969

Mr. Robert M. Sykes
Assistant Regional Director
Boy's Clubs of America
Southern Region
801 Peachtree Center Office Tower
230 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Sykes:

Thank you for your invitation. I shall plan to be with you on the morning of the 27th.

Enclosed is the requested biographical material.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Bring up p. 27

BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA

SOUTHERN REGION
801 PEACHTREE CENTER OFFICE TOWER
230 PEACHTREE ST. N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
404 - 523 - 5104

WARREN G. BROWN, *Director*
ROBERT M. SYKES, *As't Director*
CHARLES W. CAMP, *As't Director*

February 10, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Just a note to confirm our telephone conversation of this morning. We are ~~honored~~ that you will speak to us on the subject of "Human Relations" at our coming Southern Region Administrative ~~Training~~ Conference to be held at Stone Mountain Inn February 26, 27 and 28.

Your talk is scheduled for 9-10:30 a.m., Thursday, February 27. Utilize the time as you see fit, allowing some for group discussion.

You will be speaking to Executive and Unit Directors of Boys' Clubs throughout eight southeastern states. They come from large cities and small towns, but all will be interested in your subject matter. I know you will stimulate us all.

For introductory purposes will you please send us a biographical sketch? We would like to have this as soon as possible so that it may be forwarded to the chairman of your session.

Thank you so much for doing this for us. Call me if you need further information.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Sykes

Robert M. Sykes
Assistant Regional Director

RMS:ls

REMEMBER BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA IN YOUR WILL

File
Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty
P.A. Speeches

Rural poverty problems cannot be isolated from the poverty problems of the rest of the nation. This is most tragically illustrated in the plight of Southern Negro farmers and farm laborers forced off the land by economic and technological pressures. The influx of this untrained surplus labor force into already tense urban slums has brought the nation to a major social crisis. Attacking urban poverty without at the same time going to the roots of rural poverty is thus self defeating.

Poverty in the rural South affects vast numbers of whites as well as Negroes, but the percentage of Negroes concentrated into lower income brackets is higher than that of whites. Bureau of Census statistics show that 80% of rural Negro families in the South have annual incomes of less than $3,000 and that 40% have annual incomes below $1,000.

A program to check the migration from farm to city has both ethical and economic justification. Rural people should be allowed the choice to stay on the land where they have made their homes for generations. They need not -- through no fault of their own -- be made to suffer the social and family disintegration that historically accompanies abrupt change in living patterns from rural

to urban life. Economically it is sound for them to stay on the land as productive members of society instead of being forced on to city welfare rolls.

Agricultural economists who argue that the major problem of the nation's farms is over-production are on questionable ground in contending that fewer farms automatically mean less production. It seems debatable, too, in view of the enormous world-wide demand for food to argue that we produce more than can be profitably used.

Revitalizing the rural South should include a program of land reform, for the major problem of rural Negroes in the South is that most of them do not own the land they farm. They are thus extremely vulnerable not only to economic pressures from white plantation owners when they seek to exercise basic citizenship rights such as registering to vote, but also to the harsh fact of farm mechanization. One means to achieve greater land ownership would be an overhaul of the present system of real estate financing by the federal government to allow longer term loans, lower interest rates. Department of Agriculture training programs in farm

management (including land use and marketing procedures) and income subsidies for farm laborers in lieu of minimum wage legislation coverage would also help stem the flow of rural Negroes to urban centers. The government might also give serious consideration to a program of federal land grants. Industry should be induced (by means of subsidy if need be) to settle in critically depressed rural areas. New and low-priced housing is a priority item. Rural reclamation programs designed to make rural America more livable and attractive should draw heavily upon local labor sources and, by building recreation facilities such as parks and campsites enhance an area's long-term tourist potential. Marketing processes for local arts and crafts products should be explored with the purpose of giving such products wider distribution than is now possible where only "sympathy markets" exist.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

2/1/67

COPY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Washington, D.C. 20506
Dennis Avery
Telephone: 386-4471
September 2, 1966

PRESIDENT'S FOOD AND FIBER COMMISSION INVITES
TESTIMONY FOR ATLANTA PUBLIC HEARING:

The National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber today invited testimony for its public hearing in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 9. The hearing will focus on rural life and the problems of rural poverty. National policies for such commodities as poultry and tobacco will also be on the agenda.

The Atlanta hearing is one of a series being conducted by the Commission during its long-range review of U.S. policies for agriculture and related foreign trade. The Commission was appointed by President Johnson last November, and will make its report in July, 1967.

Presiding at the Atlanta hearing will be Edward F. Mauldin, farmer and banker from Leighton, Alabama, and chairman of the Commission's Southern Regional Committee.

Mr. Mauldin said the Atlanta hearing will try to get at the roots of the problems of rural poverty. It will cover employment and educational opportunities and the extent and quality of public services available to rural residents.

Others on the committee conducting the hearing include: Harry B. Caldwell, executive vice president of the Farmers Co-op Council of North Carolina; George C. Cortright, chairman of the board of the National Cotton Council and a cotton producer from Rolling Fork, Miss.; Herman S. Kohlmeyer, president of Kolhmeyer and Co., New Orleans, La.; and John H. Wheeler, president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, N.C.

In addition, Commission members Lauren Soth, editor of editorial pages for the Des Moines, Iowa, Register and Tribune, Frank L. Fernbach, assistant director of research for the AFL-CIO, and Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Midcontinent Farmers Association and the Missouri Farmers Association, will sit on the hearing panel.

Dr. Sherwood O. Berg, Chairman of the Commission and Dean of the Institute of Agriculture at the University of Minnesota, said interested persons should submit statements giving their views and recommendations, and said as many applicants as possible would be invited to appear for direct testimony in Atlanta. He emphasized that written statements would receive the same study and consideration by the Commission as direct testimony.

Requests to appear in person at the hearing must be submitted by Oct. 1, giving the topic of the proposed testimony, and a brief outline of how it would be treated to:

National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber
1321 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Written statements should be sent to the same address before Nov. 4 in order to be considered at the time of the hearing.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

1321 H ST. N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 4, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to invite you to appear for direct testimony at the public hearing of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber. The hearing will be held in the Grand Ballroom of the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 9, 1966. We are looking forward to hearing your views and recommendations.

The hearing will begin at 8:00 a.m., and on the tentative agenda we have scheduled you to appear about 8:30 a.m. The agenda allows for about 15 minutes for each presentation and 15 minutes for discussion. Only members of the Commission are permitted to ask questions. Please advise us if you have any scheduling problems and we will do our best to establish an agenda satisfactory to all the participants.

We want to encourage you to summarize the main points in your oral presentation. You may include more detail in your written statement if you wish. The supplementary written statements will be considered fully by the Commission. The hearing will be open to the press and the public. However, we will not release your statement until it is presented at the hearing.

Please send one copy of your prepared statement to the Chairman of the Southeastern Regional Committee, Mr. Edward Mauldin, Preuit & Mauldin Implement Company, Town Creek, Alabama, and one copy to the Commission headquarters at 1321 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. by November 7. It would be helpful if you could bring at least 200 copies of your statement to the hearing. Please let us know how your name should be listed on the agenda including your title and organization.

Sincerely yours,

Sherwood O. Berg

Sherwood O. Berg
Chairman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

1321 H ST. N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO : COMMISSION MEMBERS

FROM : Executive Director

SUBJECT: Room reservations for Atlanta Meeting

The Marriott Motor Hotel, which will be the site of the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber meeting in November, has requested that all room reservations be secured no later than October 24, 1966. Members should indicate expected late arrival (after 6:00 p.m.) and mention the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber when placing reservations.

Jimmye S. Hillman

MEMORANDUM AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

To: Al Ulmer

Date: 9/26/66

From: Eleanor Eaton Eleanor

Subject: Food and Fiber Hearing

Do you know about this? Does SRC have something to say?

Please note 1) Committee members
2) Oct. 1 deadline for filing request to testify
3) Nov. 9 hearing date in Atlanta

EAE:lw

cc: Connie Curry
Barbara Moffett

Rec'd 10/24/66

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

1321 H ST. N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 20, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing a copy of the agenda for the public hearing of the Commission in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 9, 1966. The hearing will be held in the Grand Ballroom "S" of the Marriott Motor Hotel.

As an aid to the Chairman of the hearing panel, I request that you supply us with a brief biographical sketch. The Chairman will not want to take time from your testimony by a lengthy introduction so we are mainly interested in your present position and activities and perhaps three or four of the most significant points in your background. Please send the information to us by November 1.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Olson

Robert E. Olson, Director
Division of Commercial Agriculture

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Enclosure

October 28, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Olson
Director
Division of Commercial Agriculture
National Advisory Commission on Food
and Fiber
1321 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Olson:

Enclosed is a biographical data sheet for Mr. Anthony who is scheduled to give testimony at your hearings scheduled for November 9th.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Make folder.
PAnthony - Speeches, 1966
& file there

Get PA
mimeographed statement from Bonnie

via air mail

November 1, 1966

Mr. Robert E. Olson
Director
Division of Commercial Agriculture
National Advisory Commission on Food
and Fiber
1321 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Olson:

Enclosed are three (3) copies of the remarks which Mr. Anthony will make on November 9th before the National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber.

As you requested, 200 copies of this document will be available at the meeting.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 3.

PUBLIC HEARING OF THE
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER
MARRIOTT MOTOR HOTEL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
NOVEMBER 9, 1966

MORNING - 8:00 - 12:00 - GRAND BALLROOM "S"

8:00 To be confirmed

8:30 Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

9:00 George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund

9:30 To be confirmed

10:00 Billie Fleming, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

10:30 L.S. James, Field Representative for the Rural Advancement Project, South Carolina Council on Human Relations

11:00 Carroll Lamb, Chief, Market Promotion-Expansion Section, Division of Marketing, Florida Department of Agriculture

11:30 F. H. Heidelberg, Executive Vice President, Uplands Cotton Growers Association

AFTERNOON - 1:00 - 5:30

1:00 William L. Lanier, President, Georgia Farm Bureau Federation

1:15 A. C. Lawrence, Representing the North Carolina State Grange

1:30 Maynard Layman, Circulation Manager, The Decatur Daily

2:00 Alexander Nunn, Executive Vice President and Executive Editor, The Progressive Farmer Company

2:30 Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College

3:00 D. W. Brooks, Executive Vice President and General Manager, Cotton Producers Association

3:30 Charles R. Sayre, President-General Manager, Staple Cotton Cooperative Association

4:00 John Palmer, President, Tobacco Associates, Inc.

4:30 W. D. Toussaint, Professor of Economics, North Carolina State Univ.

5:00 Roy C. Munson, Executive Secretary, Minnesota Turkey Growers Association, Incorporated

REMARKS BEFORE THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON FOOD AND FIBER

Atlanta, Georgia
November 9, 1966

by

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission:

I am grateful for this opportunity to share several thoughts with this Commission as you engage in these important deliberations. These thoughts shall be limited to several major points which we believe to be basic. In presenting them, please realize that our experience is limited to the Southern region, and while we believe they are applicable to the nation, they never-the-less are developed from regional experience only.

(1) The rural areas of this country continue to be important as a total part of the nation. There is a real danger in the trend of national opinion and national policy which subscribes to the idea that rural areas are becoming insignificant in terms of where people live and earn a living. The assumption of the inevitability of larger and larger cities with a deserted countryside is a dangerous one and correct only if we insist on making it so. We should not.

There is, as a matter of fact, every need to slow the migration of persons from rural to urban areas and to plan,

on a longer range basis, to reverse this trend.

(2) The concept that there is no role for the small farm in future agricultural production should be thoroughly re-examined. A number of countries, including several of the most developed nations of Europe, have a stable and profitable rural economy which includes a large number of successful small farms.

In the past months we have seen a significant shift in national policy toward providing, for at least the next decade, food and fiber for millions of people in the underdeveloped nations. Our concept of surplus vs. need has changed drastically. Further, it is anticipated that within the next thirty years there will be an additional hundred million persons in the eastern part of this country to be supplied. In light of the new concept of increased need we must reevaluate the role of the small farmer - engaged in the proper agriculture, using the proper methods in helping to fill this need.

(3) If we are to rebuild the rural areas of the country, we must to a considerably higher degree than at present, approach the problem with regional planning. We cannot isolate the problems of the people of the Mississippi Delta from those of Appalachia, nor from those of the oyster fishermen of South Carolina. Consideration of industrial expansion into rural areas cannot be separated from plans for developing recreational facilities.

(4) In developing rural areas particular attention must be given to the situation of minority groups. These include especially Negroes, Indians, and the Mexican-Americans. An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the paucity of land owned by members of minority groups and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. For instance, in the South, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres; the average for Negroes is 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes for the ownership of land.

Relative to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. This is due in part to USDA policies for the small farmer generally and Negro farmers specifically. Entirely new and imaginative programs need to be developed.

(For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, N. C., has conducted a successful experiment in which they acquired a large plot of land and settled six farm families on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years these families were assisted in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has now been made whereby each of these farmers is purchasing the

land which he works, and, while small, the results of the project are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management.

(5) Perhaps the greatest need in the rural areas is that of adequate housing. This may also be one of the simplest problems to meet. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a cost of from three to five thousand dollars per unit.

As with any other area of concern, programs of housing cannot, of course, be approached in a vacuum. It is absurd to provide housing for people without planning at the same time for adequate income. No housing programs should be undertaken without companion programs in overall economic development.

(6) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provider of income in rural areas. Programs must be encouraged that will assure that industry - of the appropriate nature - goes to the rural areas where people are now. Public funds will be needed to encourage such moves. Likely this should include on a short range basis a subsidy for the industry in recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities.

(The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. There is no magic formula in industrialization. For instance, making rural areas more livable does not necessarily mean making them urban, industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But, beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.)

(7) Employment opportunities and substantial economic growth can be realized from rural reclamation, the sound development of recreational facilities, and from promotion of arts and crafts. Time does not allow development of these ideas here but it should be noted that a large and affluent population creates a potential here-to-fore unknown in this country.

(8) Finally, our greatest need is to think in terms of developing our human resources. It is in keeping with our national policies to subsidize industry and agriculture and we should be prepared to continue this as we develop programs for rural development. So too, we should develop programs to subsidize people. There are millions of persons living in the rural areas of this country who can be trained and assisted for a decent life where they now live far more easily and far more cheaply than they can be trained, assisted, and subsidized in a foreign urban society where they are neither wanted nor needed.

To encourage ideas of a stable rural society, the small farm, the intact, producing family unit, is not to engage in superficial dreams or to call on sentimental memories of childhood. It is rather to realistically recognize where our people are, where they should be, and how they can most sensibly become a comfortable, producing part of this nation. It is especially to recognize that the stability and wholesomeness of a rural people living productive lives in dignity has been an asset to this society which should not be abandoned casually.

The Southern Regional Council, as a private agency, has a strong interest in this important area. We offer our support and assistance to the Commission.

Bring up Jan. 23rd.
file cc

January 20, 1967

Mr. George M. Stephens, Jr.
National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty
1634 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Stephens:

This will confirm my appearance before the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty at 2:00 p.m. on February 2nd.

I appreciate this opportunity and look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Yellow cc attached to correspondence & returned to PA

Green copy returned to P.A

Bring up Jan. 23rd

File "P.A Speaking Engagements" 1967

January 4, 1967

Mr. C. E. Bishop
Executive Director
National Advisory Commission on
Rural Poverty
Office of the Executive Director
1634 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Bishop:

Thank you very much for your invitation to testify before the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. I have reserved both dates -- February 2nd and 3rd -- and can be in Memphis on either date. Late morning or early afternoon would be preferable, but even that is not necessary.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Paul Anthony Speeches

REGARDING

National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty

" NOTES ON RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES"

DATE

3/14/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON RURAL POVERTY

See PA - Speeches 1967

May 31, 1967

Miss Lois Montgomery
Chairman, Southeast Seminar
Planning Committee
United Presbyterian Women
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Miss Montgomery:

By all means make whatever use you can of the speech. Enclosed is one of the carbons on which I have made a few minor changes, if there is still time for them. If not, no bother.

Hope this hasn't been held up too long for you but I have just returned today.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

May 22, 1967

Miss Lois Montgomery
Chairman, Southeast Seminar
Planning Committee
United Presbyterian Women
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Miss Montgomery:

Your letter of May 19th requesting permission to reprint Mr. Anthony's seminar speech in CONCERN has been received while he is away on vacation. He returns to the office next week, and your letter will be brought to his attention then.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

United Presbyterian Women

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Room 1258, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

5/22/67

May 19, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We would like to print in Concern, the official magazine of United Presbyterian Women, the enclosed condensation of your speech to the seminar on "The Changing South and the New Generation." Please let me know if we may have your permission to use this material in this way. We took the speech from the tape recording we made.

I have tried to keep faith with your over-all intent. Although much had to be cut to fit into our magazine space, for the most part whole sections were deleted and others preserved very much intact so that we have not covered all the points you made but I think we have faithfully reported the ones we selected.

Thank you again for contributing to this experience which now we hope to share more widely through the magazine.

Sincerely,

Lois

Lois Montgomery
Chairman, Southeast Seminar
Planning Committee

LMips
Enc:article

CONCERN
SEPTEMBER ISSUE
ARTICLE IN SOUTHEAST SEMINAR SERIES
WRITTEN BY: PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
MR. ANTHONY IS A NATIVE OF VIRGINIA.

TITLE: CIVIL RIGHTS: A SOUTHERNER LOOKS AT THE PROGRESS AND UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE SOUTH

158 LINES

In 1954 a great reverberation went through this Region when on March 17 the U.S. Supreme Court made a ruling that school segregation was per se unconstitutional. It was such a shocking ruling to the Region that almost no one believed it.

One of the great reasons that it was almost inconceiveable to the South that there should be such a ruling was that you couldn't imagine it. In 1954 no one was wandering up and down Dixieland defending segregation. It would have been ludicrous. That would have been like entering a debate on whether or not motherhood was good. Segregation was so obviously the way of life, how could you imagine anything else?

There was a sincere feeling in the midd'50's on the part of the typical white Southerner that "their Negroes" were happy, that this was all a plot of the Communists and the outside agitators who were coming into this Region and stirring up their child-like, happy people who had always been well cared for and always would be.

One of the great high marks of the potential for progress in the Region began with the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. This came as a great shock to the good people of Montgomery and then to the whole Region. It gradually began to dawn on the white ladies of Montgomery that "their Negroes" were not happy, that "their Negroes" were walking, that "their Negroes" were taking part of the pittance of a salary that they had and putting it in the collection plate at the mass rally on Friday night for the NAACP.

One of the great educational experiences of all time for the white South began with the Montgomery bus boycott. Suddenly, whatever they thought of it, white Southerners began to become seriously aware that Negro Southerners were unhappy.

One of the great stories of social justice of all times came out of Montgomery. A very elderly Negro lady had worked for this one white family for many, many years. The young woman who was head of the family asked, "Aunt So and So, what do you think about all this bus boycott?" And she said, "Miss Liz, I done told all my children and all my grandchildren that this bus boycott is white folks business and they ought to stay off these buses until the white folks settle it."

It would never be possible for any change in the South as long as white Southerners honestly believed their counterparts in the Negro community wanted no change. And once that message began to get across, innumberable things happened.

Another milestone came with Orville Faubus. In the summer before the Little Rock crisis there was no reason whatsoever to believe that there would not be orderly transition of this token number of Negro children who were to be moved across town to the white school. And suddenly overnight we saw school closings, Governor's action, federal troops moving in, violence and then, most importantly, the almost unbelievable plummeting of economic growth. The greatest characteristic of Little Rock six months after Orville Faubus moved in the State Guard was that there hadn't been a single dollar of individual growth since the time that he first moved. That was to be a condition that lasted for two years. The greatest single industry in Little Rock became the moving industry. And they had a problem because all the vans were full on the way out and nobody was coming in. And across the whole Region swept the message, "Little Rock is going through a depression because of their school trouble. And all across

the Region people who did not want change, who were absolutely comfortable with arrangements as they were, suddenly decided, "Well I really would prefer to keep segregation. I like things the way they are, but I can't pay the price."

The dollar tag was put on a moral issue and social change was the single greatest force all over the Region. And it set a basic gound rule for change. I think one day some of us who love this Region so much will have occasion to pause and be very sad that whatever progress we've made has been made largely due to self-interest rather than because it was morally right. For the moment what is morally wrong is so wrong that we can only be comfortable for the corrections that are made and put off the luxury of suffering until later.

Around 1960 there came the pure period in Negro protest. The beautiful period that, alas, we'll probably never see again. It was then quite spontaneously without anybody's brilliant strategy, that several young, Negro college students in Greensboro, N. C. decided it was wrong to be able to spend money in a retail store and not to be able to buy a cup of coffee there. And they simply walked in and sat down at that lunch counter and protested

the situation. Later we were to react with a lot of nonsense the way we always do. We saw SNCC behind it, CORE behind it, the NAACP behind it. Some even saw the Communist Party behind it. Nobody was behind it. That was one of the beautiful parts of it. Across the South young Negro Southerners expressed this inspiration, "Let's go downtown and protest down at our store. Let's correct it here." It was the pure period. And it was all the more pure because this probably rarely happens ever anywhere in social protest but the "good guys" and "bad guys" were so clearly defined.

Everything was so clear. The challenge was so great. And we have never seen so much progress in so short a time. Across the whole Region the object being protested against changed right down the line.

By and large the South fought sincerely during this period to oppose change. The business leaders who had these policies of segregation at the lunch counter fought sincerely not to change them, but as best I can determine when the battle was lost they accepted it. It was done.

As we approached the great, massive Civil Rights legislation of 1964 businessmen in the South began to hope for a law that would make them change the rules so they could say, "We have to. It's the law."

Now all over the South there are still places where Negroes will not be served. There are innumerable others where they will be served grudgingly and rudely, but at least we made the progress that the major places of the South actually wanted a law so they would have to change and be done with it. It became another economic burden.

Well, where are we? In 1954 segregation was so much a way of life that you couldn't even find it conceiveable to bother to argue about it. Any idiot could tell it was the only way to live. In 10 years the white South changed tremendously. Its laws changed; its customs changed. Southerners who couldn't conceive of sitting in a restraurant or living in a hotel where Negroes were guests also suddenly began to accept the fact, "Well two colored are in my daughter's class at the elementary school." The white South adjusted to a complete change in its life and pattern of living to an incredible degree.

The white South is really proud of the way in which they've changed, with some justification. The white South is really proud that they've risen to the occasion and accepted integration." But now they're fed up. The typical white Southerner with any bent of decency in him feels like "I've changed.

I've put up with all these laws. I've put up with all these taxes and now the Negro has an equal chance. And that's all the Jews had, that's all the Irish had, and it's all my daddy had, and now it's up to the Negro. They've got to help themselves." And this is believed. The tragedy there is the ignorance of this white person on how far the Negro in American society is yet from an equal chance.

150 LINES

See Speaking engagement before EEOC Speech AFL-CIO Luncheon Dec. 28, 1967 Mtg American Motel

MANPOWER PROBLEMS AND PROMISES
IN THE FUTURE SOUTHERN ECONOMY

AL Kehrer has warned me that in any meeting planned by EEOC and the AFL-CIO it will is an absolute sacred ground rule that no luncheon speech/run more than 25 minutes. I wanted you to have this assurance before we begin.

However, to deal with the problems and the implications of such an imposing title as this one and to do so in 20 or so minutes will require at best, even if I have anything to say, the most fleeting of generalizations, and I hope you will please keep this in mind as I try to offer something of value.about our future as it relates to manpower and the Southern economy.

Among these several genralizations I think several are essential and needed to be noted that the outset: 1) the first of these is the fact that manpower utilization and manpower policies are not isolated from other parts of the economy. Indeed they are not isolated from any other parts of the whole society. Manpower utilization will not depend simply on the functioning of government agencies such as EEOC or the servicing or bargaining and other contributions of organized labor. Or even on the types of industry represented in the region in the futre. All of these factors and others are wrapped up in one inter-related package. It is obvious, for instance, that the utilization of our manpower in the region will depend in the future on the time, kind of jobs we have available. Yet through a very large degree the kind of jobs we have available will be determined by the public schools which we have. They type and quality of them. And the type of manpower they produce. On the other hand, the type and quality of our public school system will depend in very large measure on the economy, the wage levels we have and the profits we have from that economy to support the public school system. And on and on we go. A second generalization which should be noted is that it is very likely that within the next decade, certainly within the next two decades, a very large segment of that industry which now exists in the southern region will have changed drastically or have largely disappeared.as a source of manpower utilization. 2) To cite two of the largest and most typical of southern industries at this point as an example, take the textile and furniture industries. I am told

by several people in the furniture industry of North Carolina that the major raw material for that industry would, is beginning to be in short supply throughout the large part of the southeastern region. Increasingly, according to them, this industry will have to look to other sections of the country and more particularly other countries...Central and South America..for the supply of raw materials for this industry. This at least raises the possibility that many of the furniture factories located in the inland South will have to move to port facilities, and it may even mean the removal of a substantial amount of this activity from the region.

The textile industry, It is generally assumed within the near future will begin a process of substantial, if not massive, automation. It is entirely possible that this industry will decide in the near future that the only way in which it can compete with foreign textile manufacturers in a substantially lower wage scale is through automation. During the absence of certain deliberate policies to the contrary it is certainly the case that within the forseeable future the textile industry will be technically capable of eliminating a majority of the jobs now existing in that industry. To add a further dimension to this particular situation and to do so only in passing because it is generally understood. It is simply noted that these and comparable industries are among the lowest paying in the region and that the work force in these industries at this time is generally among the least skilled.

3) A third generalization of considerable importance is that it is most likely that any future manpower policies which we see develop will not be because of policy or practice significantly distinguished by race. It was not many years ago that when we talked in this region of the labor force industrial development and what have you we were really talking of the white labor force and white industrial development. The typical employment pattern during that time whether it be a very sophisticated industry or whether it be the textile factory was to create an employment situation in which 80 to 90% of the workers from top to bottom were white, and 10% to 20% all on the bottom were Negro. Over a period of years it has slowly become apparent and recently it has become very apparent to enlightened labor and business, as well as government, that this region simply cannot develop a wholesome economy or a desirable employment situation based on a white concept discriminating against any other group. For one thing, our manpower pool of white labor is

simply not large enough for the desired development. To develop we have found we have to use all of our manpower regardless of anyone's opinion to the contrary. Equally important however it has now become apparent to us that with minorities creating as large a part of our population as they do, no other segment of the population can create an economy strong enough or productivity which will generate enough wealth to be able to stand the burden of large discriminated against unemployed minority peoples. For practical reasons as well as for government policy, I predict that in the area of employment we will see racial discrimination disappearing very rapidly. I predict too that we will see a rapidly rising humanitarian concern. A concern for decency, if you will, from all segments. Interestingly, also at least in the short range I believe those industries which are now the lowest paying will break down barriers very rapidly that have been erected because of race. For instance, many furniture factories operating in essentially country towns with a captive and controlled labor force very poorly paid, have found during these past years increasing difficulty in attracting the same labor from the same family. Educational levels have risen. Aspirations have arisen. And more importantly the competition for jobs among industry have risen substantially. Many of our lowest paying industries in the region which have been among the most notorious for discrimination in the past are now finding they simply have to look to Negroes and other minorities to fill their assembly lines, and ironically some of them are actually using the government as an excuse for doing this in their communities.

I know of one very large furniture factory in Virginia notorious for its discrimination and it is an absolutely lilly white factory except for janitorial services which several years ago before there was a strong federal enforcement program called in all of the white employees and announced that henceforth there would be integration because that 'damn federal government was shoving it down their throat.' Today roughly 30% of the assembly line is made up of Negroes.

We have serious problems of discrimination in employment and they will remain with us for sometime, but I think the most serious elements of the future will be the results of the discrimination that has existed in the past, that currently exist but is rapidly disappearing. I hope this is not an overly optimistic prediction.

4) As a generalization, partly related to the above, and to discrimination but again to our whole inter-related package, it is the simple fact that our work force by region is probably the least trained formally, the least schooled formally, of any in the nation. To complicate that matter further we have to note the present, to very high unemployment rate in the ghettos in our urban areas, in many instances running as high as the unemployment rate for the work force as a whole during the depression. We have to note the serious pockets of poverty rural and urban, white and Negro, which is not being aleviated and which, therefore, is following in the footsteps of the past and creating another generation of the unskilled and the unemployable by present standards. And we have to note the unbelieveable degrees of poverty that exist in rural areas, white and Negro, whether we refer to Appalachia or the Deep South. This will mean that increasingly in the future unless we develop a massive welfare program which simply allows these people to exist - and I do not believe we will do so - then whole new standards of what constitutes employability and how you go about testing it and developing it will have to be revised. Industry is now on a very modest basis. beginning to experiment with hiring persons of qualifications or characteristics which a very time ago would have competlely ruled them out of consideration. Such individuals are now being considered, are being hired, are being trained on the job as well as in formal training situations, and generally to the limit that we have standards to go by they are being remarkably successful. Any programs of employment and manpower utilization developed in the future, if they are effective and if they provide work for the population, will be based on an entirely different set of premises than those which we now operate by, and I predict we will see growing somewhat slowly for awhile but more and more rapidly, cooperation between labor, government and industry to completely change those conditions under which people are considered employable and are given andopportunity to earn a decent wage.

Coupled to this, and almost incidental to it but it should be noted as another of these passing generalizations, sooner or later because of the serious deprivation of a significant number of our people there will have to be what is frequently referred to as make work programs to absorb those in this population with the least potential for productivity. This may, and likely, will be done by government. It

could be done in effect by private subsidized programs of industry but this is less likely. Which ever way it is done it almost certainly will have to be.

Having gotten these generalizations out of the way what then are likely to be our future manpower policies in what kind of a regional economy. We will see among the several segments of the economy, again labor, government and industry, a substantially increased humanitarian concept being expressed. We will see it because it is simply necessary. There are already signs that business and industry in this country are not changing their basic concepts that they exist to make a profit, but rather are seriously changing the concept of what is the existence that will allow us to continue making a profit. Among the more enlightened leaders in this country, and this includes those in industry, it is now becoming clear that the old laissez faire method of operating and the devil take the hindmost not only is no longer possible it is no longer smart. The simple truth of it is whatever you call the economy of this nation and whatever are the important ingredients in it there are now at least 30 million Americans outside that system, and percentage wise in this region that number is greater than in the rest of the nation. It is a plain simple fact of life that no economic system is sufficiently strong or sufficiently wealthy to continue in a healthy condition so long as this large a number of people are outside of it, neither contributing to it nor deriving benefits from it. This situation will change simply as a fact of life without editorial comment or whatever the economic system we have in this country as we know it now, we will not know it in the future because it simply will not exist. Another likelihood for the future is that we will see a rapid increase in the extent to which characteristics of race and national origin and religion play less and less a part in our manpower utilization. As I referred in the past and recently this is particularly true of race. The plain fact of it is we have reached a very crucial stage in this country - one because the criticially high unemployment rate and criminally low educational rate among Negroes and other minorities and Negroes will either get in or get out now rather rapidly. This society has one of two choices in dealing with these minorities - again particularly the Negro. It can rapidly bring them into the society

and make them a part of it, and thereby defenders of it, or it can continue to reject them and as surely as day and night not only make them outsiders of it but articulate and effective enemies of it. I think all segments of this society will rapidly realize these are the only alternatives and will choose the only one the society can afford to have chosen.

See PA Speeches 1967

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NOTES ON RURAL POVERTY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

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The rural poor are being forced off the land by immense economic and technological pressures. This is particularly a problem in the South* -- which by accepted census and economic definitions is both the most rural and most impoverished region in the United States.

More than 41% of the South's population is classified as rural by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Only 10.8% is rural-farm, however. In the 1960 Census, of the 22,797,630 southerners designated as rural, nearly 18 million were white and nearly five million non-white. (In the South, almost all non-whites are Negroes.) The "rural" designation can be divided into farm and non-farm categories. Among southern rural non-farm people, 13.5 million are white and 3.3 million are non-white. Among rural farm people, 4.4 million are white and nearly 1.5 million are non-white. There are only 1.6 million rural farm non-whites in all the U.S.; thus, most are concentrated in the South.

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*Unless otherwise indicated, the South in this paper refers to the eleven states of the Old Confederacy: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The poverty of the South is reflected in a recent study in the Social Security Bulletin. According to the study by Mollie Orshansky, more than half of the nation's poor live in the South.

Whereas, the majority of the poor in other regions reside in urban areas, considerably more than half the South's poor reside in rural areas.

The extent of poverty in the rural South knows no racial bounds. (There are more white poor than black poor in the region.) Yet a much higher percentage of rural Negroes are poor. More than 80% of Negro rural people in the South had annual family incomes of less than $3,000 according to the 1960 Census. Forty per cent had family incomes below $1,000 annually. By contrast, the percentage of white rural non-farm families with less than $3,000 annually ranged from 39% in South Carolina to 47% in Alabama. The range of white farm families below $3,000 annually was from 49% in South Carolina to 60% in Alabama. Thus both races suffer. The degree of poverty is greater among rural Negroes but, because there are more rural whites, the total number of white poor is greater.

THE ONCE AND FUTURE INFLUX

In an April 8, 1966 memorandum the National Sharecroppers Fund estimated that mechanization and reduced acreage allotments

in the cotton belt will create from a narrow economic perspective, 300,000 "surplus" families in 16 southern states in the next 10 years.

Because King Cotton's semi-feudal socioeconomic order is no longer useful commercially, and because this order no longer requires an abundance of cheap, unskilled black labor, the abrupt changes fall most heavily on the "surplus" Negro poor. The result is the continued mass migration of untrained rural people against their will to join others in the dense and explosive city ghettos of the North and increasingly, the South.

Should rural people be afforded the dignity of choosing not to abandon the rural culture? Should they be forced into the pathologies of slum life solely because they have no way to survive if they remain on the land?

Is it not dynamite literally to dump "surplus rural labor" into bulging, impoverished urban slums? Is it not pragmatic and prudent, to say nothing of humane, to try to create new ways of rural life? At thelest, this might be attempted on an interim basis if for nothing more than to allow longer term efforts against existing urban poverty to take effect without being swamped by a sharp new influx of the rural poor to the cities.

THE NEGRO FARMER: ATTRITION, ABOLITION, OR ADVANCE?

The depth and the dimensions of rural poverty can be recognized when some facts about the Negro farmer are considered. Calvin Beale, writing in The American Negro Reference Books, is realistic:

"To be optimistic about the future of Negro farmers would be to disregard almost every facet of their past and present status and the factors that impinge upon them. But then, the odds have always been against them even in the period when they reached their greatest number."

At their peak in 1920, Negro farmers numbered 926,000, including all tenant farmers. In 1964, approximately 180,000 Negro farm operators were left. This was 3% of all Negro men. (Another 8% of all Negro men were employed as wage-earning farm laborers.)

The desperate problem of the Negro farmer has been a lack of land. This dilemma is becoming worse. In 1964, there were approximately 80,000 Negro farm owners or part-owners out of 180,000 Negro farm operators. This means that the majority of Negro farmers work another man's land.

The average size of the Negro farm was 52 acres in the 1959 census of agriculture, an increase of only eight acres since 1935. By contrast the average white farm had increased by 118 acres since 1935 to an average size of 249 acres. This lack of land on which to work and the consequent need to pay rent to or sharecrop with a landowner is reflected in the following statistic: Somewhat less than 24,000 non-white southern farmers produced and sold more than $5,000 of products in 1959 when U.S.D.A. estimated that a farmer must sell $10,000 of products to make $2,500. Of these 24,000 in 1959, only 7,000 owned their land, and some of the others who were tenants, according to Beale, have probably lost their lease or share arrangements since the 1959 census of agriculture.

Nevertheless, Beale estimates that this core of Negro farmers has the potential for commercial success in full-time farming, if the majority of those without land could be provided a homestead.

In addition, there were 3,000 owners with inadequate commercial production, but a fair amount of off-farm work, and 34,000 owners and renters who produced few goods for sale but had rather steady farm work, according to the census.

Beale's judgment is that this group, these 61,000 out of 180,000 Negro farm operators are the ones with "a tangible expectation of obtaining a minimum adequate income from farming or a combination of farm or non-farm work." The reader should note that even this "successful" group includes many whose income level is below current poverty lihes.

But what of the other Negro farm operators who are not "successful" or the other thousands who work as hired men in burgeoning "agribusiness" corporate farms and in neo-plantation servitude? In Beale's view, the crucial factor once again is land. "The possession of land is the key to the future participation by Negroes in American agriculture as operators." Once again, "the farmer who does not control the land he works does not control his own destiny in the far-reaching changes now affecting agriculture. This puts the typical Negro farmer with his limited capital and lack of ownership experience at a disadvantage."

Nevertheless, Beale proposes that many more than the 61,000 "successful" Negro farmers could be made really "successful" if land in the hands of small-scale owners could be "combined through lease or purchase into larger

units, or if federal programs of assistance in land purchase could be made effective on a widespread basis for low-income landless farmers, or if additional non-farm employment opportunities became available for rural Negroes." We should add immediately that present loan and credit programs are of virtually no help. Moreover, it can be asked, in view of the national commitment to end poverty, whether a new program of land grants should not be considered as a means of halting migration to urban areas?

Our basic purpose, however, is to show the extremity of the Negro farmer's predicament as part of our larger plea that the rural poor in the South be given options which will not force them into an alien urban environment and alienated urban existence. We should note, in addition, that most of the rural poor are not farm operators. The plight of the Negro hired farm worker is often more desperate than that of the farm operator in the South. Clearly, land reform alone will not suffice to transform their deprivation and dependence, but it might, if combined with agricultural training programs and effective minimum wages legislation or income subsidies, offer options to the virtual serfdom which now prevails.

AGRICULTURE AND SOCIAL POLICY

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and analyze the various approaches which treat the "farm problem" solely as an economic issue of efficiency, productivity, and resource allocation. Yet the narrowness of such approaches must be pointed out. To most such approaches the "ultimate solution" is to move people off the farms, to destroy the "myth" of the family farm, and to approach food and fiber production with every resource of modern management and technology available. Typical of this approach was the much publicized, corporation sponsored study, An Adaptive Program for Agriculture, prepared by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Similar in approach but not in all details are Roots of the Farm Problem by Earl D. Heady and others of the Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development and Farm Policy: New Directions, by Geoffrey S. Shepherd, an economist also of Iowa State University.

We question the social vision of these judgments. The center of our critique is that these proposals fail to take into account our central concern -- the lack of a

better alternative to living on the land for thousands of poor southern farmers.

When we consider these proposals for national policy from a regional standpoint, we are impressed by the extent to which they project as national goals solutions that seem mostly relevant to the Middle West. The Committee for Economic Development program barely alludes to the "farm problem" as seen in Appalachia. It ignores the nation's and the South's racism as it blithely suggests moving "surplus" farm labor to cities. Seen from the perspective of what is faced by the rural, southern Negro moving to Atlanta, New Orleans, or even Chicago, the C.E.D.'s easy optimism about finding employment "off the land" has at best a superficial quality.

BROADER CONSIDERATIONS IN AGRICULTURE

It is the heart of our position that rural poverty cannot be separated from urban poverty and that agricultural policy must be consistent with general economic and social policy. It is also central that the South's unique regional problems not be overlooked in national programs.

Edward Higbee clearly sets his analysis of agricultural policy in an urban context in his book, Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age. He recognizes the human as well as the social

disintegration that accompanies forced migration of rural people to urban areas. He argues that there could be only two acceptable justifications for federal funds being used to move "inefficient" farmers from the land. One is that a food shortage might require that land be put in hands capable of greater productivity. No such national shortage presently exists. There are indications the other justification might be that farming's "surplus" manpower was demanded by other fields with labor shortages. But since this manpower is untrained to fill shortages of technical labor and since there is already a high rate of urban unemployment among the unskilled, this labor is not needed elsewhere. Higbee concludes: "Until the nation needs their land and labor, inefficient farmers may be better off where they are than if they were to head for the city's slums and welfare rolls."

Leon H. Keyserling, economist and former presidential adviser, directs a strong and persuasive argument in Agriculture and the Public Interest, by the Conference on Economic Progress. In Keyserling's view, the attempt to justify the move from smaller family-type farms to corporate, "agribusinesses" on the basis of the efficiency of the latter fails on four counts. First, except for farms whose

land is sub-standard, there is no lack of efficiency or of increased productivity. Second, "there is no conclusive and perhaps no respectable evidence that the large giant-size farm is more efficient than the family-type farm, when the latter receives enough income to realize its full potential." Third, even if larger farms were more efficient, that economic benefit would be taken away by the rapid shrinkage in the number of farmers (who would presumably enter the depressed unskilled labor market of urban areas.) Fourth, productivity in agriculture and in the entire economy has become so great "that we need to become more deeply concerned about the quality of farm life, and not merely about the efficiency of farm production. This means that we should strive constantly for a more appropriate balance and distribution among farms of different sizes, with particular accent upon the family-type farm . . . The only hope for most of the sub-standard farmers is that they be accorded opportunity to operate family-type farms."

"Accorded opportunity." It is precisely this which present national agricultural, land, and credit policies fail to do in the cases of the South's rural poor, all Negro farmers, and marginal or sub-standard farmers of both races. What follows are some suggestions to accord opportunity in

the rural South. Much of the South's poverty is common to all the poor, i.e., a lack of money for minimum expenses. While this lack must be made up by some new form of income maintenance, guaranteed income, or the like, there are many measures which would further alleviate problems in the rural South.

TOWARD OPTIONS AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE RURAL SOUTH

(1) LAND AND CREDIT

(A) An obvious and basic problem in developing rural areas is the lack of land owned by Negroes and the unavailability of low interest, long-term financing to correct this. As cited previously, the average farm size for whites is 249 acres, and for Negroes only 52 acres. The average value for farms owned by whites is $25,370 and that for Negroes is $6,240. This in turn, of course, reflects the amount of products sold, the amount of income and all other aspects of Negro, white comparisons. There is need for an entirely new and different approach to making long-term, low interest

loans available to all persons in the region, but particularly to Negroes and poor whites for the ownership of land .

(B) Related to this is the poor use of land presently owned, poor management, poor marketing procedures, and the like. Present USDA programs need to be much more concerned with this, particularly for the small Negro farmer, and entirely new imaginative programs need to be developed. For instance, the Franklinton Center in Bricks, North Carolina, has concluded a very successful experiment in which a relatively large plot of land was acquired and six farm families were settled on it. These farmers had been tenant farmers. Over a period of several years, this center worked closely with these families in developing good agricultural and marketing techniques. A financial arrangement has not been made whereby each of these farmers are purchasing the land which they work. While small, the results of the project

are that six former tenant farmers have now been settled on land, will in time own it, and have been trained in good farm management. We need a great many more experiments of this kind.

(C) In regard to the above two problems and opportunities, we need promptly a far more detailed study than has heretofore been done on the opportunities for relatively small farm operations. We have been going on the assumption that there was need for less and less agricultural production and that there was every economic reason for larger and fewer farm units. Both of these assumptions no longer seem correct and need to be reviewed in light of our recognition of the need for food throughout the entire world and our new encouragement of crop increases. We need, particularly, to know far more than we do at this time about the opportunities for at least partial income from the small farm unit. As this study is conducted, it must take into account the

rapidly rising yields per acre and the possibilities that good farming techniques, expanding markets, and the new opportunities for truck farming produce to be sold to nearby cities may well make it possible for far feasible operation of farms heretofore considered too small for profitable operation.

(D) There is a need to change completely the base of our agriculture. The future role of southern rural people on land is to produce meat and food products for the anticipated 100 million increase in the population of the East, which will occur during the coming thirty years.

Alabama corn production averaging 20 bushels per acre twenty years ago increasing to 40 bushels per acre in 1966 is still an inadequate yield to compete with mid-West corn yields at 80 to 100 bushels per acre. The pork from both areas will be needed. Alabama and Mississippi food crops, vegetables and fruits, will also be needed. Their production

and processing may employ southern labor and help to stop excessive migration of southern families to northern cities. This beginning, plus all the investments of capital and housing, school rooms, hospitals, medical and school personnel and southern town building may create an adequate number of jobs -- and a tax recovery base -- to stablize the southern rural population.

(E) In all of this there is an assumption that efforts need to be made to devise ways for many relatively small farms to become adequate income producing units for the families which run them. This should not, however, preclude a strong interest in determining the extent to which a small farm can provide supplementary income to some other occupation away from the farm where the two together will provide total family unit with income beyond the minimum poverty level.

(F) Stanley Andrews in The Farmer's Dilemma, proposes "beneficial use" land grants to

younger men who want to farm for a living but who lack land and/or capital. This idea has merit.

(2) HOUSING

(A) A great need in the rural areas is adequate housing. This may be one of the simplest problems to meet if there is a national commitment to do so. Rural housing units of an adequate nature can be provided at a reasonable cost. Given an adequate structure under which low interest, long-term loans can be arranged it will be possible for homeowners to meet this kind of a financial demand. The construction of such houses has the added advantages of contributing substantially to the economy of these regions, to providing jobs and to providing training experiences. A small amount of work in this area is allowed for under Title III-B Funds.

(B) Any programs concerned with housing cannot be approached in a vacuum. No housing

programs should be undertaken without companion programs in economic development. It is also possibly a mistake to locate housing units close to present cities on the assumption owners may commute and thereby finance them. There are several projects, partly federally financed, now being discussed in Mississippi where new housing units would be placed within ten miles of medium sized cities on the assumption that the persons living in these new units would be able to find jobs in these towns. Given the present lack of job opportunities in the typical Deep South community, and the lack of training on the part of persons in need of housing, this may be an unsatisfactory idea.

(C) In developing programs for housing a minimum part of the funds, but considerable planning, should go into total community development. For instance, in practically every area where there is a serious need for more adequate housing there is a need

also for community centers, for buildings to house day nurseries, and the like. These facilities should be developed and financed along with individual housing unit development.

(3) INDUSTRY

(A) Quite obviously there is a need to get away from agriculture as the sole provided of income in rural areas even while we strengthen and support family farms for some. Much can be done in developing adequate housing, the small farm, and providing outside jobs.

(B) Programs must be encouraged that will assure that some industry goes to the rural areas where the people now are, although caution must be exercised so that non-exploitative, long-term commitments are made. Many variations of this have been suggested but there will likely be a need for public funds to encourage such moves. In recognition of the initial difference in productivity between an

untrained labor force and that which may be available in the larger cities, training programs for that labor must also be provided.

(C) It goes without saying, of course, that quality industry must be brought in. At the present time, a great deal of industrial development in the rural and small town areas is of the fly-by-night type which provides an inadequate wage for the workers and nothing for the community. It is a long tradition of the federal government to provide public funds for such items as farm mechanization. We see nothing inconsistent with these recommendations of public funds for industrial development.

(D) The idea of industry in the rural areas has certain dangers that must be guarded against. This is no magic formula as is frequently believed and there are limitations that should be imposed on any such program. For instance, making rural areas more livable

does not necessarily mean making them urban, i.e., industrialized. It makes sense to locate an industry large enough to provide incentives to local people to stay in rural areas and to inject additional capital into the community. But beyond the population stability motive, further industrialization could be self-defeating.

(E) There are other protections which should be guaranteed by new industry. These would include guaranteed protection for labor unions, guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed working conditions on a par with those in the nation as a whole. We believe great care will have to be taken and much deliberate planning done to avoid establishing sweatshops.

(F) Groups and agencies engaged in attracting industry must, in some way, begin to develop the ideas of less competition and more concern with the welfare of a large area. For instance, Atlanta now seeks industry without any concern for any other part of the state of Georgia. On a state, and perhaps regional

basis, there is a need for planning where industry is most needed for the good of the whole economy and not on the basis of what particular locality can offer the most attractive package to new industry.

(4) RURAL RECLAMATION

(A) Much needs to be done in the way of making rural areas more livable and more attractive. This is consistent with the current national policy on beautification and has in it implications for federally funded programs to employ large numbers of people and in the opportunities for developing substantial tourist and recreation business. It has recently been announced that $1,500,000 in anti-poverty funds will be used in the project known as Green Thumb. This idea was developed by the outspokenly liberal National Farmers Union and that group has been chosen to run it. Many other such projects need to be developed. The Farmers Union hopes to realize from this program an expanded economy

which will employ 325 or more retrained farmers. (See the Wall Street Journal, February 9, 1966.)

(B) Any rural reclamation program should tie in directly with expansion of the recreation industry. There is now every reason to believe that this is one of our promising industries for employment for the future. Programs of reclamation and beautification should not be conducted in a vacuum but should be planned in relation to the availability of population, recreational areas that will attract tourist and the like.

(C) In this area, great care must be taken to see that poor rural people actually benefit on a reasonable basis. This is not necessarily happening in the present federal program in the Appalachian area. There, for instance, many small farmers (a large number of them poultry farmers) have been pushed from the land. Much of the land is going into speculation. In North Georgia, for instance, tens of thousands of acres are being bought for

speculation purposes by wealthy individuals in the surrounding cities. This has hurt the small farmer and has shoved out the very kind of people who should have benefitted as land values go up and new tourist possibilities open.

(D) Reclamation or beautification and recreation should not overlook the other substantial opportunities. These would include, for instance, preserving our timber supplies and greatly expanding them on a more planned and logical basis; giving needed attention to some of the natural resources in the region, particularly mineral deposits; developing the fishing industry and related industries along the coast. Attention, for instance, should be given to the oyster beds along the coast of South Carolina. SRC is now attempting to get federal assistance for this purpose for a group of persons in South Carolina who earn a seasonal income from the oyster beds.

(5) ARTS AND CRAFTS

(A) There is substantial employment and economic potential in this area for the first time. In the past, a limited amount of work has been done in improving the skills of persons engaged in arts and crafts and finding a market for their products. Much of this has been done in the Appalachian area, and in the Black Belt. This field offers a real potential if it is properly assisted and developed. Research is needed on what has been done and what is possible, and on the problems of quality control, marketing, and distribution.

(B) If there is real potential for substantial employment here it will require considerable assistance. One thing needed is training. We have found many instances where there are commendable basic skills but still need for some training, particularly on quality control. Marketing, of course, is the other important area. At present there are only very limited marketing outlets and too much of this depends on a sympathy market.

(6) **PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT**

(A) There is quite clearly a need for overall planning in attacking social and economic problems of the rural South; one cannot attack these problems in isolation. We must have state and regional planning in the coordination of a number of efforts if rural progress is to be achieved.

(B) Present reluctance to put funds into private agencies should be changed. Many groups are coming forward and asking for money to develop programs. This should be encouraged. Those who supply funds to such groups must be prepared for failures. We will have many failures if we embark on truly experimental programs. It should be realized too that some of these programs will be unorthodox, indeed radical. We should welcome this. Many of the ideas being developed around the region are radical in nature and will never be tried out successfully if we go through the conventional channels, the conventional local leadership, local agencies, and regular

structure of the federal government. Above all else, we should realize that to restore the rural areas of the region and to allow the people to remain in these areas under adequate circumstances will require truly radical changes, and anyone who brings forward a program that offers any opportunity of help in this regard should be encouraged and financed.

The Southern Regional Council has a strong interest in this whole problem. We would be happy to offer our resources in research, and the information we are now gathering under our community organization project to any persons, either public or private, who might wish to take advantage of them.

file

ALABAMA EXCHANGE BANK

TUSKEGEE, ALA.

J. A. PARKER
PRESIDENT

May 16, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am delighted that you were able to accept the invitation to deliver the graduation address for the Tuskegee High School Senior Class on May 23, 1969 at 7:30 P.M. The high school is near the center of town and is very easily located regardless of how you arrive in Tuskegee that evening. Actually, it is only four (4) blocks South of the public square on South Main Street which is also the same as U.S. 29 going South. I assume that you will be coming in from Interstate Highway 85 and regardless of which exit you take from I-85 you will arrive in the center of Tuskegee at one side or other of the public square. From the square take U.S. Highway 29 South which will be heading in the direction of Union Springs and the high school will be on your left occupying the fourth block. The first building, that is the one facing U.S. 29, which is the same as South Main Street, is the building in which the auditorium is located. Enter the building from the North side and I will be waiting for you in the hallway unless I hear from you to the contrary.

If you desire to come over earlier in the afternoon or evening I think it would be best that I meet you at the Alabama Exchange Bank which also faces the public square on the opposite side from where U.S. 29 departs toward Union Springs. Actually, the Alabama Exchange Bank is located opposite the Courthouse and is very easily found. Let me know your wishes as to accommodations for the time preceding your appearance and also for night. We shall be glad to make whatever arrangements you think will be best for you.

Should you desire any particular information please telephone me collect and I shall be glad to obtain it for you.

Sincerely,

J. A. Parker

May 20, 1969

Mr. J. Allen Parker
President
Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Dear Allen:

Enclosed is some brief biographical data. I shall plan to be at the school auditorium shortly after 7:00 p.m.

My return plans are still uncertain, though I suspect I will simply start driving back toward Atlanta and stop along the way if I should get too tired.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

May 27, 1969

Mr. J. Allan Parker
President
Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Dear Allan:

Thank you again for giving me the opportunity to share in the graduation exercises last Friday.

Until the next day, I did not realize the amount of the check. I shall deduct my expenses, but the remainder will be given somewhere in keeping with the Tuskegee spirit.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

6/3/69

Paul - for your information:

Copies of your Tuskegee High School Commencement Address have been sent to the following persons and groups:

1. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Troubh
   Joint Foundation Support
   New York

2. Dr. William C. Archie
   Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation
   Winston-Salem

3. Mr. Eli Evans
   Carnegie Corporation of N. Y.
   New York

4. Leslie W. Dunbar
   Field Foundation
   New York

5. Mr. McGeorge Bundy
   Ford Foundation

6. Mr. Christopher Edley
   Ford Foundation

7. Miss Mildred Epstein
   Ford Foundation

8. George Essery
   Chapel Hill, N. C.

9. Mrs. Hilary Feldstein
   Ford Foundation
   New York

10 Miss Jane Hinchcliffe
   Ford Foundation

11. Mr. Basil Whiting
    Ford Foundation

12.

12. Mr. Owen Hungerford
    Irwin-Sweeney-Miller Foundation
    Columbus, Indiana

13. Mr. Benjamin J. Buttenweiser
    Carol Buttenwieser Loeb Foundation
    New York

14. Mr. Walter S. Coyne
Secretary
Carol Buttenwieser Loeb Foundation
New York

15. Mr. Robert Wolf
New-Land Foundation
New York

16. Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
New York

17. Mr. D. John Heyman
President
New York Foundation

18. Mr. Bernard L. Friedberg
Executive Associate
New York Foundation

19. Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund
New York, New York

20. Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Ottinger Foundation
Cambridge, Massachusetts

21. Dr. Leland DeVinney
Rockefeller Foundation
New York

22. Mr. Robert Scrivner
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
New York

23. Mr. Thomas Wahman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
New York

24. Mr. John Simon
President
Taconic Foundation

25. Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation

26. Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Austin, Tex.

27. Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Institute

44. The Rev. K. L. Buford
Ala. State Field
Dir NAACP
352 Dexter Ave.
Montgomery, Ala.
36104

28. Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Washington, D. C.

29 Mr. Norman Perlstein
Brotherhood-in-Action
New York

30. Miss Eleanor Eaton
AFSC
Philadelphia

31. Mr. Charles Morgan
ACLU
Atlanta

32. Mr. E. T. Kehrer
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept
Atlanta

33. Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense and Edu. Fund
New York

34. Miss Connie Curry
AFSC
Atlanta

35. Miss Winifred Green
AFSC
Atlanta,

36. Charles Wittenstein
AJC
Atlanta

37. Miss Dorothy Height
National Council of Negro Women
New York

38. Dr. Robert Coles
Cambridge, Mass.

39. Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, S. C.

40. SRC Board

41. SRC staff

42. State Councils on H. R.

43. Mr. Wethro McEnge
605 Thompson St
Tuskegee Inst. Ala. 36088

mj

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

May 26, 1969

To: Members of the Council and Other Friends

From: Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

It has occurred to us here that while we file with you regular, formal reports of our activities that we are, perhaps, remiss in not giving you more of a sense of our day-to-day involvement. Accordingly, we have decided to send you occasional items that might be of interest. If these only overload your desks, please toss them away in good conscience.

As a starter, I am presumptious enough to send you a copy of my commencement address to the Tuskegee High School, Class of 1969. This is not done because of the contents, but rather because of the significance of the occasion -- that Tuskegee High is open and thriving. Sixteen students were graduated this year; twenty-four are scheduled to graduate next year. It is, perhaps, one of the most thoroughly integrated schools in the country, and it is working.

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
to the Tuskegee High School
Class of 1969
May 23, 1969

by: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Members of the Tuskegee High School, Class of 1969, ladies and gentlemen:

You do me great honor by asking me to deliver this commencement address. All the more so, since you have asked me to substitute for the late Ralph Emerson McGill.

I did not discuss with Mr. McGill, before his death, the fact that he was to make this address, but I feel confident he looked forward to it eagerly and considered it one of his most important speeches. Mr. McGill had not only great affection for youth, he had, too, great faith in the young people of this country, and he considered nothing more important than to talk with a visiting group of students at his office, or to spend an afternoon at a high school. And, he always considered these experiences ones of learning for himself, as well as sharing with others. He was a great man, the kind of great man this region has been capable of producing and is capable of continuing to produce. I trust tonight whatever I say will do honor to his memory.

Now, if I may, please allow me a personal digression. I suppose no person has ever made a commencement address without

being reminded of, or remembering, the details of his own high school commencement and the speaker thereat. In my own instance I can well remember, on that important occasion in my life, having some pompous character drone on, and on, and on, about our responsibilities in the days ahead. It was a solemn occasion not just because of graduation, but because the year 1944 was a time of World War II. Only three fellows were in that graduating class because only three of us were under eighteen and, therefore, not in the army. There was hardly a need for that commencement speaker to remind us that those were serious days, and that we had quite a time ahead. I hope I will not insult your intelligence this evening by repeating platitudes like those to you.

And, if I may, one notes the time when one is, incredibly, over 40, and is the speaker not the listener. Fair warning, it is the inevitable process,and sooner than you can conceivably imagine some of you will be that speaker -- over 40 -- trying to remember when you sat in the audience and what you thought.

Also, if I may, I should like to reminisce with you for a moment on my feelings about this magnificent community -- Tuskegee. I have long and deep memories about this community and the deepest respect for the people who comprise it. I have been enriched beyond description by my long association with men like Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, another one of this region's truly great men, and I

have watched with deep respect the work of a man like Mr. Allan Parker, who taught me a great deal about what a real banker is and how he works untiringly to contribute to his community.

I can remember the years of driving through the washed out, depressed, and depressing, countryside of Georgia and Alabama, coming into a community of great hostility, and then reaching the warm and hospitable walls of Dorothy Hall.

I can remember Sunday afternoon church meetings and strategy sessions and all those efforts of citizens here to bring this community together and make it a good place for everyone.

And, I can remember on a hot September morning standing outside a school in Birmingham watching the Klan parade when word came that the Governor had sent state patrolmen to this torn little community to close this high school.

It is hardly for me to tell you of the trauma of those days, or to remind you of how hard it has been to rebuild this school and to make it not only the good institution that it is today, but the symbol for all the rest of us everywhere of what the human spirit can achieve and how good are the results of the achievement.

In the process of the fight of Tuskegee -- and it's survival -- I hope you know, for it is important for you to know, that

Tuskegee -- this relatively small west Alabama town -- has become a world-known name. And, you know, of course, one becomes world famous either by most unusual notoriety or most unusual quality. In the case of Tuskegee, the reason is the latter.

To say this to you tonight is not, in my opinion, a violation of my promise to avoid platitudes, but rather to go to the heart of the matter of anything of value that I might have to say.

It is not news to you to observe that you are hardly going out into a happy world. Quite the contrary, you are entering a world engaged in war and threatened with annihilation. Within the country you are going into a nation that faces a prospect of internal dissent as serious as was the Civil War. While we cheer our achievements in outer space -- a cheer in which I share -- we show that we are infants and incompetents in probing the inner space of our country and our planet. We expose the fact that our incredible genius has been turned to the wrong priorities.

We who are over forty cannot beat our chests and tell you how well things are and what a good world we have delivered to you. You are too smart for that. Quite the contrary, those of us who are honest -- and those who are honest are many -- are perhaps even more aware and more sad about what we are not

delivering to you than you are.

But, here a disclaimer -- and a very serious and emphatic one. The Charles Gomillion's, the Allan Parker's, the Ralph McGill's, and far beyond that, the martyred Dr. King, Senator Kennedy, and all those unknown martyrs -- do not have an apology to make here; not an apology to make to the world, nor to you. Those, and all like them and all with them were right, and had the world and the nation -- and this state -- the common sense, even the self-interest common sense, to listen to these sane, thoughtful, good men you would now be going into a different world. The fact that you are not is tragic, tragic to the ultimate. But, it is not a cause of guilt for all those who meant otherwise.

Apart from those serious, critical problems beyond our boundaries we, here tonight, know because of our common experience of <u>our</u> problem. It is the problem of a nation divided, misunderstanding and misunderstood even of itself. It is a nation fraught with fear from the white side -- much of it honest and genuine fear from honest and genuine people. And, it is a nation fraught with disillusionment and increasing lack of faith from the black side -- that side, too, overwhelmingly made up of the good and the decent. And, nothing perhaps is a more tragic indication of the real problems of our times than the need to use terms like "white side" and "black side."

We have been a nation divided by custom and by law. Now, as many have sought to change those laws and those customs that led to that division the efforts, partially successful but inadequately slow, have led us to a new nation now being born in which we become a people divided by serious misunderstanding, anger, and disillusionment, law notwithstanding.

Now, perhaps a digression, but a pertinent point if I am to develop the point of the evening. This community is the site at which Booker T. Washington "put down his bucket." Dr. Washington's name is not a very popular one right now, in white or black circles. But, Dr. Washington made a decision. It was a decision he felt he had to make because there was no alternative. I do not scorn him for that decision. Rather, I hurt for him -- bleed for him -- that he had to make that decision, without alternatives.

The important thing for you -- the Class of Tuskegee High School, 1969 -- to understand is that you, black and white, do have an alternative. While you do not enter a pretty world or a comfortable one, and certainly not a perfect one, you do enter one. You do it with youth and vigor and health and life. Therefore, you are not only blessed, if you are any good, you are tough.

And, that is what this country now desperately needs; not a bitter generation, not a cop-out generation, but a tough generation. And, being really tough is a skill and an art that

should not be taken lightly. The doctrinaire man with an inability to change is not moralist, he is a fool. And, the bully is not a giant.

Whatever world you enter into, while it may be tired and old and unsatisfactory, it is also new, promising, and exciting. And, that observation is true because in no small part it is a world into which new and young blood -- you -- come every year.

Now, I venture the observation. If anything I have said heretofore is true, you of this graduating class are better prepared than most to be tough and to take on this world. You have grown up in a community that has had as much misunderstanding as any community in America. You have also grown up in a community of giants. Giants who took on insurmountable odds and won them.

You sit tonight in an institution where it was said earlier by all the powers that this school would not exist. In the face of those powers this institution has existed and it has taught English and Latin and Physics. You need English and Latin and Physics, but you need something more -- as every event of our day proves for all of us. You need to know the majesty of people understanding and respecting each other; to experience the process of what is really the greatness of democracy and the United States of America. And, I believe, uniquely, in Tuskegee High you have been taught that as well.

Before you leave the nest, and you are leaving it tonight, you need to have both the examples and the teachings of champions. And, I think you have had that.

The members of this graduating class can neither save the world nor destroy it. And, I do not recommend that you try either.

You can, however, contribute substantially to this world's salvation or destruction. I hope, and believe, that because you are from Tuskegee and Tuskegee High that you will try to contribute to this world's salvation because you are uniquely trained to do so. You are because you are Tuskegee. And, whether you never leave this community -- as I hope many of you will not -- or whether you go to the farthest point on this earth, you carry with you something special -- and don't you forget it. You are Tuskegee, the survivor, the victor in the fight for decency, the model for the United States, and the world. Carry that fact like a badge. Carry it in your guts as a part of your heritage, AND DON'T YOU EVER FORGET IT.

Godspeed.

HOWARD E. SPRAGG, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
WESLEY A. HOTCHKISS, GENERAL SECRETARY

CLIFTON H. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR
AMISTAD RESEARCH CENTER AND
RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN. 37203

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

file

24 July 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a check for $202.50, covering your travel expenses and honorarium for the Institute of Race Relations. On behalf of the participants and our staff I wish to thank you for your significant contribution to the success of the Institute's program. I believe the sessions on education were the most worthwhile part of the program. Afterwards, however, I did regret that I did not give the panelists a go at each other since there was such a wide divergence of views expressed.

Sincerely,

Cliff

Clifton H. Johnson

CHJ/rf

Seen also: U. S. Dept. of Agri
Regional
Internat'l Self-Help Housing

file PA Speeches

(Note: Hand delivered to Athens by Warren Pritchard - 7/24/69)
50 Copies

Statement by Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia at "Listening" Conference by Secretary Hardin, Athens, Georgia, July 24, 1969.

May I first express my sincere appreciation at the opportunity to provide the following written statement for this Committee.

In presenting this statement I do so first on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. The Council has long had a particular interest in the development of the rural South as part of our broader effort in development of the Southeastern United States. On the basis of our experience we are more convinced than ever that not only does the rural, farm and non-farm, South need a great deal of assistance, it represents, too, a tremendous opportunity. There remain millions of persons living in the rural South as well as elsewhere in rural America, and while we rightly give much attention to our urban problems we ignore, at our peril, adequate development of rural America. This is, therefore, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, to urge this Committee and the Department of Agriculture to place a high priority on rural development and, more particularly, human development. Such resources and information as the Council has available is at the disposal of USDA at any time.

Secondly, I should like to submit this statement to this Committee in my capacity as a member of the Committee of Sponsors

for the first National Rural Housing Conference which was convened only last month (June 9-12) at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia. Over one hundred selected participants from 27 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and Venezuela attended. Resolutions relevant to the U. S. Department of Agriculture adopted by that Conference are attached and we respectfully commend them to the attention of the Secretary.

We are pleased that Secretary Hardin has placed rural development on the agenda for his "Listening" Conference here in the Southeast. While we know that housing is only one of several elements in the total complex identified as "rural development" we believe that it is a tremendously important element, important to anyone committed to the proper development of rural America.

It should be noted that two-thirds of the occupied substandard housing in the nation is located in rural and small-town America; six million substandard houses, four million occupied by very low-income families; ninety per cent of which can be made standard only with public assistance of some degree.

The only potentially effective instrument of public assistance for rural low-income housing is the Farmers Home Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture. And that agency in that department is lost in the preoccupation the Department has

with commercial agriculture and its problems. It is an agency impoverished of funds, of personnel and of influence within the Department itself, and, hence, in the entire Executive Branch.

The National Rural Housing Conference concluded that the only solution was the establishment of a Department of Rural Affairs, believing that USDA could not extricate itself from its commercial-agriculture constituency and tradition. The creation of such a new cabinet office might take time, and time is a very precious element in the campaign which must be waged against rural degradation. In the meantime, without some drastic restructuring in the Executive Branch, it seems obvious that non-farm rural America, representing more than eighty per cent of all rural Americans, will continue to face its gargantuan problems without an advocate.

7/23/69

Attachment

ATTACHMENT

An Alternative to Public Housing

WE RECOMMEND CONSIDERATION BY CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OF A NEW APPROACH TO THE RURAL AND SMALL TOWN HOUSING NEEDS OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES -- THE PROVISION OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS TO CONSTRUCT AND ADMINISTER RENTAL AND RENTAL/OWNERSHIP HOUSING, OPERATING AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES. WE RECOMMEND THAT ALL FEDERAL LOW-INCOME HOUSING LEGISLATION BE AMENDED TO PERMIT SUCH NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS OR COOPERATIVES TO BORROW FUNDS AND RECEIVE SUBSIDIES UNDER THE SAME TERMS AS THEY ARE AVAILABLE TO PUBLIC AGENCIES SUCH AS HOUSING AUTHORITIES. IN ENACTING SUCH LEGISLATION, THE CONGRESS SHOULD DECLARE THAT ITS INTENTION IS TO CREATE ORGANIZATIONS OWNED BY THOSE THEY SERVE, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO ARE RENTING OR ACQUIRING OWNERSHIP THROUGH SUCH DEVICES AS THE TURNKEY III PROGRAMS.

The failure of the Housing Assistance (public housing) programs in rural and small town areas is a matter of record. The reasons are varied, but not the least of them include restrictive state legislation (e.g. referendums on bond issues to finance housing authority construction) and the failure of local governments to take advantage of the program for the benefit of their residents. The failure of local governments may sometimes have been the result of unrealistic policy barriers such as "workable programs," but it has also frequently been the result of a lack of concern, of the opposition of slum landlords and shortsighted real estate interests, and, not infrequently, has been the result of race prejudice, however subtle.

State and local governments should not be permitted to stand between residents of their areas and Federal benefits, as has been true in both the food and housing programs. If state and local governments do not utilize the resources available, channels must be built around them for quasi-public, i.e., non-profit private groups, to do the job. This is only rational public policy and simple justice. Whether such agencies should be local in nature, cover wider areas, be statewide -- even regionwide -- should be left to the administrative agency, which can determine which type of agency is required to meet the need.

The manner in which the Rural Electric Cooperatives electrified rural areas where private enterprise and governmental initiative had failed is one of the great examples of a partnership between the Federal government and local citizens. The plan

was greeted with jeers, and was viewed as a threat to private ownership of the electric industry. Neither the jeers nor the fears proved to have any real foundation.

We see no reason, legal, economic or administrative, why this example cannot be followed in permitting rural people to meet a need more important than electricity, housing.

* * * *

The Right to Build One's Own Home

WE URGE THAT PRESENT PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION BE CHANGED IN ORDER TO ENABLE LOW-INCOME FAMILIES TO PARTICIPATE IN SELF-HELP HOUSING PROGRAMS IF THEY SO CHOOSE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR ABILITY TO PAY FOR CONTRACTOR-BUILT HOUSING.

Existing practices of FmHA deny interested families the opportunity to participate in self-help programs if it can be demonstrated that, through whatever series of subsidies and grant programs, those families can afford a conventionally built home by the contract method. This often means that the family must accept a smaller and even less attractor-built home than it might be able to build on its own through an organized self-help housing program. If a family is determined to be eligible for a loan from the Farmers Home Administration, we strongly believe that the choice as to whether it will hire a professional contractor or build its own home through the self-help technique should be left to the individual family. The right to build one's own home should be clearly specified by the Farmers Home Administration.

* * * *

Department of Rural Affairs

WE RECOMMEND THE CREATION OF A NEW FEDERAL DEPARTMENT, THE DEPARTMENT OF RURAL AFFAIRS, TO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEETING RURAL NEEDS, INCLUDING HOUSING, COMMUNITY FACILITIES, FOOD AND NUTRITION, HEALTH SERVICES, AND OTHERS. WE OPPOSE THE TRANSFER OF RURAL HOUSING CREDIT AND RELATED PROGRAMS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT.

The ranking officials of the Department of Agriculture are primarily concerned with agriculture as an industry, i.e., with commercial agriculture, production, marketing, and other closely related functions. The ranking officials of HUD are overwhelmingly preoccupied with megalopolis, with the great cities and their affluent suburbs. We believe that rural housing and community facilities, with which we are immediately concerned, should be in a department devoted to the people of rural America rather than to the dominant economic and political interests there, commercial agriculture and agri-business. When such a department is created, we urge that the housing and community facilities functions of Farmers Home Administration be the first transferred to the new department, and that functions dealing with agriculture as an industry be retained in the present Department of Agriculture.

We also urge the Congress to realign its committee structure to match the reorganization of the executive agencies and that there be established in both houses an appropriations subcommittee for the Department of Rural Affairs.

* * * *

Expanded Jurisdiction for Farmers Home Administration

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE AUTHORITY OF FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION TO MAKE LOANS BE EXTENDED UP TO TOWNS OF 25,000 POPULATION.

Implicit in this recommendation, however, is the need to accompany any such extension of FmHA's jurisdiction with a commensurate increase in the loan, grant, and administrative funds available to it, so that its ability to serve its traditional jurisdiction is not thereby jeopardized.

* * * *

Termination of FmHA County Committee Review of Housing Loans

WE RECOMMEND THAT APPROPRIATE LEGISLATIVE AND/OR ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES BE MADE IN ORDER TO ABOLISH THE USE OF COUNTY COMMITTEES BY FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION IN APPROVING HOUSING LOANS.

We recognize the historical origins of the local committee structure adopted by FmHA for the review and processing of farm loans, but can find no justification for the use of such committees to determine eligibility for rural home loans.

> The selection of three local farmers to assist in determining the eligibility of low income families for self-help or other housing loans does not appear to serve a useful function.

* * * *

Revision of FmHA Loan Processing Procedures

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE FmHA ESTABLISH A PROCEDURE TO BE IMPLEMENTED BY COUNTY SUPERVISORS TO PROVIDE FOR SPECIFIED PORTIONS OF HOUSING LOAN DOCKETS TO BE PREPARED BY OEO GRANTEE HOUSING STAFFS WORKING WITH SELF-HELP PARTICIPANTS.

WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT FmHA'S APPLICATION FOR SERVICES FORM BE RE-WRITTEN FOR HOUSING LOAN APPLICANTS SINCE IN ITS PRESENT FORM, MANY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION REQUESTED ARE NOT PERTINENT.

* * * *

Ending Limitation on Eligibility for FmHA Housing Loans

WE RECOMMEND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE LANGUAGE IN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORTS WHICH BARS FROM FmHA HOUSING LOANS PROSPECTIVE RURAL RESIDENTS WHO ARE NOT EMPLOYED IN RURAL AREAS.

The present wording of the committee Reports on FmHA's Rural Housing Program has placed yet another barrier to the poor, especially the migrants and seasonal farmworkers, who have been forced by economic necessity to move to the urban areas in search of better employment and wages. These committee reports have the full force of law, and in effect enable committees to legislate without approval of the full Congress. This restriction prohibits FmHA from serving those low and moderate income families presently living and working in urban areas who desire to live in a rural area (unless they already own rural land). After moving to town, voluntarily or involuntarily, many families

discover that even with improved wages (if they are so fortunate), adequate housing at reasonable costs is not available. There are no federal urban housing programs to assist them, and they are no longer eligible to participate in FmHA's rural housing programs.

All low and moderate income families throughout the United States who are presently ill housed should have the opportunity and choice to participate in the housing programs available from FmHA in small towns and rural areas. The present wording of the Committee Reports on FmHA should be amended so that any family meeting the other basic eligibility requirements for FmHA's rural housing loans, is eligible for such loans regardless of their residence and employment at the time of application, provided only that the house is to be constructed in a FmHA credit area.

* * * *

Expanded FmHA Grant Program

WE RECOMMEND THAT FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION BE PROVIDED WITH GRANT FUNDS AND AUTHORITY ADEQUATE TO QUALIFY ANY FAMILY FOR HOMEOWNERSHIP AS LONG AS THE TOTAL SUBSIDY INVOLVED DOES NOT EXCEED THAT WHICH WOULD BE PAID TO SUBSIDIZE PUBLIC HOUSING FOR THE SAME FAMILY

Under existing programs and presumably under new programs which we are recommending, home ownership is to be encouraged and facilitated by various lending agencies, particularly FmHA. But under existing programs and presumably under new programs there are and will be families which want homes and are credit worthy except that their repayment ability falls short of that required by existing programs. Funds should be available to permit Farmers Home to make a grant to the family large enough to enable it to carry the mortgage debt. Obviously, there will be a limit on the total grant to a family, but that limit should be arrived at in terms of existing programs and should be realistic, i.e., geared to the type of program and the number of families failing to attain eligibility under that or any alternate program. A rough guideline which might be tried would be one which limited the total amount of the grant and other subsidy to the same subsidy which the Federal government would be willing under existing programs to pay to provide that same family with rental housing under HAA.

We believe that home ownership is desirable and that it should be worth at least as much to have a nation of home owners as opposed to renters of public projects. We also consider it a violation of our best traditions that we are willing to subsidize agencies to provide "rental" facilities but we are not willing to make an equivalent effort to promote ownership. We need to move in the direction of a 20th Century homestead act for housing, demonstrating at least as much faith in the common man as the Congress expressed a hundred and eight years ago.

* * * *

Adequate Funding for Farmers Home Administration

WE RECOMMEND THAT FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION, AS THE PRIMARY EXISTING AGENCY PROVIDING CREDIT TO LOW-INCOME RURAL PEOPLE, BE PROVIDED WITH FUNDS FOR ADMINISTRATION, LOANS, AND GRANTS OF A MAGNITUDE COMMENSURATE WITH THE REAL REQUIREMENTS OF RURAL PEOPLE FOR HOUSING AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES; BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE CALL ON THAT AGENCY TO WORK ACTIVELY AND SPECIFICALLY TO ACHIEVE RAPPORT -- LINGUISTICALLY, CULTURALLY AND SOCIALLY -- WITH ITS TARGET POPULATION OF LOW-INCOME PEOPLE.

The wholly inadequate funding of FmHA, despite the appalling need in rural areas and small towns, is intensified by actions such as those in recent weeks by the House of Representatives in slashing administrative funds by $20 million and cutting technical assistance funds for self-help housing from LBJ's $4 million budget and President Nixon's $3 million budget figure to $1.2 million, a ludicrous level amounting to little more than a refusal to appropriate funds at all. The administrative funds requested, even before they were slashed by the House, failed utterly to keep pace with the agency's responsibilities, since they would have provided only a 65% increase in available man-years to service loans the total of which have almost tripled from the same base period of FY 1965. This sort of induced administrative anemia not only increases both the frustrations and the overhead costs of those working to utilize FmHA credit for low-income housing, but prevents the agency from providing such ordinary functions as handling escrow payments for insurance and taxes on FmHA mortgages (leaving the poor with still another burden with which comfortable middle-class families do not have to contend), and precludes it from recruiting a staff that is trained specifically to deal with housing problems and programs and which is more attuned to the needs of low-income and minority families.

While recognizing these limitations placed on FmHA by a penurious Congress and succession of Presidents, we must, in good conscience, note that the experiences which many citizens of the black and other minority groups -- poor whites, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and non-reservation Indians -- have undergone at the hands of the authorities of FmHA, in attempts to secure loans for housing, have been distressing, discouraging, and, in many instances, futile. We must urge that every effort by national and local government and by the private sector be utilized to the fullest extent to guarantee that these discriminations immediately cease.

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Adequate Investor Funds for FmHA Insured Loan Programs

WE RECOMMEND DEVELOPMENT OF A WORKABLE DEVICE FOR ASSURING A REGULAR FLOW OF INVESTOR FUNDS INTO THE INSURED LOAN PROGRAM OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION AND THUS ENDING A SITUATION IN WHICH THE VAGARIES OF THE PRIVATE MONEY MARKET RESULT IN A "START-AND-STOP" OPERATION WHICH CONFOUNDS ORDERLY LOAN PROCESSING, CREATES INEFFICIENCIES, AND CONFUSES AND COMPLICATES CONSTRUCTION PLANNING BY LOAN APPLICANTS.

These effects could be minimized or eliminated by (1) removing the statutory ceiling on the amount of loans which may be made from the insurance fund for future sale, (2) providing for the purchase of FmHA insured papers by FNMA or GNMA when necessary, (3) purchase of such paper by Federal Reserve Banks upon request by FmHA, and/or (4) authorizing the sale by FmHA of "certificates of interest in the Fund" rather than individual insured notes. The present requirement that insured notes be sold to private investors essentially as they are received by FmHA, and at rates and terms prescribed by the Treasury Department, is costly to the Government, perplexing to the investing public, and almost intolerable to the administering agency, its borrowers, and their builders.

* * * *

Separate Farm Labor Housing Agency

WE RECOMMEND THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE AGENCY OR DIVISION, WITH ITS OWN STAFF AND GRANT, AND LOAN FUNDS, TO ADMINISTER A MIGRATORY AND SEASONAL FARM LABOR HOUSING PROGRAM. WE URGE THAT THIS AGENCY, CREATED BY SPECIAL LEGISLATION, BE PROVIDED FUNDS FROM AN APPROPRIATE

SOURCE, SUCH AS THE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR - HEW.

The bitter plight of migrant and seasonal workers is emblazoned across the face of America, told and retold, ad nauseam, but the results of all the cries of pity and outrage are minimal. The present farm labor housing program is a great disappointment. The initial impetus under this program should come from the farm worker, not from the commercial agricultural interests. This nation cannot leave millions of the "poorest of the poor" to the mercy of local groups whose concern frequently runs in other directions, or, however illogically, are opposed to the effort and expense necessary to provide decent housing for farm workers.

Moreover, there is an absolute conflict of interest in leaving legislation and appropriations for this virtually powerless group to the Congressional Committees who are primarily concerned with the welfare of commercial agriculture and agri-business. We believe that the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor is the appropriate committee to deal with housing for seasonal and migratory farm labor, and we urge that subcommittee to introduce and hold hearings on housing legislation embodying the above principles.

While there must be continued effort to decently house migrant farm workers in the stream, the major governmental emphasis under these programs must be on housing for the farm worker at his home base, or where they settle-out.

Finally, we recognize that a variety of factors (including, historically, the provision of shelter by employers), have tended to limit the freedom and independence of farm workers. We acknowledge the right of farm workers to bargain collectively with their employers and support current efforts to extend coverage under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, without crippling amendments, to the fields.

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Grants and Loans for Farm Labor Housing

WE URGE THAT FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SUBSIDIZING HOUSING FOR HIRED FARM WORKERS BE GIVEN ONLY TO INDIVIDUAL FARM WORKERS, OR TO A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION CONTROLLED BY FARM WORKERS; AND WE RECOMMEND THE ADOPTION BY CONGRESS OF NATIONAL STANDARDS OF HEALTH, SAFETY, SANITATION, AND TENANTS' RIGHTS FOR FARM LABOR CAMPS.

In all cases where Federal funds subsidize farm labor housing by grant or loan (as under the Section 514 and 516 programs), we favor housing secured by the worker independently or provided by an organization controlled by workers. As a minimum, the funding source should require clearly stipulated, posted, court-enforceable tenant rights. These should include freedom of visitor access, written assurance of facilities provided and fees charged, the right to negotiate with management through elected tenant or community councils and a procedure whereby tenants can correct any health code violations at owner expense by deletions from rentals or other fees when the owner fails in reasonable time to complete corrections, and freedom from eviction based on union membership, participation in Federal programs, political activity, or participation in a tenant organization.

These tenant rights should be a part of national standards for farm labor camps, and together with the standards of health, safety, and sanitation, should be supported by strong, effective provisions for public enforcement (including depriving camp operators of various USDL and USDA services for non-compliance), and private remedies.

Finally, we recommend that the exclusion of loan and grants for trailers in the Section 514 and 516 programs be eliminated.

* * * *

Expansion of Communities Facilities Program

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CURRENT COMMUNITY FACILITIES PROGRAM (WATER AND SEWAGE FACILITIES) OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION BE INCREASED WITH ADEQUATE FUNDS FOR ADMINISTRATION. WE ALSO URGE THAT THIS PROGRAM BE EXPANDED TO PROVIDE LOANS AND GRANTS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY CENTERS. A PROGRAM OF GRANTS AND LOANS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN FmHA FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS BY LOCALLY CONTROLLED COMMUNITY ASSOCIATIONS FOR SUCH PURPOSES AS CLINICS, LIBRARIES, FIRE STATIONS, ETC. AND WE URGE THAT FmHA CEASE THE FUNDING OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES SUCH AS GOLF COURSES AND MAKE THE TOP PRIORITY WATER, SEWER AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND HOUSING.

The relatively new Communities Facilities Program administered by FmHA is a remarkably successful program meeting an essential need of rural areas and small towns. Despite the shortage of

administrative funds for handling the program, the backlog of requests for funds runs ahead of those available for a full year. What possible system of national priorities in the last third of the 20th Century could allocate a program so vital to such a level?

Loans and grants this year provided facilities for about 1,000 rural communities and totalled approximately $185 million. The Farmers Home Administration is holding applications that would continue the program at the 1969 level for two years. In addition, nearly 3,000 requests amounting to over $600 million for loans and over 2,100 requests amounting to about $300 million for grants have had to be rejected because funds are not available. Approximately 35,000 rural communities lack modern water systems and 44,000 lack sewer systems.

Farmers Home Administration should aggressively promote its Community Facilities Program and serve those communities with the greatest need immediately.

* * * *

Deferred Payment Loans

WE RECOMMEND ENACTMENT OF A LOAN PROGRAM WHICH WOULD ALLOW, WHERE LOW FAMILY INCOME DEMANDED, THAT UP TO 50% OF THE LOAN BE MADE AN INTEREST-FREE, NON-AMORTIZED SECOND TRUST, PAYABLE ONLY AFTER RETIREMENT OF THE INTEREST-BEARING, AMORTIZED FIRST TRUST.

Present Federal housing loan programs, even with interest credits or subsidies, cannot make decent housing available for most of those whose incomes are below the poverty level. Deferment of repayment on a portion of the loans will make possible home ownership for a larger number of those in greatest need. Protection against "windfall profits" could be assured by providing that the second trust would become interest-bearing and payable upon transfer of the title to the property to one ineligible for the benefits.

* * * *

Determination of Repayment Ability

WE RECOMMEND THAT FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION CHANGE ITS PROCEDURES ON LOAN ELIGIBILITY TO MAKE ANY FAMILY ELIGIBLE FOR A HOUSING LOAN WHERE THE TOTAL COSTS OF LOAN REPAYMENT PLUS TAXES, INSURANCE, AND A REASONABLE MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE DO NOT EXCEED THE FAMILY'S HOUSING PAYMENTS FOR THE PREVIOUS YEAR.

We recognize that Farmers Home procedures in figuring eligibility are designed to protect the agency's loan repayment record and that there is strong Congressional pressure along these lines, but we question the justice of a procedure, which in effect, holds that although a family may be living in slum housing and paying a high price for it the family should not be allowed to buy a good house and pay no more than it pays to the slum landlord.

Poor families very frequently pay a higher percentage of their budgets for housing than appears to be wise, but we hold that in the absence of alternatives it is wiser to pay the same amount for decent home ownership than to dole it out to a slumlord.

* * * *

Expansion of Self-Help Housing

WE RECOMMEND THAT ALL PROGRAMS SPONSORING SELF-HELP HOUSING BE GREATLY EXPANDED. THIS INCLUDES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SELF-HELP PROGRAMS IN HUD FOR CITIES OF 5,500 POPULATION AND ABOVE AS LONG AS THOSE AREAS ARE EXCLUDED FROM SERVICE BY THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION. FEDERAL PROGRAMS SHOULD PROVIDE SPONSOR FUNDS, REVOLVING LAND DEVELOPMENT FUNDS AND VARYING PROGRAMS OF SUBSIDY THROUGH LOWERED INTEREST RATES, POSTPONED AMORTIZATION OF PRINCIPLE REPAYMENTS AND GRANTS, DEPENDING ON FAMILY INCOME. THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF SUCH LEGISLATION SHOULD BE THAT NO FAMILY IN NEED OF DECENT HOUSING BE DENIED THE RIGHT TO BUILD ITS OWN HOUSE UNDER COMPETENT SUPERVISION BY REASON OF POVERTY.

Presently, self-help housing in this country is almost entirely supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity which grants sponsor funds and a small program operated by the Farmers Home Administration. In 1968, the Congress authorized funds for FmHA to use in providing technical assistance and a revolving fund for land development. However, no funds were appropriated for

the technical assistance functions while land funds were reduced seriously. The authorizations should be increased as indicated elsewhere by the National Rural Housing Conference and the existing authorizations should be fully funded.

* * * *

Revolving Land Fund for Self-Help Housing

WE COMMEND THE CONGRESS FOR ESTABLISHING A REVOLVING LAND LOAN FUND FOR SELF-HELP HOUSING IN THE 1968 HOUSING ACT. WE CALL FOR THE FULL FUNDING OF THIS LAND FUND AT A LEVEL ADEQUATE TO MEET THE NEED. WE URGE THAT ITS INTEGRITY AS A SELF-HELP LOAN FUND BE MAINTAINED, BUT THAT THE TERMS AND PROCEDURES CONCERNING ITS USE BE MADE MORE FLEXIBLE, INCLUDING PROVISION FOR MAKING THE LOANS FOR AS LONG AS THREE YEARS TO FACILITATE COMMUNITY PLANNING AND ECONOMY.

The present regulations of the Farmers Home Administration regarding revolving funds for land development are highly restrictive and must be liberalized. Those funds should be available for the purchase and development of land in sufficiently large blocs to permit the creation of small, well planned neighborhoods.

July 31, 1969

Dr. Helen Edmonds
P. O. Box 432
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Edmonds:

Enclosed is a rather well-worn glossy, but the only one available, brief biographical data and, since you indicated you wanted something of human interest, a copy of the generous citation received when I was presented an honorary degree from Miles College.

Also enclosed are the figures on voter registration which you wanted.

We will be happy to check you writing on voter registration in the South when we have received it.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Rural poverty problems cannot be isolated from the poverty problems of the rest of the nation. This is most tragically illustrated in the plight of Southern Negro farmers and farm laborers forced off the land by economic and technological pressures. The influx of this untrained surplus labor force into already tense urban slums has brought the nation to a major social crisis. Attacking urban poverty without at the same time going to the roots of rural poverty is thus self defeating.

Poverty in the rural South affects vast numbers of whites as well as Negroes, but the percentage of Negroes concentrated into lower income brackets is higher than that of whites. Bureau of Census statistics show that 80% of rural Negro families in the South have annual incomes of less than $3,000 and that 40% have annual incomes below $1,000.

A program to check the migration from farm to city has both ethical and economic justification. Rural people should be allowed the choice to stay on the land where they have made their homes for generations. They need not -- through no fault of their own -- be made to suffer the social and family disintegration that historically accompanies abrupt change in living patterns from rural

to urban life. Economically it is sound for them to stay on the land as productive members of society instead of being forced on to city welfare rolls.

Agricultural economists who argue that the major problem of the nation's farms is over-production are on questionable ground in contending that fewer farms automatically mean less production. It seems debatable, too, in view of the enormous world-wide demand for food to argue that we produce more than can be profitably used.

Revitalizing the rural South should include a program of land reform, for the major problem of rural Negroes in the South is that most of them do not own the land they farm. They are thus extremely vulnerable not only to economic pressures from white plantation owners when they seek to exercise basic citizenship rights such as registering to vote, but also to the harsh fact of farm mechanization. One means to achieve greater land ownership would be an overhaul of the present system of real estate financing by the federal government to allow longer term loans, lower interest rates. Department of Agriculture training programs in farm

management (including land use and marketing procedures) and income subsidies for farm laborers in lieu of minimum wage legislation coverage would also help stem the flow of rural Negroes to urban centers. The government might also give serious consideration to a program of federal land grants. Industry should be induced (by means of subsidy if need be) to settle in critically depressed rural areas. New and low-priced housing is a priority item. Rural reclamation programs designed to make rural America more livable and attractive should draw heavily upon local labor sources and, by building recreation facilities such as parks and campsites enhance an area's long-term tourist potential. Marketing processes for local arts and crafts products should be explored with the purpose of giving such products wider distribution than is now possible where only "sympathy markets" exist.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
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file

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, retiring Madam Acting Executive Director, and Mr. Executive Director....

There are people in Atlanta, notably my superiors at the Southern Regional Council, who are developing a serious doubt about the frequency with which I come to Daytona Beach. Recently, the Executive Director of SRC was heard to mutter, "There can't be any groups left in Daytona to which he hasn't spoken." This is not quite true, but it is the second time this year that I have addressed the Florida Council. On the last occasion it was as a last minute substitute when nothing was expected and one was appreciated for trying. That is by far the most favorable circumstance for a speaker.

By contrast, today, in addition to having been forewarned, I am very impressed by the importance of this occasion. In a sense this is the rebirth of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Ralph and Georgia Dreger have done a magnificent job and we cannot commend them too highly. They hand to us and to Lou Mitchell a strong infant.

Thinking of the Florida Council as an infant is both a pleasant and a frightening thought. Pleasant, because it gives us an opportunity to look at the new day and the new future unencumbered by too much of the past. Frightening, because we are on the verge of a new day in race relations in the South and in the nation. There is a new future, so new that prudent men are very cautious in their predictions about it.

Recently, on a Sunday morning, one of the nation's most competent newspaper reporters was speaking on the phone from a cluttered hotel room in Birmingham to a high government official in Washington. The reporter had spent the night covering the tragic riots of that city and he described the night's events in detail. At the end of the conversation the official in Washington asked, "What does it mean?" In all seriousness, the reporter replied, "Go back and read James Baldwin again. This is the fire next time."

This is, as of the last few weeks, a fire next time if not "the" fire. I speak of it cautiously not only because there is definitely such a thing as self-fulfilling prophesy, but because none of us--no individual in this country -- knows what it means at this moment.

But, it does mean something. It means something for human relations councils; for the whole concept of the interracial, non-violent approach to change. It especially means something to the new Florida Council.

To look very gently and very cautiously into the near future I should like to make a prediction and then--probably foolishly--to wander around with the implications of that prediction--if it is a correct one.

I predict the Negro has begun a process which will--rather quickly--make the race problem in the United States the country's number one domestic problem.

This may not sound like a very bold prediction. After all, any number of people have been saying for years that the race problem was our number one problem. But saying this has not made it so. It has been a "convenient" number one problem, remembered with an occasional intense drawing room vogue; fine campaign oratory, excellent platform promise. But manipulated callously in public life and pushed aside in private life when it became boring or distasteful. Until now our "number one" problem has been such that drawing room drapes could shut out the sights and smells--and even the screams--of black slums. Our "number one" problem has--until now--been the kind that could, for the sake of expediency, be shunted aside for votes of unity on wheat and harbors and public debts and all manner of immediately vital issues.

This kind of convenience is not that of a number one problem--and this, if the signs are correct, is just what the Negro in America is about to change.

The sights and smells and all of the screams of the slums and the ghetto are beginning to come downtown. The drawing room drape is no match for this. I wish every person in this country could have toured a small area in downtown Birmingham on a recent sunny Sunday. The ashes of burned buildings were still smoking, pieces of brick and broken bottles were everywhere, as were pieces of automobiles and fire hoses. State patrolemen directed traffic with shotguns under their arms. Every street was blocked by two cars and eight to twenty exaggeratedly armed men. And around it and through it all, the dark, silent, sullen faces of the people who lived there. On those faces there was the blank, expressionless nothing; the highly developed defense of the Negro living in the white man's slums. In those eyes however, there was a hatred which threatened even the usual defense of the blank face. There was almost a promise in those eyes: every week has one Saturday night.

Perhaps I am exaggerating this. I think not. I think the slumbering giant was awakened in Birmingham. I think no man and no group of men controlled that giant. I think pure hate--the kind of pure race hate that Klansmen know as they castrate a helpless, nameless Negro--filled those people and overflowed into ghetto streets against white policemen. When the uneasy quiet settles--that uneasy quiet where the slum dweller knows he has won nothing, when all the uptown white men send the Negro spokesmen back to the ghetto empty handed--and then go on TV to apologize for even having brushed a few crumbs off the table--then there is nothing left but an opportunity to hate. Maybe the "downtrodden" Negro had the dignity of protest for one instant; maybe the school child had the exhilaration of "I'm not gonna take it, I'm gonna change it now!"; maybe the poolhall drunk one night lashed out against the despised blue uniform instead of at himself--but after all this when the quiet settles in, when the deep, segregated, tokenism, third-class citizenship quiet settles in --hate settles in with it. And, when hate leaves the slums and smashes in the drawing room window, it will be one of the reasons why the race problem has become number one.

There are other reasons.

If such a thing is possible, responsible Negro "leaders" have perhaps been betrayed even more than have the Negro masses. The responsible Negro leader has tried to lead according to the rules established by the orthodox white society. Even when the facts said otherwise, he has placed faith in good will, in good intent, in public battles and private promises. For the effort, all too often these people have found themselves betrayed by the whites and denounced by their Negro neighbors. In the Negro communities of this country, yesterday's"aggressive, militant leaders are--not always but too often--today's tired discards.

Some of these leaders grope with exasperation. Recently a Negro "leader" sat in his office and talked to a man--not The Man--but a man in the White House. The leader had spent most of two days urging people not to use violence, to wait. He was worried and his call to Washington was the last gambit. This man was a dignified, brilliant, deeply religious person, a college president. The voice from the White House was patient, quiet, reasoning--of another world where one's family did not sleep in the basement to avoid bombs. Finally, the Negro leader changed from the informal first name speech to the formal and from dignity to exasperation. "Mr. Blank, I'm tired. I'm tired of trying, tired of begging my people not to shoot, tired of too little too late. I'm tired, Mr. Blank. My ass is tired." Click. End of conversation and perhaps end of an era.

Or another telephone conversation reported to have taken place between the South and Washington. "Thank you, Mr. Attorney General, but I don't want to call you Bobby. I want to call you Mr. Attorney General because I want to speak to the Attorney General of the United States."

This is another reason why the number one problem is becoming a reality. Recently, just very recently, Negroes have been speaking to Washington the way no people have been speaking to the capital before. The new speech has nothing to do with the recent old pattern of manipulation, persuasion, pressure, and compromise. The new message is "Go to the devil." The Attorney General--the official civil rights man of the administration--is suddenly being spoken to as no Attorney General has ever been addressed before. (Certainly as no Kennedy has ever been spoken to before.)

In politics the number one problem becomes reality because all the civil rights political gambits are becoming topsey turvey. Anything can happen hereafter, and that which could blueprint election victories last year could be 18th Century political strategy by 1964.

There is one other group we have to mention in this new scene, the young people mostly college related. This is the group who as recently as February, 1960 in Greensboro used the then revolutionary sit-in technique in the South. At that time the new movement was rightfully interpreted as a sign of the growing impatience of the young with the slow rate of change.

This is part of the group now starting something new. It is too early to describe it implicitly, but a part of the technique is

the mass demonstration, the mass arrest, the bodily mass protest, with no particular apparent loyalty to "non-violence" as a philosophy or a technique. It is also too early to say why this new protest has come into being, but there are some clues. There seems to be a disappointment, a deep sense of exasperation, at the practical arguments --the idea of change for the sake of "good business," for instance. After all, what could be more insulting to the human spirit than to say, "All right, you can eat here, but only because it creates a better climate for industrial growth." Some of the recent statements --rather radical ones for their time--from Chambers of Commerce in Charlotte, Raleigh, Durham, and Atlanta seem to begin showing a little awareness of this. Pleas for change are a little broader than "good business." But, there still is so little, such a small clamor of voices saying "It is right," that one wonders what this loud silence is doing to the human spirit of these injured people.

These young people also show evidence of having added a new pride in doing for themselves, without legal maneuvering, without adult leaders; perhaps finally capturing a feeling of dignity--so long denied--out of the simple act of doing.

Recently the national administration indicated that strong support would be given to federal legislation requiring all public businesses to serve the public. This is a radical political gesture. Yet, in these cities where masses of young people are pushing for just those results, this announcement has caused barely a ripple. Even so radical a political move--one which would have been greeted enthusiastically a very short time ago--seems now to be a little late for these people. The answer in lack of excitement seems not only to be "Go to the devil," but "Don't bother-- we'll do it and we would prefer to."

Interestingly, all of these elements of the new order are jumbled together. The slum dweller, the young--educated and uneducated --, the leader--indigenous and outsider--are all jumbled together in a complex pattern that has only one certain characteristic: unity. The unity is not always automatic. In fact, the new struggles are often particularly marked by disunity at first. But, unity is inevitably the result after the first clashes with the enemy.

The white society has shown great reluctance, indeed has refused, to see individuals who are dark skinned. Only Negro has been seen. Governments have not appointed individuals, they have appointed Negro. The majority society has lectured, "Pull yourself up by your own bootstraps." When the individual has done just that, the same bland society looks impersonally right through him and says "Negro."

To the extent that it existed, white politics created the "Negro block vote." The block vote was a reaction and a defense of people who were given no choice. Now, to the extent that it exists--and it is beginning to exist predominantly--white society is creating the Negro en masse. Behind the mask of color there is beginning to exist the hard, insoluble grouping--Negro. White society has willed it, without alternative, and it is becoming so.

This, above all else, is why "our race problem" genuinely is becoming our number one problem.

Ironically, this is happening at a time, for the South at least, when there are signs that the white majority has learned a great deal. All of us have been so concerned with statistics and numbers, in itself a legitimate concern with dreary conclusions, that we have sometimes overlooked the tremendous process of education going on in the region. In many parts of the South masses of white people have accepted the inevitability of change and a growing minority of whites has seen the rightness of it. Political structures that promoted the old order have been overthrown. In a few instances the new politicians have even given some indication of supporting positive measures. Business men and community leaders who have already gotten credit for leading have, in some situations, actually begun to lead.

These groups and these people will probably find it the hardest to understand the new mood and the new era. Cities with a so-called record of good race relations--Raleigh, Nashville, Atlanta, Charlotte, for instance--are and will be stunned to find themselves the centers of renewed controversy and potential violence. "Why pick on us, look what we've done," will be the naive, confused, and sincere response.

Very much the same response will come from government officials, local, state, and federal. The sound of the wounded innocent will probably be particularly loud among the functionaries on the national level.

These situations represent real danger in terms of human relations.

With the Negro community, the much touted patience is obviously wearing very thin and is giving way to black nationalism. We have watched the phenomenon of the Black Muslims, have understood it, and deplored it. This form of extremism is not yet a mass movement and is not, therefore, a major threat. In commenting on them a minister once said: "If the Black Muslims could somehow put Christ in the movement they would explode overnight." In a sense this is what is now threatened: not that a Christ will be put into a formal movement, but that a black nationalism will be put into the whole of Negro society.

It is understandable that a seemingly patient people would now become publicly very impatient, and no nonesense about it. It is understandable that open anti-white feeling would dominate some of the recent mass meetings in Birmingham and elsewhere. It is understandable that some of the predominantly Negro civil rights groups would feel compelled to seek out the most dramatic situations without particular regard for all the factors involved. These things are understandable and at present they are manageable. But, if they go much further, as they threaten to do, the job of building a society of unity will be considerably more difficult.

In this regard Negro leaders, white leaders, politicians,

private agencies concerned with human relations, all of us must be especially aware of the new dynamite with which we are playing.

The new push is a very human thing made up of very human people. There seems to be no alternative but for an injured people to turn to hate after they have been immediately and personally rebuffed. When a mass of people begin a movement, powerful forces come into play. People are called on to make superhuman sacrifices and they do just that. All of the tragic pent-up rebellion comes out and for just an instant people not only make superhuman sacrifices, they become superhuman.

It is dangerous , indeed I would venture to say it is cruel, to play with the emotions of these people, to make promises which are not to be fulfilled, to lead without being able to deliver. This is a caution which I would direct to no one in particular but to everyone in general, from Washington to Atlanta.

With the general white community there are concerns of an equally serious nature. With the well meaning moderate--moderate individual and moderate city--the rather remarkable education of the last decade has got to be greatly accelerated. These people and these places must come to understand that for all our progress we have just begun and can no longer enjoy the luxury of time we have had in great abundance. To do otherwise will be to lose what little progress we have made.

For the determined status quo--individual and city--the real tragedy is in the making. The Negro has become the irresistable force and if whites insist on becoming the immovable object a frighteningly high price of bitter disunity will be the cost. Jackson, Mississippi, now shows signs of reaching this kind of situation. In Jackson and elsewhere, wide sweeping change toward genuine unity will come or the status quo will strangle itself by the very strength of the hold it has to maintain on itself. And we will have in an increasing number of cities what we now have, for instance, in Albany and in Montgomery: a wide gulf across which angry whites and bitter Negroes stare at each other. Cities, places where people live, literally and medically sick with hate.

If this prediction and these observations are correct, this is not a very pretty world for the infant Florida Council. On first reaction the loyal workers and supporters might wonder why they've bothered, Lou Mitchell might go look for a new parish even before he gets here, and we might all go home to await the horrible day of doom.

Actually, the world we have just described is one which especially needs a Florida Council. A council of good people, good ideas, and most importantly, good will. A council without illusion as to the seriousness of the problems with which we deal. One with the ability to have a real sense of urgency without panic. And one to have a real purpose with courage and without apology.

On an immediate and practical basis what can we do?

1. With an understanding that even mile by mile within the state, conditions vary a great deal, we must appraise our situation and know it in considerable detail. Where real dangers exist, immediately, we must concentrate our resources. From here on, fire-fighting will be an important part of our program.

So too we must know where real potential for change exists. Where it does we must take every advantage of that potential and deliver as much of decent and orderly change as we possibly can. We must do it not as white delivering to Negro or as Negro taking from white but as people together freeing themselves from a thing which is harmful to all of us.

2. We must try to explain this new sense of urgency to the people of Florida. In our publications, our conversations, our programs, our conferences we must interpret what is really happening all over the nation. We have to try to expose the myth of "It can't happen here!" The Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, only last week boasted of their good race relations. Not too long ago the people of Albany--when they still had a bus system, parks, and swimming pools, and seats in their library--would have told you how happy their colored people were. Just a few weeks ago, before the very dangerous violence, the Mayor of Nashville could have truthfully given you a long list of the good changes that had taken place there.

Beyond the myth of "It can't happen here" we must try to explain why "moderate gains are not enough." This will be extremely difficult, but the key to trying is the fact that we are dealing with people. If we are very skillful and if the people with whom we deal are basically decent, then perhaps they can understand "person" and "individual" where they cannot understand "Negro" or "integration." We must explain that to a person, half-free is no better than half-well. That we are trapped not so much by having to create a better industrial climate, though that does enter the picture, as we are trapped by our religious and political heritage.

We must explain too, honestly and with some pride, that we have good things here in the South. Some very good traditions as well as some very bad ones. That there is still--thank goodness--some real good will and affection among our people. That we are, and no corn pone nonesense about it, all Southerners, all living in and loving our region. We must explain that we want to avoid that cold and impersonal ghettoed eastern industrial society that has been the source of all the new intellectual bitterness.

Hopefully, we have even honor in large enough measure to do something really good.

3. We must get over the last vestiges of our own feelings of being a "little band of good people." We are good people and have been a little band. Knowing very well our recent history, it may sound foolish to talk in terms of a Florida Council of thousands of members but I don't think it is. A Council of 5,000 or 10,000 members must be a possibility.

Surely there are many times that number of people in this state who believe as we do. Surely, if in Mississippi, with less population, if a group of racist-anti-democratic bigots can boast of a membership of 80,000, we can talk in terms of 10,000. We must.

And, we must be more than just good. This is especially true of the standards we place on ourselves, our council, and our council staff. You must be more than just well-meaning. Especially, your director Lou Mitchell must be more than just well-meaning.

Help this man, help to educate him, support him. Judge him by the most exacting standards, the kind of standards our day and our concerns demand. I think he is a good man; so do you. And, thank goodness, so does he. If he is good, give him the full measure of your support. If he is not, make no nonsense about it, dismiss him.

Having left that pleasant little thought, welcome Lou and Betsy Mitchell--and good luck.

I've used a lot of words here today, certainly enough and likely a great deal too many. By only yesterday's history some of the things said here--the dire descriptions and the high hopes--would have been absurd. I don't think either is absurd today. There is a great deal to be done, an almost impossible amount of unbelievably difficult tasks. But, where better to turn than to where mankind has always had to turn in difficult times: to the people, good people of good will.

Therefore, good luck to you too, Florida Council.

Mr. Hammerly

travel wholesalers

707 L Street, N.W./ Washington, D. C. 20036 (202) 296-9161 Cable Travwhol

May 15, 1969

URBAN AMERICA GROUP #2

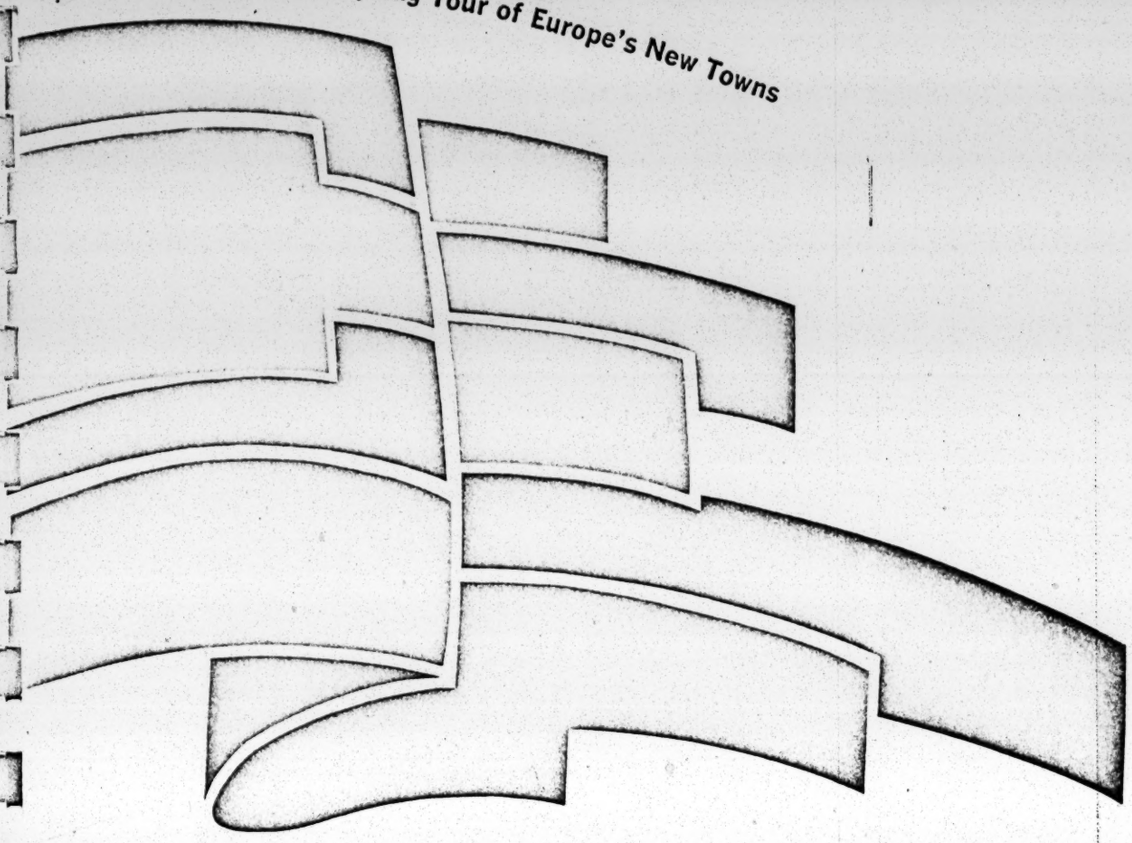
TY	ARRIVE	DEPART	AGENT'S ADDRESS	HOTELS
NDON	MAY 25	MAY 28	Peltours Ltd. 72 Wigmore 01-935-5500 Cable: Peltravel	Bloomsbury Centre Coram Street Russell Square Phone: 01-580-3871
OCKHOLM	MAY 28	MAY 30	RESO Klare N. Kyrkog. 31 Phone: 22 60 20 Cable: Folkreso	Bromma Brommaplan Phone: 252920
LSINKI	MAY 31	JUNE 2	Finland Travel Bureau Kaskuskatu 1 Phone: 10 515 Cable: Travelhead	1. Olympia L. Brahenk 2 Phone: 70801 2. Vaakuna 2 Asema-aukio Phone: 11811
ENINGRAD	JUNE 2	JUNE 3	INTOURIST Representative	Intourist
OSCOW	JUNE 3	JUNE 5	INTOURIST 16 Avenue Marx Phone: 29 61 52 Cable: Intourist	Intourist
ARIS	JUNE 5	JUNE 8	Rapid Pullman 3 Place des Pyramides Phone: OPE 8160 Cable: Rapidpullman	1. California 16 Rue de Berri Phone: 359 93 00 2. Du Pavillon Rue de l'Echiquier Phone: 770 1715

For Mailing Purposes:

EXAMPLE: Mr. John Doe
Urban America Tour #2
c/o Peltours Ltd.
72 Wigmore Street
London, United Kingdom

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

Urban America's 1969 Spring Tour of Europe's New Towns



Conducted in Cooperation with Air-India and Air France

MEMORANDUM

To: Tour Participants, Group #2
Departing May 31, 1969

From: James P. Twomey, Director, Nonprofit Housing Center

Subject: Preparations for Urban America Study Tour

Date: May 2, 1969

We are pleased to send you the enclosed booklet which contains the complete itinerary for Urban America's 1969 Spring Tour of Europe's new towns, which is being conducted in cooperation with AIR INDIA and AIR FRANCE. Also enclosed is an AIR INDIA travel bag provided with their compliments. *

The booklet also contains a roster of your fellow tour participants and spells out the tour conditions. Also enclosed are booklets from AIR INDIA and AIR FRANCE which we hope you will find helpful. A more complete booklet with readings on the planning and development programs in the countries to be visited and any changes in the itinerary or roster will be presented to you upon arrival at Kennedy International Airport in New York.

In addition, you will find a copy of an International Certificate of Vaccination. You will be required to have a certificate of vaccination or re-vaccination against Smallpox that should be valid. There is no need to be re-vaccinated if you have a certificate that meets the validity test as spelled out on Page 3. This is the only vaccination required for the countries to be visited, including the U.S.S.R.

If you have not yet returned your application for Visa for entry into the U.S.S.R. please do so at once with the 3 photographs required. Failure to do so could prevent you from entering into Russia.

We are looking forward to having you with us and will see you at Kennedy International Airport. Tour Guides for your group will be Mr. James P. Twomey, Director, Nonprofit Housing Center; Mr. Simpson Lawson, Assistant Director, Urban Information Center, Urban America; and Mr. Paul Grotz, Managing Editor, Architectural Forum.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call either me or Elias Namerdy at Travel Wholesalers, (202) 296-9161. My telephone number is (202) 265-2224.

(NOTE: You might wish to get your legs in shape for this tour by doing more walking than you normally do. You usually do more walking on such a study tour and you should begin to prepare yourselves for this.)

* OOPS! TO FOLLOW ON MONDAY!

La De Da

URBAN AMERICA'S 1969 NEW TOWNS

STUDY TOUR ITINERARY

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
1	SATURDAY MAY 24	NEW YORK/LONDON Arrive Air India Departure Office at John F. Kennedy International Airport, for check-in at 7:00 PM, New York time. After check-in, take elevator up one floor to Maharaja Lounge for "Get Acquainted" Session I. Depart on Flight AI/112 at 8:30 PM for London. Dinner served enroute. (Choice of Continental or Indian Curry Dinner.)	MAY 31
2	SUNDAY MAY 25	LONDON Upon arrival at London's Heathrow Airport at 8:10 AM, London time. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Hotel Shaftesbury and Hotel Eccleston for check-in and rest. This afternoon at 3:00 PM we will be taken on a sightseeing tour which will include: Westminster Abbey -- built by Edward the Confessor in 1066, where virtually every monarch has been crowned; the adjacent Houses of Parliament, Clock Tower of Big Ben, Buckingham Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral -- with its matchless view of London, where the Crown jewels are kept, and Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus. Dinner and "Get Acquainted" Session II at 6:00 PM at Hotel. Optional Film: "Traffic in Towns" - The Buchanan Report.	JUNE 1
3	MONDAY MAY 26	LONDON Depart 9:30 AM for Welwyn Garden City. Continue to Harlow for luncheon at Saxon Inn. Afternoon Tour of Harlow. Return to Hotel at 4:30 PM. Dinner on your own. Tickets for London Theaters available. (optional).	JUNE 2

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
4	TUESDAY MAY 27	LONDON Depart Hotel 9:00 AM for tour of Stevenage. Lunch at Stevenage. Return for 3:00 PM Meeting Greater London Council, County Hall. Forum on New Towns at 5:30 PM at Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 3
5	WEDNESDAY MAY 28	LONDON/STOCKHOLM We will depart from our hotel at 9:00 AM to London Airport for departure on BE/758 at 11:10 AM. Morning shopping at Duty Free Shop. Arrive 1:20 PM in Stockholm. We will be met at Arlanda Airport and taken on a tour of Taby and Kungshamra. Later we will have a general sightseeing tour including Milles Garden, and will visit Vallingby. We will then be taken to our hotels: Hotel Bromma and Hotel Triangeln. Reception and dinner for Swedish planning, housing and architecture guests at Sjofarshotellet. Optional: Films on Swedish Society and Housing, "Place to Live" and Quiet Revolution."	JUNE 4
6	THURSDAY MAY 29	STOCKHOLM Depart 9:00 AM for Orientation on Stockholm City and Regional plan. Luncheon at Farsta. Afternoon tour of Farsta and Skarholmen. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 5
7	FRIDAY MAY 30	STOCKHOLM/HELSINKI Morning open for shopping or optional tour to Orminge Boo for visit to industrialized housing development under construction using Skarne System. We will be escorted to the pier for departure by ship at 1:00 PM for Helsinki. Afternoon critique session on experiences in London and Stockholm. Dinner party enroute to Helsinki.	JUNE 6

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
8	SATURDAY MAY 31	HELSINKI Arrive Helsinki at 9:00 AM and depart for Tapiola upon arrival for initial briefing and film on Tapiola. Luncheon (on your own) at the Linnunrata in Tapiola. After lunch contine tour of Tapiola and visit Espoo Bay. Return to Helsinki for check-in at Hotel Olympia at 4:30 PM. 6:00 PM Reception and Dinner for Finnish Government Officials, Planners, Architects and Economists at Hotel. Optional Film: "Housing and Nature".	JUNE 7
9	SUNDAY JUNE 1	HELSINKI Morning open for individual activities. Luncheon at the Hotel. At 2:00 PM this afternoon you are scheduled to tour Helsinki and its environs. Its contemporary buildings have earned it the title "White City of the North" in contrast with the original neo-classic town founded in 1550. You will visit the impressive Parliament Building, the Mannerheim Museum, Olympic Stadium Tower, Lauttassaari Church and Ootanami, the Finnish Technical Institute. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 8
10	MONDAY JUNE 2	HELSINKI/LENINGRAD Depart 9:00 AM for City Office Building and presentation on new plan for Center City Helsinki. Remainder of morning open for shopping. We will depart Hotel at 1:00 PM for airport departure of Finnair flight AY/112 at 2:10 PM, arriving Leningrad at 4:30 PM. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Intourist first class hotel. (Note: Three meals per day while in USSR included in tour cost.) Dinner and orientation with Soviet Hosts.	JUNE 9

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
11	TUESDAY JUNE 3	LENINGRAD/MOSCOW A morning tour of this cultural and intellectual center of the Soviet Union will take us to St. Isaac's Cathedral built in the Imperial style with a massive copula and golden dome; Smolny Palace, headquarters of the Revolution and now the city's Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; the Hermitage Museum occupying the Winter Palace of the czars and several connecting palaces. After an early lunch, there will be a presentation by Leningrad officials on the general plan for community development in Leningrad. We will be escorted to the airport for departure on Aeroflot flight SU/1146 at 4:50 PM, arriving Moscow at 6:05 PM. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Intourist first class hotel. Dinner at Hotel.	JUNE 10
12	WEDNESDAY JUNE 4	MOSCOW Your morning tour, departing at 9:00 AM, of the Soviet Union's capital and largest city -- Moscow -- will take you past historical monuments and the Bolshoi Theater (accommodating 4000 persons) built in the 19th century as a great opera house and today used for the performing arts. Then along the exterior of the Kremlin -- a magnificent arrangement of palaces and churches surrounded by turreted medieval walls, over the cobble-stoned Red Square with its gingerbread style. St. Basil's Cathedral and Museum. Luncheon at Hotel. Afternoon presentation on Moscow Regional Plan, and briefing by officials of Moscow Construction Trust. Visit to Satellite Towns (Goroda-Sputniki) of Mytichichi and Lyubertsy. Evening Optional: Bolshoi Theater. (Not included in tour cost.)	JUNE 11
13	THURSDAY JUNE 5	MOSCOW/PARIS Today's morning program will include: The Klinin Prospect project with New Conoko Building and other high rises which are good examples of new Soviet Industrial Technology, a look at a component-parts plant, and the new Palace of Congress of Soviets.	JUNE 12

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
13	THURSDAY JUNE 5 (Cont.)	MOSCOW/PARIS Luncheon at Hotel. Afternoon program, optional tour or open for shopping. Tour will take you within the walls of the Kremlin -- the fortress from which the city sprang. Among the palaces and churches within the walls are the Orushezhnaya Palace; Mary of the Annunciation Cathedral with its 9 cupolas; and the Cathedral of the Archangel in which there are tombs of czars and princes. Of interest also are Ivan the Great's Belfry; the Czar Bell, the largest bell in the world weighing 180 tons and which has never been rung; and the Czar Cannon which has never fired one of its 4000 cannon balls. From the Kremlin you go to the Lenin Mausoluem and GUM -- the government department store that looks liks a railroad terminal from the outside -- for shopping. We will depart for Moscow Airport at 4:30 PM for departure on Air France flight AF/725 at 5:40 PM, arriving Paris at 8:55 PM. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Hotel Regina and Hotel du Louvre for check-in.	JUNE 12
14	FRIDAY JUNE 6	PARIS Depart at 9:00 PM for morning meeting with officials of the Ministere de l'Equipement et du Logement and a visit to Paris projects including Montparnasse, La Defense and the 12 Arrondisement Renewal "Pleasance". Lunch at Hotel. Afternoon open for shopping or optional tour at 2:30 PM. During afternoon tour we will visit the Place de la Concorde, a huge square conceived by Louis XV and leading from it, the Champs Elysees, the beautiful avenue that is France's triumphal way; the Arc de Triomphe with the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; Notre Dame; Sanite-Chapelle; the Eifel Tower which soars 1000 feet above Paris. Built in 1889 to commemorate the Revolution, it has become the city's symbol. Also of interest are the lavish and ornate Opera; the Rue Rivoli, and the Rue de la Paix. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 13

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
15	SATURDAY JUNE 7	PARIS Morning tour to new towns of Cergy-Pointoise and Sarcelles. Luncheon at Hotel. Afternoon optional tour of Evry-Tigery and Massy-Antony or open for shopping. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 14
16	SUNDAY JUNE 8	PARIS/NEW YORK Morning open for individual activities. Depart Air France flight SF/077 at 1:00 PM, arriving J.F.K. International Airport at 3:00 PM New York time. (Luncheon served enroute).	JUNE 15

TOUR CONDITIONS

I. Tour Price Includes:

A. TRANSPORTATION: Trans-Atlantic jet coach via AIR INDIA (outbound), AIR FRANCE (return) and IATA participating carriers in Europe. First class cabins on steamer Stockholm/Helsinki.

B. HOTELS AND MEALS: Twin bedrooms with private baths in hotels as listed in Itinerary or comparable space. Single accommodations if available $100 additional. Breakfast (continental style) and either luncheon or dinner, table d'hotel are included. (Three meals per day in U.S.S.R.)

C. TRANSFERS AND SIGHTSEEING: Assistance in transfers from Airport and piers to hotel and vice versa, including porterage (bellman inside hotels cannot be prepaid). Sightseeing by motor coach with qualified English speaking guides; and entrance fees.

D. TIPS AND TAXES: Service charges (in lieu of tips) and taxes are included. (Personal gratuties are not included).

II. Not Included In Tour Price:

Airport taxes where levied (estimated at $10.00); U.S.S.R. Visa cost ($6.00). Meals not noted above; excess baggage (collected when baggage exceeds 44 pounds per person); U.S.A. passport fee ($10.00) and items of strictly personal nature - e.g. after dinner wines, liquers, mineral waters, etc., and any items not specifically mentioned as included.

III. Responsibility

Travel Wholesalers International, Inc. and/or Urban America, act only as agents for the transportation companies, hotels and other suppliers of services; tickets and exchange vouchers are issued subject to the terms and conditions under which such accommodations, services and transportation are offered or provided; and they are not liable for any injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or other irregularity which may be caused by the defect of any vehicle or the negligence or default of any company or person engaged in carring you or performing any of the services involved. All services and accommodations are subject to the laws of the country in which they are provided.

URBAN AMERICA'S 1969 NEW TOWNS

Roster of Participants
(Group 2, Departing May 31, 1969)

Mr. and Mrs. Melvin J. Adams (Martha)
Development Administrator
Office of the Mayor - City of New Haven
177 Church Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06510

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Bernard B. Blier and Associates
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Administrative Assistant
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Acting Director
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Newark, Delaware 19711

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Mr. and Mrs. Keith Graham (Marilyn)
Senior Traffic Engineer
c/o Alan M. Voorhees & Associates, Inc.
Westgate Research Park
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McLean, Virginia 22101

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Managing Editor
Architectural Forum
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New York, New York 10019

Mr. Robert G. Harper
Executive Vice President
American Republic Insurance Company
601 - 6th Avenue
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Mr. and Mrs. Keith Heller (Elizabeth)
President
Cedar-Riverside Associates
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Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404

The Reverend Jesse Jackson
Chairman
Mayor's Advisory Council
Fort Lincoln New Town
3020 Adams Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018

Mr. Samuel Jackson
Assistant Secretary for
Metropolitan Development
Department of Housing and Urban
Development
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Mrs. Hazel Johnston
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Attorney-at-Law
Suite 700 Georgia Savings Bank Building
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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The First Realty Company of Boston, Inc.
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Assistant Professor of Law
School of Law
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Mr. and Mrs. Simpson Lawson (Polly)
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Urban America Inc.
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Washington, D.C. 20036

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Assistant to the Director
International City Managers Association
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Mr. Robert Maffin
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Chevy Chase, Maryland 20016

Mr. David O. Meeker, Jr.
James Associates
2828 East 45th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46205

Mr. and Mrs. Alex Mercure (Margaret)
Executive Director
Home Education Livelihood Program
828 Guadalupe, N.W.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87107

This guy now on staff of S.W. Council of La Raza. The most able man I have met on such things as self-help housing, coops, "village industry, etc. You should get to know him.

Mr. Samuel R. Mozes
Director
Bureau of Urban Affairs
Division of Housing and Community Renewal
Executive Department
393 Seventh Street
New York, New York 10001

Mr. Howard K. Page
Vice President
University Apartments Inc.
Crest Electronics
119 Washington Avenue North
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Mr. and Mrs. Len Quenon (Betty Jean)
Councilman, Second Ward
1919 Wayne Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Ridinger (Marilyn)
Modular Housing Cousultant
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Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Rodriguez (Josephine)
Director
Model Cities
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Campus Box 40
San Antonio, Texas 78207

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Meadville Theological School of
Lombard College
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Mr. John R. Smith
Board of National Ministries
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Atlanta, Georgia 30308

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Executive Director
Low Income Housing Development
Corporation of North Carolina
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Durham, North Carolina 27701

Mr. and Mrs. John F. Stone (Elizabeth)
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Memphis, Tennessee 38101

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Mrs. Edward Walther (Dwaine P.)
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League of Women Voters
21 Sea Court Drive
Port Washington, New York 11050

Mr. M. F. Weissberg
President
Weissberg Brothers Realty Company
1901 North Fort Myer Drive
Rosslyn, Virginia 22209

URBAN AMERICA INC.

MEMORANDUM

To: Ford Funded Travel Grant Recipients

From: Jonathan Howes and James Kise
Tour Leaders

Attached is your tour expense check in the amount of $244.00 covering your personal expenses and the following items not included in the tour cost: meals, transporation, valet, film, etc.

We indicated earlier that you would receive $250.00 for these expenses - $6.00 has been deducted for payment for your Russian Visa.

Attached are Urban America travel vouchers for your use in accounting for the expenditure of these funds. These funds should specifically not be used for gifts of any type, you must account for all funds used and return the unused portion to Urban America.

Sincerely,

Jonathan Howes
and James Kise

Attachments

May 16, 1969

NOTE: Your airline ticket will be mailed to you under separate cover the latter part of next week. They will be sent via Special Delivery and Air Mail - Special Delivery where required, in order that you will receive them on Monday or Tuesday before departure.

June 27, 1969

Mr. George Thomas
Olin Company
Metals Research Laboratories
91 Shelton Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06504

Dear George:

It was thoughtful of you to write your good letter so promptly. I am only sorry that I did not beat you to the punch. It was good, indeed, to have met you.

Incidentally, our important meeting here was not on Monday, but began Friday evening of the day I left Paris. I was not in as good a shape as I might have been for it!

Enclosed is a report which might interest you if you would like to know more about our work.

I do hope we can get together.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure @ 1.
(Program Report, 1968)

METAL DIVISIONS Olin
METALS RESEARCH LABORATORIES
91 SHELTON AVE., NEW HAVEN, CONN., 06504, PHONE 777-7911

June 23, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Sorry you were unable to have more time in Paris, but I understand fully the importance of your Monday morning meeting.

I stayed on until Wednesday morning, taking the opportunity to see one more building system in Rouen. These last two days were almost enough to break my back. When I arrived home I was very tired and very glad to be home.

I enjoyed the several discussions with you and some of our colleagues and feel that I am better informed on the real issues facing America. I hope you will keep me informed of developments in your area and, in particular, I would like to know the outcome of Monday's meeting.

Be assured that I shall phone you when I find myself in Atlanta, and I hope you will make a point of phoning me when you visit our part of the country.

Very truly yours,

George E. Thomas

See American Urban 1969 "New Towns" Tour Directory

June 27, 1969

Miss Bernice C. Brigham
Administrative Assistant
National Education Association
Center for Human Relations
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Bernice:

Just a note to say again how much I enjoyed meeting you and being with you on the jaunt.

I will certainly call you when next I am in Washington.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 27, 1969

Mr. James P. Twomey
Director
Nonprofit Housing Center
Urban America, Inc.
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Jim:

Just a note to thank you again for all you did to make our recent jaunt a success. I learned a great deal about a number of things; one being that a tour director's life is even worse than that of a do-gooder.

My best to your incredible daughter.

Enclosed is my expense account.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

June 27, 1969

Mr. Walter L. Smith
Executive Director
Low Income Housing Development
Corporation of North Carolina
Box 1108
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Dear Bob:

Just a note to say how much I enjoyed being with you and having an opportunity to get to know you better.

On your return I hope you found things in better shap than I did.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 27, 1969

Mr. and Mrs. Alex Mercure
Executive Director
Home Education Livelihood Program
828 Guadalupe, N. W.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87107

Dear Alex and Margaret:

Just a note to say how much I enjoyed being with you. I realize this is not your current address, but assume it will reach you.

Enclosed is a report on our work which may be of interest to you.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (1968 Annual Report)

June 27, 1969

Mr. Samuel Jackson
Assistant Secretary for Metropolitan
Development
Department of Housing and Urban
Development
451 - 7th Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20410

Dear Sam:

Just a note to say how much I enjoyed being with you on our recent jaunt. I am sorry you had to miss Russia; that was quite an experience!

Come and see us some time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 27, 1969

Mr. Robert G. Harper
Executive Vice President
American Republic Insurance Company
601 - 6th Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa 50301

Dear Bob:

Just a note to say how much I enjoyed meeting you on our recent jaunt.

I particularly enjoyed the beverage services you provided on Air France. In case you ever get tired of the insurance business, I think you have quite a future as an airline stewart!

Should you have any interest, the enclosed report will give you some idea of the work we are trying to do here.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1, (1968 Annual Report)

JAY G. RIDINGER

The essence of a housing decision is the alternatives.

MODULAR HOUSING CONSULTANT (312) 281-3107
707 BARRY AVENUE CHICAGO 60657

Curt Campbell
Return to M. Johnson

July 30, 1969

Mr. Jay G. Ridinger
Modular Housing Consultant
707 Barry Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60657

Dear Jay:

Please forgive me this delay in responding to your thoughtful note and the interesting enclosures which I have read.

I do hope one of these days you will have an opportunity to get to Atlanta. Please let me know if you do.

I must say I am envious of you fellows who are consultants. You get the most interesting clients!

Best.

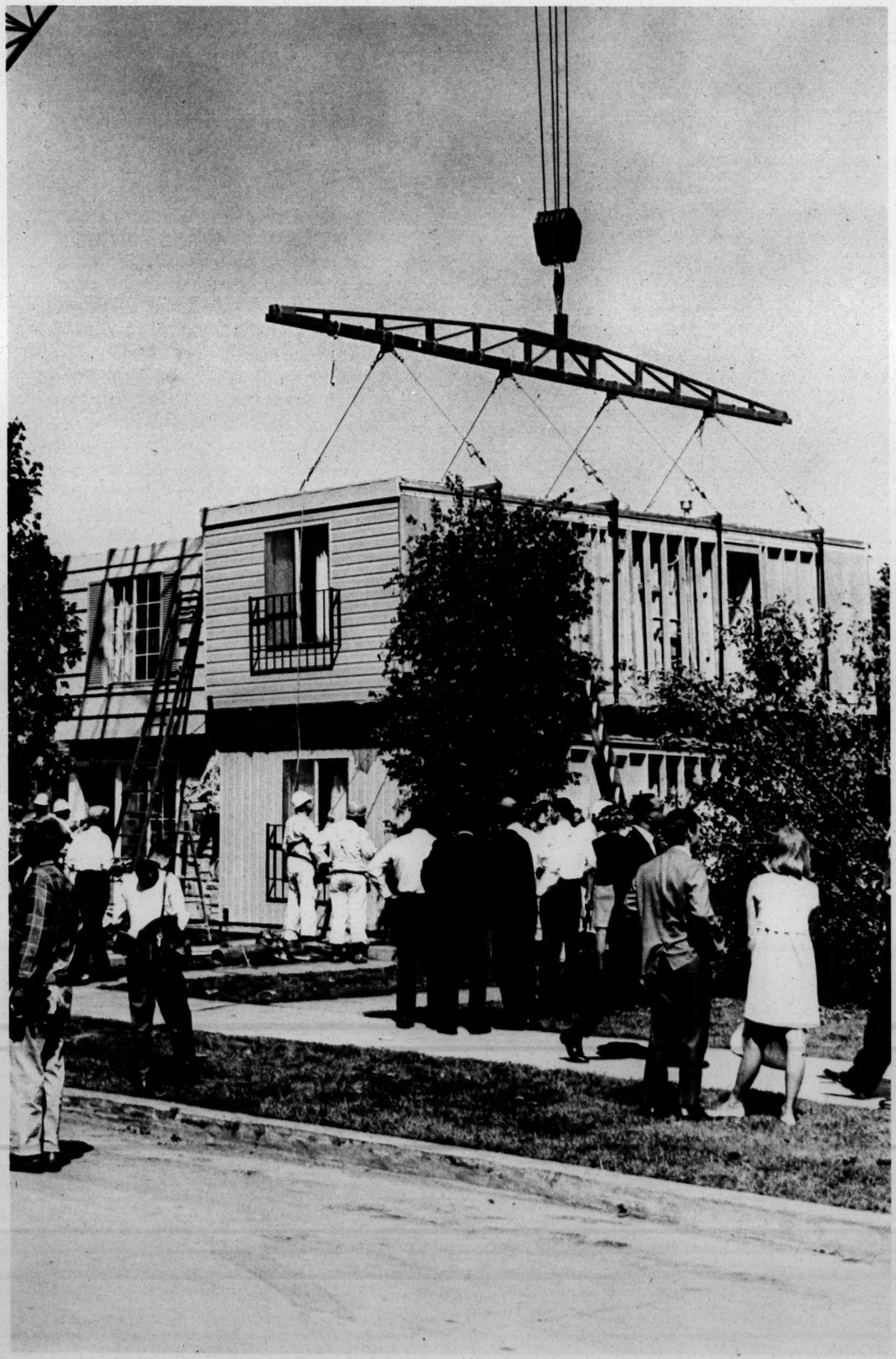
Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

HABITAT 68

The Magazine of Sectional and Modular Housing



The Essence Of A Housing Decision Is The Alternatives . . .

. . . The Factory-Produced Dwelling Module . . . What's in it for you?

By Jay G. Ridinger, Modular Housing Consultant, 707 W. Barry Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60657

Definition

Modular Housing has been referred to in the following terms during the past 24 months by our nation's fourth estate:

"stacked houses, magic boxes, interim houses, prefabricated houses, instant houses, piggyback houses, modular homes, modular components, stackup homes and industrialized buildings."

I suggest we use the term: "factory-produced dwelling module" with the accompanying definition developed by the New York State Joint Legislature Committee on Housing and Urban Development, New York State College, and Cornell University . . .

DEFINITION of the "factory-produced dwelling module" term:

"The term refers to boxlike units in a limited number of modules of standard dimensions designed to meet the requirements of (1) single or multifamily living, (2) efficient production-line techniques, and (3) transportation over existing roads and highways."

"The cost of the shell of the house represents only a small portion of the total cost of housing. Using dwelling modules, not only the shell but also the mechanical equipment, wiring, plumbing, interior cabinetry and finishes, and perhaps even furniture and furnishings are produced at the factory, thereby effecting significant cost savings over either conventionally produced or prefabricated large components. In short, the factory-produced dwelling module is a completely finished home or portion of a home."

Need

The current need for the factory-produced dwelling module, due to out labor shortage, is illustrated by the following figures . . . The U.S. Construction labor pool consists of less than 3 million workers; 10 per cent of this pool is decimated each year due to retirement, job change, or death . . . during 1966 . . . 282,000 craftsmen were lost. In that same year of 1966 only 16,000 workers were replaced by apprenticeship programs.

Historically, the industrialization of housing has occurred in direct proportion to shortages of labor, i.e., post war construction in northern Europe. Statistics would indicate that the U.S. construction industry with its shrinking labor pool is now ready for the factory-produced dwelling module.

In October, 1968, I returned from visiting housing officials in the cities of: Helsinki, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Glascow, and East and West Berlin. The comments of these officials were uniform; Northern Europe is increasingly using the factory produced dwelling module, primarily because of the shortage of construction craftsmen . . . cost and time saving factors of modular housing have become secondary benefits.

Chicago has just erected three demonstration clusters of (mill-work construction) factory-produced modular housing with the blessing of the Chicago Building and Construction Trades Council. This action gives credence to the optimism of Peter Blake ("Pre-fabrication is Blocked by Traditional Attitudes" in the February, 1960, issue of *Industrial Design*):

JAY G. RIDINGER is a new breed of Housing Specialist, i.e., a MODULAR HOUSING CONSULTANT. Ridinger graduated from Indiana University with a Master's in Business Administration and joined the Sales Department of Inland Steel . . . after leaving Inland, he then formed a capital fund for real estate investment. Ridinger worked with Jim Twomey (presently Director of Urban America's Nonprofit Housing Center) in developing $6 million worth of 221 (d) (3) moderate income housing for the Community Renewal Foundation (NFP-Chicago). Having recently returned from Urban America's tour of northern Europe's "New Towns" where he met with senior housing officials regarding modular housing, Ridinger has gathered together an interesting and current library of written materials, photographs, and slides which he has presented at Urban America Housing Seminars and meetings of business and governmental agencies.

RIDINGER

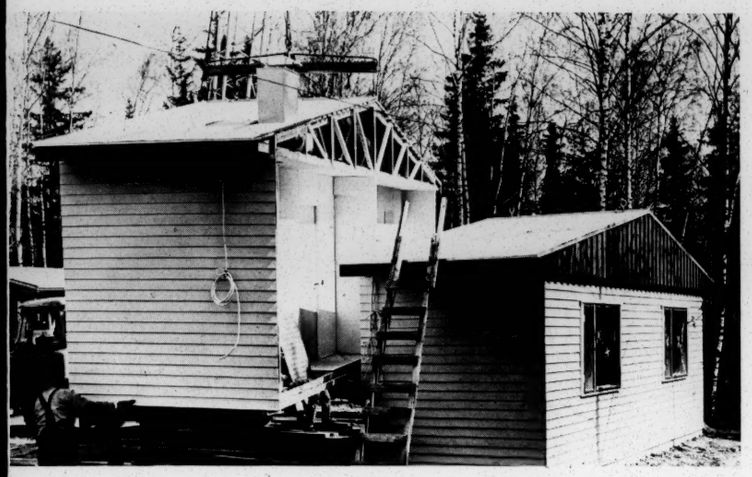
Ridinger, now a free lance modular housing consultant, is available to work on a per diem basis, with manufacturers, developers, institutions, governmental agencies, and others interested in the factory-produced dwelling module.

"Indeed the future of prefabrication in the U.S. would seem bleak except for these facts: (in the near future) the annual need for new houses is going to be so phenomenal . . . that the U.S. will not have enough skilled labor, not enough traditional materials and not enough other resources to meet the demand. At that point a good many things are going to "give". Foremost among these will be archaic codes and similar standards, union practices that encourage feather-bedding, and outdated techniques, and the conservatism of the housing industry in matters of design, engineering and distribution."

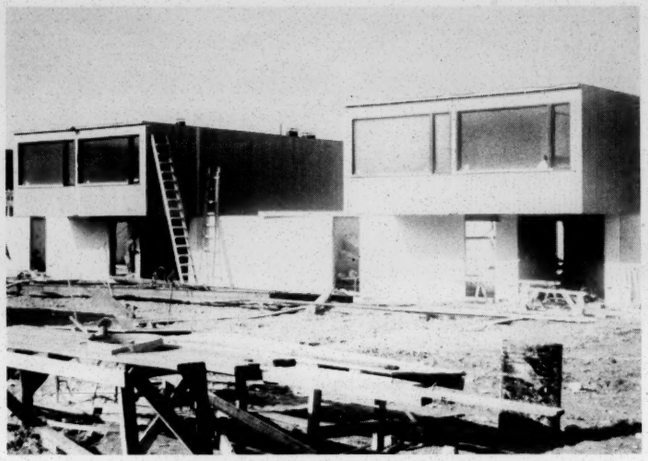
December 5, 1968, the Chicago Housing Authority revealed plans for a $200,000,000 program calling for the construction of 10,000 units of homes and apartments for Chicago's moderate and low income families. Construction will be on scattered lots throughout the city. In the first phase of the program, the CHA board approved the construction of $836,924 worth of four bedroom *modular* homes to be purchased from National Homes Corporation. "This allocation of new public housing is a far cry from the programs of the past. No longer will public housing programs mean complexes of high-rise buildings with their high concentrations of populations", stated Mr. Swibel, CHA chairman.

Marketing

The Chicago response to the factory produced dwelling module has been varied. . . The first eight modular homes were erected in the upper middle income community of Hyde Park where there is a serious shortage of moderate income housing. (Moderate Income Range



These Finish modulars are constructed with a front width of 24 feet as opposed to the U.S. Modular width of 12 feet.



$35,000 modulars at Tapiola, Finland, feature private walled patios between units with a garage, sauna bath, and family room at ground level.

for a family of 6 is defined by FHA as $8,280 to $10,500). The moderate income community submitted over 2,500 applications for similar housing during a five day period. The upper middle income community was critical of the railroad flat design of the modulars and questioned the longevity of the units. Architects have been highly critical of the interior and exterior design. Undaunted, National Homes board chairman James R. Price expects during 1969 to build eight new plants in areas such as Cincinnati, Detroit, Hartford, and Rochester, N.Y.

For the present, in the U.S., modular housing will be produced as an answer to the housing needs of low and moderate income families. However, the modular product will be accepted within two years by the middle class both for first and second homes. In Tapiola, Finland, a three bedroom modular, quite similar to the National or Magnolia modulars, sells for $35,000 and the units are purchased by middle class buyers as fast as they are being built.

Management

Thomas J. Murray, head of the Chicago Building and Construction Trades Council agreed to the National and Magnolia modulars being erected in Chicago. Murray was brought around to the view that the factory-produced module was the only way low cost housing could be produced in our metropolitan areas. Chicago unions have been promised that they can fully unionize a new modular housing factory planned for Chicago. The new factory will employ union labor and the union, in turn, must use neighborhood residents as apprentices. Six building trades unions have agreed to contribute one-third of the $2 million cost of the new factory.

There is now no present lack of conventional construction work in Chicago . . . should the situation change . . . the union's attitude might also change.

Production

By the fall of 1968 . . . one hundred units of modular housing will have been erected on 12 scattered sites in Chicago. The units erected to date have been shipped from National Homes Corp. (Lafayette) and the Magnolia Homes Division of Guerdon Industries (Detroit-Vicksburg). Eventually Chicago plans to build 1000—2000 units per year in a Chicago factory.

A planned Chicago erection cycle runs something like this: Modules leave Lafayette, Indiana, factory (125

These $12,000 single story timber modulars were among the first houses to be built in Cumbernauld, Scotland in 1959. Even in the early stages careful attention was paid to design of public spaces including details of paving and landscaping.

These frame modulars near Helsinki utilize a board and batten exterior.

The fine caliber of interior finishing of these units at Tapiola, Finland is illustrated by the cabinetry and details such as the wood burning fireplace.

miles) at midnight, truck to Chicago (site foundations, walks, utilities and landscaping installed during previous weeks) . . . at dawn crane removes modules from the truck bed and stacks them on foundations. Finish crew connects utilities and smooths out interior wall connections, lays sod and the families move in that evening.

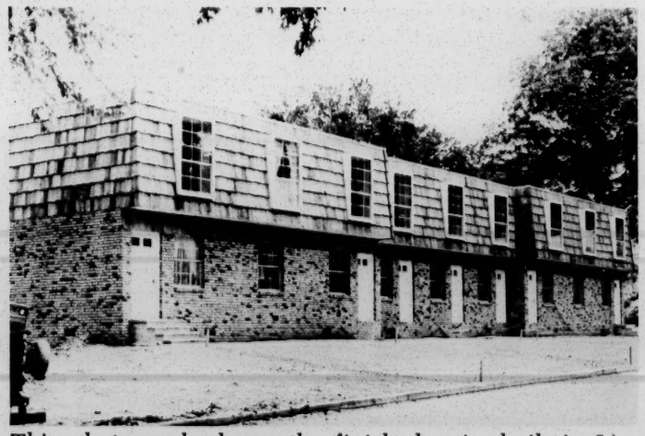
Various production snafus can hold up the erection cycle.: Lining up the individual modular sections, designed with a 1/4 inch tolerance, requires skill . . . each module weighs 7 tons.

National Module floors are 2 x 6 inch floor joists and walls are 2 x 4 inch studs with two layers of 3/8 inch sheet rock, topped by gypsum board. Outside walls are aluminum over plywood and the roof is galvanized steel. Decorative trim of real stone is used by National and antique brick veneer by Magnolia.

Some plus features of the Chicago erected modulars are factory-installed kitchen appliances, glass-fiber bathrooms and air conditioning.

Finance

The 1968 Housing Act provides several mortgage sections applicable to modular housing. Sections 235 and 236, which phase out the old 221 (d) (3) section, provide first mortgages for a term of at least 30 years in an amount up to $20,000 for a four bedroom modular in a high cost area such as Chicago. These mortgages are available for investors who wish to build rental developments or the mortgages may be arranged to provide for individual home ownership as a co-operative development.



This photograph shows the finished units built in Lincoln Park. The Magnolia units utilize a cedar shingle exterior for the second floor and a brick veneer wall for the first floor (masonry work is done after units are in place at the site).

It was generally stated at the September Urban American Conference in Washington, that most of the low and moderate income mortgage programs such as 221 (h), 233, 235, 236 etc. . . could be utilized to finance modular housing.

Another major source of funding for modular housing is the pool of unused public housing funds lying idle throughout the U.S. Former Senator Paul H. Douglas (D.-Illinois), Chairman of the National Commission on Urban Problems, said "the biggest problem with public housing is that there isn't enough of it." The Douglas report further stated that an adequate supply of low to moderate income housing, widely dispersed "is the key to all other improvements." Public Housing Authorities are in the habit of paying substantial sums for public housing . . . in Chicago North Lawndale public housing apartments average over $20,000 apiece.

HABITAT

DECEMBER, 1968

Published for architects, housing officials, builders/dealers and all others interested in the latest information about the manufacturing and merchandising of sectional structures for individual and multifamily occupancy.

Publication will begin early next year. No billing for subscriptions until fourth issue has been published and rates announced. Advertising rates on application.

Circulation, advertising, and editorial offices: P. O. Box 1255, South Bend, Indiana 46624.

George E. Brunner, Jr., Editor & Publisher

EDITORIAL

George Brunner
Publisher

Because we believe a number of architect, engineer and supplier readers of *MBR* will be interested in *Habitat*, we have chosen to announce its publication and to include several pilot issues in *MBR*.

It is not intended that *Habitat* become a regular supplement bound into issues of *MBR*.

Habitat will begin a full blown life of its own early in 1969. Its purpose will be to chronicle the growth of factory built housing in this country and abroad.

Meanwhile we invite our readers to advise us of their interest, so that we may enroll them on our list of trial subscribers at no charge.

We also invite our readers to send pictures and text describing their activities which relate to the story of sectional and modular housing.

JAY G. RIDINGER . . . *The essence of a housing decision is the alternatives.*

PERSONS CONTACTED DURING UA TOUR MAY 31, 1969:

Alexandra Petrushkova
House of a New Mode of Life (Communal)
Stoleshnikov 13/15
МНИИТЭП
Moscow, USSR

Vjacheslav Popov
Architectural Planning Department (APU)
2 Lomonosov Square
Leningrad, USSR

Mr. Kulikov
Office of Chief Architect of Moscow
B. Sadovaya 3/13
Moscow, USSR

Mlle. Annie Le Boudic
Prefecture Press Information
De La Region
Parisienne
29 Rue Barbet de Jouy
Paris, France

Note: Above information written exactly as provided by individual--however, their English may have been as bad as my Russian. JGR

JAY G. RIDINGER . . . *The essence of a housing decision is the alternatives.*

July 2, 1969

Enjoyed the pleasure of your company, Paul, during the UA tour. Perhaps one of the fringe benefits of the tour is that it has enabled housing professionals like ourselves to develop new relationships both in Europe and in the States. I am enclosing a brief article regarding the factory-produced dwelling module since you had expressed some interest in this type of housing during our tour. I am also enclosing an article which I prepared for Jim Twomey regarding UA's housing tour last fall. I included it because it covers some of the same territory visited by our May 31 group.

Am enclosing a sheet with the names and addresses of some of the individuals we met with in Russia and France, which you may find useful.

I thought I would share with you a new client that I found waiting when I returned. The client is interested in building factory-produced dwelling modules on their vacation site 35 miles SW of Chicago. In their letter to me, they stressed that they were interested in producing housing down to the bare essentials.....I don't believe I have mentioned the name of the client. It was Naked City, a nudist colony.

Cordial regards,

Jay

Jay G. Ridinger

MODULAR HOUSING CONSULTANT • 707 BARRY AVENUE • (312) 281-3107 • CHICAGO 60657

AN OVERVIEW OF URBAN AMERICA'S 1968 TOUR OF NEW COMMUNITIES AND INDUSTRIALIZED BUILDING SYSTEMS IN EUROPE

by

Jay G. Ridinger
Modular Housing Packager

"THE ESSENCE OF A DECISION IS THE ALTERNATIVES"

Urban America conceived their tour as an opportunity to provide American housing specialists with a view of Northern Europe's new town and industrialized building system alternatives.

Mr. James P. Twomey, Director of Urban America's Nonprofit Housing Center, arranged seminars for us with key housing officials in each of the countries visited. The seminars had an informal format, consisting of opening remarks; history of development; problems and solutions in the areas of production, finance, marketing, management and planning; a question and answer period, followed by a site tour and inspection.

The cities, institutions, new planned communities and industrialized building systems studied were:

AMSTERDAM	-	Centrums, West Amsterdam, Bijlmermeet
ROTTERDAM	-	Bouwcentrum Research Center, Lijnbaan shopping center
GLASGOW	-	Cumbernauld, Bison industrialized building system
STOCKHOLM	-	Farsta, Vallingby, Vastra - Skarne industrialized building system
HELSINKI	-	Tapiola - Aalto housing designs
WEST BERLIN	-	Gropius Stadt, Markisches Viertel, Hansa - Camus, Jesperson and Skarne industrialized building systems
EAST BERLIN	-	Karl Marx Alee - panel flat and lightweight box (modified) industrialized housing systems

OVERVIEW

Recurring questions posed by our Urban America group as we visited northern Europe's new towns were: "With a new town urban strategy, can America - within a period of a few years - eliminate the ghetto, achieve desegregation, bring ghetto workers and industrial jobs together, develop integrated education and efficient transportation, and conserve open space?"

As you can imagine, our answers varied as to the specific components of these questions; but they were generally affirmative. Bernard Weissbourd and Herbert Channick, in a proposal published in October of 1968 by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Fund for the Republic), stated that their research indicated that these problems could be solved by a determined urban strategy consisting of three elements:

1. A massive program of building new towns or new communities in outlying areas to accommodate the projected Negro and White population growth.
2. The construction in these new towns across the country of some 350,000 subsidized housing units each year for ten years. This would allow the ultimate replacement of urban sub-standard housing and create a temporary housing surplus. This is less than called for in the three-year subsidized housing program which Congress approved in 1968.
3. The withdrawal of public expenditures for housing subsidies, sewer, water, roads, and mass transportation from ordinary subdivision development and their rechanneling into new towns, thus virtually eliminating the competition of segregated housing development.

M. J. Wise in his Background Paper No. 6, prepared for the U. N. in September of 1966, had this to say about new towns:

> "Metropolitan areas are changing in shape and form. These trends are likely to continue. To meet them, new concepts of urban development must be formulated. The new concepts must be adequate to provide for what may be termed city regions or metropolitan regions ... Enlightened regional planning policies can assist the creation of active, economically inter-related city groups or city constellations which, while preserving the economic advantages of single great cities, can minimize costs and provide satisfying physical and social environments. If these city regions are to be successfully created, their physical and economic planning must be better related at all levels - national, regional, and local."

The need for new towns and new building systems was immediately apparent to us. Living space is quickly disappearing in Europe's great cities. People continue to swarm to the cities from the hinterland to find their pot of gold; instead, they have trouble finding an apartment in already packed metropolitan areas. Over all of Europe, planners, architects, and industrialized building systems technicians are trying to meet the demand of this flight from remote farms and villages, natural population increases, and the problems of decaying cities. Plans varied from city to city, although high-rise apartment buildings played a major role in most plans. Not many of Europe's old cities can claim they are winning this battle.

Rotterdam was the exception, thanks to the German bombers that wiped out the center of the city in May of 1940. This city, utilizing a 19th century eminent domain act, took over the 600 destroyed acres and rebuilt the area according to a plan. In place of the 25,000 houses in the center of the city prior to the war, there are now only 5,000 housing units in apartment buildings 5 to 15 stories tall. Thousands of Dutchmen, rich and poor, have moved to new apartments in the suburbs. The German bombardment wiped out Rotterdam's slums and palaces indiscriminately.

Europe's most striking urban developments are in Berlin where 40% of the buildings were destroyed during the war. Markisches Viertel in Berlin's Reinkendorf district is a planned development being built with industrialized building systems which will produce 17,000 apartments and 400 single family dwellings by 1972. Since concentrated construction began in 1966, 15,500 apartments are under construction or have been completed.

East Berlin began a massive industrialized building system program in 1963, using modular concrete blocks varying in weight from 1,650 to 11,000 pounds. These systems were used to build 75.2% of East Germany's 1963 national housing output and 96.4% of the 1966 national housing output. East Berlin is even beginning to primp ... Unter den Linden is regaining some of its former charm as new linden trees are being planted along the parkway. Berlin had a population of 4,330,000 before the war. There are now 2,200,000 people in West Berlin and another million "across the wall" in Communist East Berlin.

NEW TOWN PLANNING

My compatriots on the tour returned from the new towns like judges from the Miss Universe contest. They debated the undebatables: aesthetics, planning philosophy and design quality. The gut question was not dealt with by our group; i.e. were the new towns acceptable to those people who live there?

For example, Cumbernauld is not a sprawling green city. Glascow's blue-collar families wanted a compact new town with its own country Piccadilly Circus or downtown Glasgow ... no village clusters with separate village commercial center for them! Hence, the Cumbernauld "Town Center". The "Town Center" was designed as a country Piccadilly, with compact layers of shops, pubs, offices, duplex apartments, and walking levels. When completed, this half-mile-long concrete "battleship on the hill" will embody several classroom planning principles:

1. The town is not sliced up by several radial roads leading to the Center, because the Center squats over the one main road.
2. The Center remains compact by growing vertically.
3. The Center has a linear dimension and is accessible from the housing on either side.

Cumbernauld's general planning rules would gladden the heart of any American mother. Within 300 yards of each Cumbernauld dwelling unit are: a convenience store (in Chicago we call them Momma and Poppa stores); an elementary school; fast public transportation; and a part-time job. An additional amenity is the two-level transportation system: autos move on raised ramps while people walk on a separate lower level ... great for Mom's peace of mind while the children walk to school!

Cumbernauld (14 miles from Glasgow) has a present population of 24,000 people with a 3,500 person projected increase per annum for a 110,000 person maximum.

Cumbernauld is neither more attractive nor better planned than Columbia or Tapiola ... it is a new town for Glasgowians who want to rent their three-bedroom townhouse for $350.00 per year and who want a bit of Picadilly in their beer.

A somewhat irreverant, old church - Aiderkerk - now houses the Amsterdam Town Planning permanent exhibit. At the exhibit it was apparent that features which have characterized Netherlands town planning and architecture from antiquity are compactness and modest dimensions. Private homes and commercial enterprises are usually two or three stories high but quite narrow.

The Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning is quick to point out that the modest dimension feature is due to Netherlands' merchants, rather than spiritual leaders, determining the design of the buildings through

the years. Both Amsterdam and Rotterdam have almost completely used up their land suitable for residential structures. New towns are now being built only on newly reclaimed land, such as the polders in the former Zuyder Zee. The new towns give particular attention to shopping centers, communal gardens, and children play areas. The provision of green areas with gardens and sports grounds between the new town districts is almost as much the rule as the pathological principle of American planners that green belts must be maintained between urban areas.

"From 1947 to 1963 some 113,000 dwellings were built (in the Netherlands) using industrialized building systems. One out of every ten post-war dwellings is a system dwelling. To an increasing extent, the production of large ... (apartment buildings) takes place in factories. Compared with traditional house building, the application of these industrialized building methods results in a saving of 40% in the number of man hours ... of carpenters, brick layers, painters, and plasterers. The Netherlands systems builders themselves have come to the conclusion that in some cases this savings in labor is even as high as 75%." (Housing in the Netherlands, Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning, The Hague, June of 1965).

The use of housing systems is well documented at the Bouwcentrum in Rotterdam. The Bouwcentrum is an awesome source of specialized knowledge, having 20,000 housing publications in its library.

Stockholm, the city on the water, with 335,000 dwelling units has a population of only 780,000 - which indicates that they began using the pill before Chicago. The new planned suburbs have a higher occupancy-dwelling unit ratio than old Stockholm: Vallingby, 22,000 people with 7,500 dwelling units; Farsta, 25,000 people with 7,400 dwelling units.

Sweden does not have a nationally planned economy but does have a five-year plan prepared by its Ministry of Finance. Physical planning on the local level has been going on for two hundred years. All large scale building activity must conform to the municipal development plan. The private land owner has no a priori right to the development of his land. In 1948, legislation was passed introducing regional planning as an official instrument. In 1949, the Government required that a regional planning association be formed by the 46 municipalities in the greater Stockholm area. The Plan, approved in 1960, is a relatively simple land-use plan, indicating areas for urban development, vacation homes, green areas, and agricultural land. The plan is more detailed, delineating residential densities, employment areas, institutional areas, and service-business areas. This plan is dimensioned for the year 1990.

Vastra, a new development outside Stockholm, is being planned by the National Cooperative Society. The two, three, and four-story apartment buildings are being built using the Skarne (light) industrialized building system. The precast slabs are trucked to the site from the SKARNE factory, with windows already cast into the walls. The apartments are built with no interior load-bearing walls, making it possible to adjust the interior partitions to suit the needs of each particular

family occupant. The Skarne Light system is not only flexible, it is fast. A twelve-unit apartment building is erected in ten days, with a foundation-erection-finish cycle of sixty days.

In Sweden housing is developed by three sectors. Using 1966 as a sample year: public (municipally owned not-for-profit corporations): 42.8%; cooperative: 19.7%; and private: 37.5%.

In 1966 Sweden decided to experimentally create more favorable conditions for developing industrialized building system housing by granting government housing loans for 1,000 dwelling units per development. This action was taken to counteract the static growth pattern of industrialized building system housing in Sweden; i.e.: 1956 - 1,434 units; 1957 - 2,204 units; 1958 - 3,340 units; 1959 - 2,885 units; 1960 - 2,823 units; 1961 - 2,257 units; 1962 - 1,738 units; and 1963 - 2,074 units.

Taby, a modern, planned suburb near Stockholm, resembles two halves of a large bagel. Two immense curved high-rise buildings face a circle of virgin pine in the center park. Four-story curved apartment structures echo the curve of the high-rise buildings, forming a massive but compatible housing complex. A huge shopping center, consisting of malls and plazas, is located next to Taby.

The post-war concept of new communities on the periphery of Stockholm evolved to enable the city to grow through planned decentralization. It is incorrect, according to the Swedes, to refer to Vallingby, Taby, or Farsta as satellites or new towns. The Stockholm planners designed these suburbs as a part of the Greater Stockholm megalopolis and refuse to acknowledge that they are "new towns".

Vallingby, Taby, and Farsta were designed with a high ratio of local employment, i.e. job and home in the same neighborhood. The dominant theme of these new communities is a completely planned environment.

> "The plans (for Vallingby) are based on a town center surrounded by high-rise apartments. Three-story structures are arranged around the center to a distance of about 1,500 feet. Beyond that, maisonettes, terrace houses, and single-family houses reach out to about 2,700 feet.
>
> "Pedestrian walks are completely separate from automobile circulation.
>
> "The center is planned as a pedestrian mall with shops arranged in small blocks. Typically, theaters, churches, and cultural facilities are to one side of the mall area. Truck service areas in the large centers are under the mall with a drive-through circulation system and dock facilities next to the storage area of each shop tenant ...
>
> "Much of the housing is constructed by large, publicly-owned, autonomous building societies and is governed by stringent economic controls.

"The architect is selected by the builder who makes an independent proposal to do a given portion of the total neighborhood on land leased from the city.

"The larger companies have invested heavily in plant equipment for constructing standard building types using large components. This tends to limit variety and design opportunity as well as to make change in design less flexible. The investment in plant tends to force further repetition of the building type even when a fresh solution might be more desirable ...

"It is also somewhat disappointing though revealing to note that the more recent community centers, like many American examples, suffer visually from a sea of surface parking. At Vallingby, however, this has been overcome by adding a well-sited and well-designed parking structure adjacent to the town center." Jury Report, R. S. Reynolds Memorial Award for Cummunity Architecture, July of 1967, AIA JOURNAL.

Tapiola, the pioneering work of Finnish town planning, is only six miles (15 minutes) from the center of Helsinki. Tapiola had a unique birth ... it was created by the private non-profit Housing Foundation, Asuntosaatio, which was established in 1951 by the Family Welfare League, Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions, Federation of Civil Servants, Central Association of Tenants, the Mamierheim League, and the Finnish Association of Disabled Civilians and Servicemen.

In 1951 the Foundation purchased 670 acres of farmland and began planning Tapiola. Aarne Ervi won the open architectural competition in 1953 for the planning of the City Centre (other competitions on a world-wide basis were organized for the planning and design of groups of residential houses and public buildings). This influx of fine design has resulted in handsome and diverse building clusters.

The core area of Tapiola is planned to accommodate 16,000 persons. The rural district of Espoo Tapiola is planned for a population of 80,000. In 1967 the Espoo Tapiola population was already over 33,000.

Heileki Von Hertzen, the Managing Director of the Housing Foundation, has led the distinguished team which developed Tapiola. The Foundation's stated objective: "We don't want to build houses or dwellings, but socially correct surroundings for modern man and his family".

Accomplishing this objective required allocating 80% of the sites for State subsidized housing. This does not mean that substantial quantities of low income housing have been built or are planned for Tapiola. Olavi Lindblom, General Director of Asuntohallitus, indicated that State subsidized housing in Tapiola is similar to our 221(d)(3), 235, and 236 programs; i.e. mortgage rates are subsidized by the Finnish government at a 3% rate, rather than the Finnish private market rate of 8%. The Tapiola subsidized housing receives a 22-year mortgage, rather than the private mortgage term of five to ten years.

Finland's new government-subsidized apartments rent for an average 420 marks ($131.00). Rentals for houses which have not been subsidized by the government average 40 marks ($12.50) more per month. High housing costs are one reason the mother in one out of two families must have a job outside the home.

Finnish small-house production centers around production of the "slice house". These three dimensional factory-produced dwelling modules are manufactured with the interiors and exteriors finished and fixtures installed. The slices vary from 200 to 500 square feet. The maximum "slice" width allowed on Finnish roads is approximately 11.5 feet, and the average maximum distances for slice road transportation is 186 miles. The slices are combined for single houses, row houses, dormitories, vacation (second) homes, and infinitum. Several new slice house, frame, factory-produced dwelling module plants have been built in the last two years with production capacities varying from 250 to 500 dwellings per annum. The plants are fully automated and production is based on modular coordination.

The Finnish concrete industry is developing a uniform industralized building system based on modular coordination of the units. This will be an open system which can be used by most Finnish industrialized building system producers on an interchangeable component basis.

In West Berlin's Reinickendorf city district, the action is at Miarkisches Viertel. This planned community on the north side of Berlin will be completed in 1972, with 17,000 apartments, 400 single family houses, with a 60,000 person population. Now occupied are 4,000 apartments, while 12,000 remain under construction; 10,000 people are already here, and the few we talked to seemed to like it.

The awesome density of the huge concrete high-rises tends to obscure many of the fine planning details incorporated in this new town for Berliners. Director B. Becker of "Gesobau" (Gesellschaft fur sozielen Wohnungsbau), described how the particular character of the "Berliner" was built into this concrete: The specialty of Berlin restauranters in Victorian days was the eating gardens where families could cook their own coffee. This tradition will be continued with the Gardenrestaurant at the artificial lake (now a hole) on the north side of Viertel, complete with individual coffee grills. The Viertel will have many green walkways, sports fields, and tot lots. For the green thumbers there will be a separate section of Tenant Gardens. The little children will swing with their own new town ... they will have play lots with sand, gravel, lumber, and bricks to build their own things, whether a low-rise or a cave.

Viertel is not only a "sleep city" ... it has adjacent job sources in two office-business complexes. The town center has two department stores, supermarkets, banks, bowling alleys, a movie theater, restaurants, and a hotel ... five small convenience shopping centers are placed around Viertel, like mushrooms. The heating for Viertel is from one central heating plant.

Viertel is a laboratory of industrialized building systems. Six thousand of the apartments are being built simultaneously using the Coignet, Camus,

and Allbeton systems. The Strabag housing factory we visited manufactures concrete industrialized building components under the Camus license. The Strabag factory works 24 hours a day and produces five apartments a day (220 concrete slabs). The 50,000 square foot temporary field factory consists of five areas: Area I, forms prepared to size; Area II, concrete is mixed and poured in forms (on small railroad wheel dollies), exterior finish (ceramic tile) is applied to slabs, electrical components are installed, and re-enforcing rods are inserted; Area III, slabs are moved to the curing area where slabs are heated for three hours; Area IV, slabs are moved to the stocking area; Area V, railroad wheel dollies return to Area I with raw materials for the new poured slabs. All factory equipment is built in Germany by Strabag, using Camus plans. The agile factory workers are Germans and whirling Turks. Using the Camus system, Strabag builds an eight-story building with 300 apartments in a nine-month cycle ... starting with a conventional poured foundation and first floor, and ending with a sprayed plaster or plastic film skim coat on the apartments, in place of component interior walls. As a finishing touch, each building is painted a bright color - red, orange, yellow, etc. On the other side of the wall from Viertel is East Berlin.

When you see the thousands of East German low-cost housing units built under the Russians in recent years, one wonders why we haven't produced more. East Germany built 76.2% of its 1963 national housing output utilizing industrialized building systems. In 1966 ... 96.4% was systems housing.

Dr. A. Allen Bates, Chief of the Office of Industrial Standards of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, reports:

> "The Russians can now produce a four-room apartment of acceptable quality for the equivalent of $3,000-$3,500. It would cost $10,000 here (U.S.). What the Soviet Union has done is to develop the only technology in the world to produce acceptable low-cost housing on a large scale."

Many East German 'systems' apartments have small room sizes, poor thermal insulation, and high site densities ... there are workmanship problems, but the increased automation of their systems factories tends to increasingly specialize the worker's particular job so that even unskilled workers can be quickly trained for a specific industrialized building factory job, with the results that the quality of components produced is rapidly improving.

IN THE BEGINNING ...

Ebenezer Howard, in 1899, proposed to establish a Garden City where inhabitants would live within a few hundred yards of work, shopping, and civic facilities, in moderate size, complete towns, surrounded by green belts. In 1903 the first Garden City of Letchworth was created with the aforementioned amenities, including a large local job base. During the next

fifteen years, real estate hustlers built garden suburbs rather than complete Garden Cities. In many languages the term became confused in translation, and Howard's initial concept became muddled. In 1918 a few of Howard's cronies adopted the term New Town to correct the confusion between Garden City and garden suburb.

Based on our Urban America group observations, Ebenezer's Garden City cornucopia has borne many fruitful varieties of New Towns and planned communities throughout Europe.

I believe that we will see, in our lifetime, New Towns in every American state. We will also see the introduction and use by the American labor and industrial market of Europe's most automated industrialized building systems. The current need for industrialized building systems, due to our labor shortage, is illustrated by these figures: The U. S. construction labor pool consists of less than 3 million workers; ten percent of this pool is decimated each year due to retirement, job change, or death ... during 1966 ... 282,000 craftsmen were lost. In that same year of 1966, only 16,000 workers were replaced by apprenticeship programs.

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CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS

file

July 31, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was good to receive your note of June 27. Since that time we have gone through the NEA Convention and are now getting ready for a conference each month through January.

We missed you the last day in Paris, and there were truly some interesting things being done in housing. This week is a rush because next week I am going to Hawaii for two weeks for a real vacation. I hope all the things that you had to do by returning early from the Urban-America Trip turned out well. We'll be looking for you when you next come to the nation's capital.

Sincerely,

Bernice

Bernice C. Brigham
Administrative Associate

BCB:gl

NEA DuSHANE FUND FOR TEACHER RIGHTS

Urban America's 1969 Spring Tour of Europe's New Towns

Conducted in Cooperation with Air-India and Air France

La De Da

URBAN AMERICA'S 1969 NEW TOWNS

STUDY TOUR ITINERARY

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
1	SATURDAY MAY 24	NEW YORK/LONDON Arrive Air India Departure Office at John F. Kennedy International Airport, for check-in at 7:00 PM, New York time. After check-in, take elevator up one floor to Maharaja Lounge for "Get Acquainted" Session I. Depart on Flight AI/112 at 8:30 PM for London. Dinner served enroute. (Choice of Continental or Indian Curry Dinner.)	MAY 31
2	SUNDAY MAY 25	LONDON Upon arrival at London's Heathrow Airport at 8:10 AM, London time. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Hotel Shaftesbury and Hotel Eccleston for check-in and rest. This afternoon at 3:00 PM we will be taken on a sightseeing tour which will include: Westminster Abbey -- built by Edward the Confessor in 1066, where virtually every monarch has been crowned; the adjacent Houses of Parliament, Clock Tower of Big Ben, Buckingham Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral -- with its matchless view of London, where the Crown jewels are kept, and Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus. Dinner and "Get Acquainted" Session II at 6:00 PM at Hotel. Optional Film: "Traffic in Towns" - The Buchanan Report.	JUNE 1
3	MONDAY MAY 26	LONDON Depart 9:30 AM for Welwyn Garden City. Continue to Harlow for luncheon at Saxon Inn. Afternoon Tour of Harlow. Return to Hotel at 4:30 PM. Dinner on your own. Tickets for London Theaters available. (optional).	JUNE 2

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
4	TUESDAY MAY 27	LONDON Depart Hotel 9:00 AM for tour of Stevenage. Lunch at Stevenage. Return for 3:00 PM Meeting Greater London Council, County Hall. Forum on New Towns at 5:30 PM at Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 3
5	WEDNESDAY MAY 28	LONDON/STOCKHOLM We will depart from our hotel at 9:00 AM to London Airport for departure on BE/758 at 11:10 AM. Morning shopping at Duty Free Shop. Arrive 1:20 PM in Stockholm. We will be met at Arlanda Airport and taken on a tour of Taby and Kungshamra. Later we will have a general sightseeing tour including Milles Garden, and will visit Vallingby. We will then be taken to our hotels: Hotel Bromma and Hotel Triangeln. Reception and dinner for Swedish planning, housing and architecture guests at Sjofarshotellet. Optional: Films on Swedish Society and Housing, "Place to Live" and Quiet Revolution."	JUNE 4
6	THURSDAY MAY 29	STOCKHOLM Depart 9:00 AM for Orientation on Stockholm City and Regional plan. Luncheon at Farsta. Afternoon tour of Farsta and Skarholmen. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 5
7	FRIDAY MAY 30	STOCKHOLM/HELSINKI Morning open for shopping or optional tour to Orminge Boo for visit to industrialized housing development under construction using Skarne System. We will be escorted to the pier for departure by ship at 1:00 PM for Helsinki. Afternoon critique session on experiences in London and Stockholm. Dinner party enroute to Helsinki.	JUNE 6

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
8	SATURDAY MAY 31	HELSINKI Arrive Helsinki at 9:00 AM and depart for Tapiola upon arrival for initial briefing and film on Tapiola. Luncheon (on your own) at the Linnunrata in Tapiola. After lunch contine tour of Tapiola and visit Espoo Bay. Return to Helsinki for check-in at Hotel Olympia at 4:30 PM. 6:00 PM Reception and Dinner for Finnish Government Officials, Planners, Architects and Economists at Hotel. Optional Film: "Housing and Nature".	JUNE 7
9	SUNDAY JUNE 1	HELSINKI Morning open for individual activities. Luncheon at the Hotel. At 2:00 PM this afternoon you are scheduled to tour Helsinki and its environs. Its contemporary buildings have earned it the title "White City of the North" in contrast with the original neo-classic town founded in 1550. You will visit the impressive Parliament Building, the Mannerheim Museum, Olympic Stadium Tower, Lauttassaari Church and Ootanami, the Finnish Technical Institute. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 8
10	MONDAY JUNE 2	HELSINKI/LENINGRAD Depart 9:00 AM for City Office Building and presentation on new plan for Center City Helsinki. Remainder of morning open for shopping. We will depart Hotel at 1:00 PM for airport departure of Finnair flight AY/112 at 2:10 PM, arriving Leningrad at 4:30 PM. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Intourist first class hotel. (Note: Three meals per day while in USSR included in tour cost.) Dinner and orientation with Soviet Hosts.	JUNE 9

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
11	TUESDAY JUNE 3	LENINGRAD/MOSCOW A morning tour of this cultural and intellectual center of the Soviet Union will take us to St. Isaac's Cathedral built in the Imperial style with a massive copula and golden dome; Smolny Palace, headquarters of the Revolution and now the city's Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; the Hermitage Museum occupying the Winter Palace of the czars and several connecting palaces. After an early lunch, there will be a presentation by Leningrad officials on the general plan for community development in Leningrad. We will be escorted to the airport for departure on Aeroflot flight SU/1146 at 4:50 PM, arriving Moscow at 6:05 PM. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Intourist first class hotel. Dinner at Hotel.	JUNE 10
12	WEDNESDAY JUNE 4	MOSCOW Your morning tour, departing at 9:00 AM, of the Soviet Union's capital and largest city -- Moscow -- will take you past historical monuments and the Bolshoi Theater (accommodating 4000 persons) built in the 19th century as a great opera house and today used for the performing arts. Then along the exterior of the Kremlin -- a magnificent arrangement of palaces and churches surrounded by turreted medieval walls, over the cobble-stoned Red Square with its gingerbread style. St. Basil's Cathedral and Museum. Luncheon at Hotel. Afternoon presentation on Moscow Regional Plan, and briefing by officials of Moscow Construction Trust. Visit to Satellite Towns (Goroda-Sputniki) of Mytichichi and Lyubertsy. Evening Optional: Bolshoi Theater. (Not included in tour cost.)	JUNE 11
13	THURSDAY JUNE 5	MOSCOW/PARIS Today's morning program will include: The Klinin Prospect project with New Conoko Building and other high rises which are good examples of new Soviet Industrial Technology, a look at a component-parts plant, and the new Palace of Congress of Soviets.	JUNE 12

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
13	THURSDAY JUNE 5 (Cont.)	MOSCOW/PARIS Luncheon at Hotel. Afternoon program, optional tour or open for shopping. Tour will take you within the walls of the Kremlin -- the fortress from which the city sprang. Among the palaces and churches within the walls are the Orushezhnaya Palace; Mary of the Annunciation Cathedral with its 9 cupolas; and the Cathedral of the Archangel in which there are tombs of czars and princes. Of interest also are Ivan the Great's Belfry; the Czar Bell, the largest bell in the world weighing 180 tons and which has never been rung; and the Czar Cannon which has never fired one of its 4000 cannon balls. From the Kremlin you go to the Lenin Mausoluem and GUM -- the government department store that looks liks a railroad terminal from the outside -- for shopping. We will depart for Moscow Airport at 4:30 PM for departure on Air France flight AF/725 at 5:40 PM, arriving Paris at 8:55 PM. We will be met at the airport and escorted to Hotel Regina and Hotel du Louvre for check-in.	JUNE 12 [redacted]
14	FRIDAY JUNE 6	PARIS Depart at 9:00 PM for morning meeting with officials of the Ministere de l'Equipement et du Logement and a visit to Paris projects including Montparnasse, La Defense and the 12 Arrondisement Renewal "Pleasance". Lunch at Hotel. Afternoon open for shopping or optional tour at 2:30 PM. During afternoon tour we will visit the Place de la Concorde, a huge square conceived by Louis XV and leading from it, the Champs Elysees, the beautiful avenue that is France's triumphal way; the Arc de Triomphe with the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; Notre Dame; Sanite-Chapelle; the Eifel Tower which soars 1000 feet above Paris. Built in 1889 to commemorate the Revolution, it has become the city's symbol. Also of interest are the lavish and ornate Opera; the Rue Rivoli, and the Rue de la Paix. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 13

DAY	TOUR 1		TOUR 2
15	SATURDAY JUNE 7	PARIS Morning tour to new towns of Cergy-Pointoise and Sarcelles. Luncheon at Hotel. Afternoon optional tour of Evry-Tigery and Massy-Antony or open for shopping. Dinner on your own.	JUNE 14
16	SUNDAY JUNE 8	PARIS/NEW YORK Morning open for individual activities. Depart Air France flight SF/077 at 1:00 PM, arriving J.F.K. International Airport at 3:00 PM New York time. (Luncheon served enroute).	JUNE 15

TOUR CONDITIONS

I. Tour Price Includes:

A. TRANSPORTATION: Trans-Atlantic jet coach via AIR INDIA (outbound), AIR FRANCE (retur and IATA participating carriers in Europe. First class cabins on steamer Stockholm/ Helsinki.

B. HOTELS AND MEALS: Twin bedrooms with private baths in hotels as listed in Itinerary or comparable space. Single accommodations if available $100 additional. Breakfast (continental style) and either luncheon or dinner, table d'hotel are included. (Three meals per day in U.S.S.R.)

C. TRANSFERS AND SIGHTSEEING: Assistance in transfers from Airport and piers to hotel and vice versa, including porterage (bellman inside hotels cannot be prepaid). Sightseeing by motor coach with qualified English speaking guides; and entrance fees.

D. TIPS AND TAXES: Service charges (in lieu of tips) and taxes are included. (Personal gratuties are not included).

II. Not Included In Tour Price:

Airport taxes where levied (estimated at $10.00); U.S.S.R. Visa cost ($6.00). Meals not noted above; excess baggage (collected when baggage exceeds 44 pounds per person); U.S.A. passport fee ($10.00) and items of strictly personal nature - e.g. after dinner wines, liquers, mineral waters, etc., and any items not specifically mentioned as included.

III. Responsibility

Travel Wholesalers International, Inc. and/or Urban America, act only as agents for the transportation companies, hotels and other suppliers of services; tickets and exchange vouchers are issued subject to the terms and conditions under which such accommodations, services and transportation are offered or provided; and they are not liable for any injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or other irregularity which may be caused by the defect of any vehicle or the negligence or default of any company or person engaged in carring you or performing any of the services involved. All services and accommodations are subject to the laws of the country in which they are provided.

URBAN AMERICA'S 1969 NEW TOWNS

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This guy now on staff of S.W. Council of La Raza. The most able man I have met on such things as self-help housing, coops, "village industry, etc. You should get to know him.

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Legal Personality and Political Pluralism. Edited by Leicester C. Webb. (Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi, 200. $5.50.)

Every political philosophy has its own logical dilemmas; none, however, has had inconsistencies more obvious or inescapable than had pluralism. Without repudiating the doctrine of sovereignty, the pluralists from Maitland to Laski sought to encircle Leviathan with a cordon sanitaire of groups, spontaneous and organic as Leviathan is artificial and deliberate. But in this, the Age of Reason has the better of its successor: sovereignty is indivisible, and once its name is pronounced nought exists but by its leave. Clarity of principle vanquished the pluralists' desire to embrace the natural complexity of social life; consequently, they did not succeed, and could never have succeeded, in giving their values, dissatisfactions, thoughts and wishes the coherence of a body of theory. Had this band of talented Englishmen rebelled against the legitimacy, and not the injustices, of the Austinian doctrine they might have been as impractical - and eternally useful - as were those philosophers who a century earlier dared against all the evidence to proclaim the imminence of enlightenment. As it is, these men were to remain critics, and there is no such corpus of thought as "pluralism", but only the criticisms of Maitland of the law of corporations; of Figgis of the legal situation of the church; of Cole of the laws of property; and of Laski of whatever challenged his excited brilliance.

And yet, the pluralists are always interesting. Indeed, I suspect that most of us read or re-read them with the sort of fondness that we reserve for the enormously gifted poet or novelist who has died before his great work is written. For they did know a great truth, and struggled hard though incompletely to tell us that sovereignty is an unchained monster, incompatible with collective happiness and individual fulfillment. If they never assaulted directly,

they at least lighted up the ugly contours of this most enormous and awful of men's creations.

L. C. Webb begins this collection of essays by Australian scholars with the suggestion that,

> Pluralism outlived the English pluralists because of the development in American political science of...analytical pluralism, which...is not, as was the English pluralism, the preoccupation of a distinctive school of political thought; it is rather the permanent enlargement of the scope of political science. /1

This is followed by D. P. Derham's examination of theories of legal personality, which, while irritatingly and somewhat preciously abstract will, nevertheless, reward the attentive reader by the sharpness of its conceptual dissection. Six subsequent articles treat of issues of corporate theory, the internal affairs of associations, trade unions and churches. These are, principally, glosses on English and Australian law. One is reminded again as he reads these that if American social scientists are incurably disposed to jargon, their counterparts in England and her cultural affiliates are afflicted as badly with the fetish of "plain talk." This spineless style sacrifices all - including the reader's interest - for lucidity and achieves only a scholastic minuet. Specialists in English constitutionalism may want to compare notes with these essayists; I doubt that they or others will find their comprehension of the problem of associations within the state either enlarged or deepened.

In the final essay, L. C. Webb resumes the thought he had laid down in his Introduction. His provocative analysis, using liberally the materials supplied

by contemporary American economic theory (especially, Galbraith) and political science (especially, Jenkin, Truman); leads to a bold hypothesis, one worthy of much reflective testing. The state in any era takes to itself the characteristics of the weakest order (religious, cultural, economic) within the contemporary society. "When confusion threatens a particular order, its affairs tend to pass into the sphere of political authority. ...The Church-State of the Reformation period, the nation State of the nineteenth century, and the State economy of the twentieth century all illustrate the tendency of the political function to take its predominant characteristics from the order which is currently in confusion."/2 Perhaps the totalitarian state signifies the decay or suppression of all orders; but is the hypothesis relevant to the democracies present posture, induced not by internal dissonance but by the rivalry of foreign powers?

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. pages vii - viii
2. page 197

A NON-REPRESENTATIONAL THEORY OF EXECUTIVE POWER

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A Paper Prepared for Presentation
at the Thirty-first Annual Meeting
of the Southern Political Science Association
November 5-7, 1959

A NON-REPRESENTATIONAL THEORY OF EXECUTIVE POWER

The title I have adopted has, let me say at the start, no particular meaning, or at least none of which I am aware. It appealed to me because of its negative form, which does signify fairly accurately the intention of my remarks. I wish to question what it is that executive power represents, in claim and in reality.

I happen to be one of the large number of persons who has never been able to get this concept of "representation" quite straight. It is a many-sided thing, and altogether so elusive that it sometimes seems like Mr. Lippmann's public, more phantom than real, more fiction than fact. This stubborn vagueness of the concept would not in itself be of great importance were it not for the fact that it enters into some of our most central political values. Unless the concept of representation is clear or can be clarified, it is, for example, essentially meaningless to speak of "representative government," The difficulty involved in giving clear definition to the notion of political representation is twofold: first, there is the problem of defining the "how", the means whereby one person or persons can act for or stand for others; and second, and if anything even more obscure, there is the problem of defining the "what," the persons or thing which is said to be represented, and this gets one into the vexing issue of sovereignty. If we say that we have representative government we imply that somewhere in the body politic there is a sovereign who is being represented.

And that - the search for sovereignty - raises logical issues of which political science has long since wearied. But not with full candor, for we retain certain ideas and attitudes which are valid only on the assumption that there is a real and ascertainable

sovereign will. Put it this way: if there is a sovereign, then executives and legislatures are justified by their appointment; their authority, deriving from the sovereign, is legitimate, and therefore their acts are legitimate. But if sovereignty is a fiction, then the acts of governments have to be justified by something other than the legal derivation of power.

Sovereignty, in idea, means the final power of decision and command, When we try to understand the processes by which decisions are made and controls exercised within political orders, we confront relationships and distinctions that shade off into each other and elude identification. This is true even of totalitarian regimes; when we turn to study democracies, the complexity is overpowering, especially if democracy is combined, as it is in all the great countries, with an industrial economy. The democratic mission was to establish the sovereignty of the people. Modern politics has not, however, husbanded the evolution of clear channels by which the people, or even the popular majority, can communicate its will to the government. On the contrary, after having weakened or destroyed old intermediaries which stood between the people and the government, democratic politics has replaced them with a morass composed of bureaucracies - both public and private -, special interests, communications media, and party organizations. This involuted mass of intermediaries forms at one and the same time both the bridle on governmental power and its insulation from popular influence. And in front of it, stands, as the freest of the unfree, the chief executive.

In approaching this figure of the chief executive, this flesh and blood organism who is the heart and the head of the gigantic administration of a modern state, we can take one of two quite different views. These two approaches to the understanding of the

office have not been clearly differentiated, are not explicit in our literature. I cannot set before you two well known and controverted points of view. Yet I believe they are real, and that they basically influence our judgments. If there are more attidues than theories, they are none the less decisive.

One point of view is to distinguish the executive from the legislative office in terms of what each represents; this is a very ancient practice. Polybius said that the consuls represented the monarchical principle; more recent writers have held that the executive represents the whole people, as a spokesman for the general will, while the legislature represents the parts of the nation, and speaks only for what Rousseau called the will of all. Of these latter day views there have been many variations and corrollaries. All of them yield a preoccupation with defining and defendin the rights and the jurisdiction of the executive on the one hand, and the legislature on the other. Moreover, depending on whether one is partial to the principle or the constituency which the executive is thought to represent, or partial to that of the legislature, one champions either the executive or the legislature. In our day, this has typically meant that so-called liberals favor the executive, and so-called conservatives favor the legislature.

The second point of view, while not denying the representative quality of the executive, regards it as largely immaterial and irrelevant. This viewpoint might be illustrated by reference to John Locke. Nowhere in chapters 12-14 of the Second Treatise does he have anything to say about the source from which the executive derives his power; nowhere does Locke state or imply that the executive represents anything or anybody. He is merely an officer needed to do a job, and generously equipped with powers to do it.

Because this point of view permits us to approach the question of executive power without sentiment or ideology, it helps us to surmount the old and sterile argument over the extent of legislative and executive ~~point of view~~ powers.

There are, it seems to me, only three principal senses in which a person or persons may be said to represent others. A first is that of agency: a person represents others by carrying out their instructions. We know empirically that this sort of representation is seldom encountered in the politics of large countries. When it is, the usual case is that of an official acting under the covert orders of an outside interest group, and this is rightfully regarded as intolerable representation. We know that both American and French constitutions are so contrived that there are really no channels by which the people could instruct the government. There is an English constitutional theory, not wholly accepted, that would limit the law-making freedom of the government to those projects proposed in the majority party's platform at the last election. To the extent that this principle is accepted in practice, and it is considerable, a British Cabinet could be regarded as the agent of the electorate. More exactly, however, the analogy would seem to be with a contractor, delivering the wares for which he has been paid after competitive bid, and not with an agent receiving instruction.

Before leaving this aspect of representation, two points ought to bebriefly noted. To whatever extent a constitution makes possible the ratification of a program by the electorate, the power of the executive within the government will tend to be enhanced, and this has been the result in Great Britain. When the popular will can be expressed with accepted authenticity, the deliberations of a legislature become superfluous. Secondly, in a democracy the electorate

is more frequently in favor of action than of restraint, and a government which serves as the people's agent is likely to grow in functions and power.

A second sense of representation is that of trustee: one who acts in behalf of another's interests. This is undoubtedly the meaning which most political scientists would give to the representative ideal and I would agree that it is the most attractive. It is also, of course, the basis on which de Gaulle, at one extreme, or Khruschev, at another extreme, claims to be a true representative. Neither claim can be defended or denied unless we take the step which Professor Friedrich does, and say that representative government is synonymous with responsible government, i.e., government answerable to the electorate for its record.

In this limited sense, I will agree that executive power is representative of the electorate; that is to say, that the executive, in a properly constituted democracy, is answerable to the electorate for his record. It does not follow that he is responsive to the will or the interests of the people in what he does. He is far more the creator of the peoples' will and the definer of its interests than he is the trustee administering the <u>res publica</u>, and it is as such that he should be equipped for his duties, and forestalled from over ambition.

Bertrand de Jouvenel's book <u>On Power</u> (1) is one of those treatises which has to be respected despite the author's best efforts to keep it unread. De Jouvenel, in this book, exaggerates unconscionably; he writes with finicky abstraction; he pretends to authority in areas of history which he obviously knows hardly at all; he displays a sickly, sentimental fondness for idealized past epochs. Yet the book cannot be disregarded.

He is, for instance, indubitably correct in agreeing with Rousseau that sovereignty cannot be represented, and that this is because there is an essential duality in the nature of political power. The holders of power, to put it simply, serve not only the interests of the people but of themselves and of their office. But, political power does ~~not~~ serve the people. It has social utility, it is, in de Jouvenel's phrase, "the repository of men's hopes." In ministering to those hopes, governmental power grows. De Jouvenel calls the state a "permanent revolution" because in its growth cycle, it is ceaselessly transferring the power to make decisions from private hands to its own. Whether one approves or disapproves of this process, it would seem to me that one cannot deny it, nor deny that, except for temporary periods of readjustment, the growth of governmental power has enlarged the relative power of the executive and the bureaucracy he superintends.

I have no objection to the statement that government should, as a good trustee, promote the interests of those who are governed; indeed, what else, since the time of Aristotle, has been regarded as the criterion of a good government? And if one wishes to label this, "Representative government" (instead of using Aristotles simple term, "True government"), well and good, But I would suggest that the use of the tag, "representative," does breed some troublesome and objectionable adaptations.

For example, it is frequently said that the executive stands (or ought to stand) above parties and interests, and represent the whole people. Whatever semblance of intelligibility the image of a "patriot king" may have had in Bolingbroke's time, I think political scientists would agree with me in regarding the dream as dead. If Charles de Gaulle may breathe new life into it, that is

less a reason for revising our opinions, than it is further documentation of the General's phenomenal nature; and that, I hasten to add, is said not in derision but out of admiration.

There is an endemic tendency to exalt the executive as the representative in whom the nation finds its unity and from whom it receives its spirit. Even political scientists have shown themselves not immune from infatuation with executive power, and some of them have participated in the deliberate effort to envelop the chief executive in mystique. Cicero knew what he was about when he said that monarchy was based primarily on affection, and Sebastian de Grazia in our time has shown, it seems to me convincingly, the dimensions of our sub-rational dependence on the presence of a charismatic chief.(2) I do not choose to argue with the psyche. Nor do I think political science need go to its aid, when it seems to have strength enough itself. We are, after all, called "scientists," and not, as some recent writings about the American Presidency would suggest that we should be called, "epic" poets." Not to prolong this parenthesis unnecessarily, but I think that one of Rousseau's theories gives us a good insight into our habit of venerating the executive. You will recall that in the Emile he defines freedom as the avoidance of domination by other men; the individual is psychologically capable of adapting himself to the authority of nature, but not of other men. Perhaps this is how it is: legislators we regard as men like ourselves, and so we resent their pretenses at power over us; but the executive! - he is an elemental force, in whose power we can take comfort.

Another assertion, common among political scientists, is that the executive represents a truly national constituency, whereas the legislators represent particular, local constituencies. At the best,

this is only a descriptive statement about the American Presidency. I suggest to you further that its truth is not because of any qualities inherent in the Presidency, but because of inequitable congressional districting and the oligarchical organization of Congress.

The statement has, in other words, no theoretical merit and it seems to me important to have this clear. There are probably few doctrines more potentially dangerous to parliamentary government than the claim by a chief executive that he is the true representative of the people, to whom the legislature must therefore defer.

Certainly the proposition has no applicability to the United Kingdom. On the whole, it has little or none to the German Federal Republic. Certainly it was not true of France during the Third or Fourth Republic. What truth it may have in the Fifth Republic is still to be revealed. No one as yet can do more than imagine what, after de Gaulle, will be the relationship between President and Premier, and between executive and legislative authorities.

How, incidentally, shall we understand this tandem executive created by the Fifth Republic? As long as the overwhelming figure of de Gaulle remains active we shall, I suppose, gain little insight into its institutional stability and efficiency. Or is it possible that the final achievement of de Gaulle will be to give, by the force of his example, an enduring character to the office of President? For the present, one has no instructive parallels. Perhaps the most suggestive precedent is George III, and his successive First Ministers.

I have discussed two senses of the concept of representation: that of agent and that of trustee. There is a third which is representation in the sense of being like others. It was in this sense that Hitler claimed to represent the German nation: he was the

Volk, so like it that what it felt, he felt, what it valued, he valued. There is more than a little of this self-idenfification with the nation in the status of de Gaulle, and indeed, probably in some measure with every successful political leader. As such, it needs to be feared only when there are not viable institutions to restrain it, and when there are not sufficient skeptics to moderate it.

The last fifteen or so pages of de Jouvenel's On Power achieve a tone unlike the strident one of the rest of the book. They are anticipatory instead of his subsequent treatise, Sovereignty (3) an essay which seems to me to pose the most basic challenge yet issued to modern political science. What de Jouvenel does is to lift political science from its preoccupation with the sources of power, and to redirect it to the study of the content of policy. We have been absorbed in charting the genesis and flow of power. De Jouvenel insists that we should be more interested in the uses of power. This is, after all, not a fantastic suggestion; in the field of international relations political scientists have been doing this right along. De Jouvenel elaborates criteria by which the work of governments can be judged; undoubtedly, these can be improved by refinement, though I for one would not dissent from his fundamental principle, that the function of government is "to increase the mutual trust prevailing at the heart of the social whole." (4)

In the course of his discussion, de Jouvenel establishes two points, one regarding the nature of executive power, and the other regarding its exercise, and with these two propositions I shall conclude.

To de Jouvenel, the king-in-parliament is the epitome of all successful rule. (5) I think he is right. In exceptionable periods,

the executive may grow by detachment from parliament. De Jouvenel shows by historical illustration and by analysis that the executive requires the support of a council, and that he will not get the requisite support unless the council is composed of persons of acknowledged authority, to whom he must occasionally defer and always attend. I believe it is not far-fetched to suggest that this requirement asserts itself in time even in dictatorial regimes. The executive is never so strong or so effective as he is when he is the leader of the legislature. Conversely, the only realistic curb to an over-powerful executive is the participation by the legislature in his authority. Obviously, I am suggesting that a mature government should develop away from a strict separation of powers, and toward a condition where, to paraphrase de Jouvenel, (6) the legislature acts as a filter to the executive's authority, so that in fact he only acts as chief executive in acting through it. This is approximately the situation of the British constitution; to imitate it is neither possible nor desirable. But to look, in other constitutions, for ways of linking more closely in responsibility the two great organs of government, is good sense.

In the exercise of executive power, we see with final clarity that it is not its representative quality which counts, but its wisdom. De Jouvenel remarks,

> In the winter of 1950-51 President Truman, against the wishes of a sector of opinion, decided to send four troop divisions to Europe. This sector was opposed to the substance of the decision (its 'what'); its tactic was to agitate the question whether the President had the power to do such a thing (a question of the 'who'). A curious coincidence, is it not, that everyone who condemned the decision also considered that it exceeded the competence of the President, whereas nobody who approved it took this view of the constitution? (7)

And so it goes. The business of government is to govern well. I have tried to make clear, in this non-representational comment on executive power, that the effectiveness of a constitutional structure is to be measured not by how well it recognizes claims of executive and legislature to represent the people, but by how well the constitution provides an opportunity for good policy to become law. If this is so, then there can be no issue of politics more important than the one which Plato regarded as the central issue: i.e., the question of how and by what standards to select those who govern. I think we owe thanks to Professor Peter Bachrach for his article in the September 19 issue of the Nation, wherein he describes and attacks the conservatism of contemporary political science. It is not a Burkean conservatism that Mr. Bachrach deplores, but the conservatism which has forgotten how to criticize and reform, and which explains and rationalizes whatever is. Do pressure groups lock their ethically numbing tethers on the governmental corpus? Explain it and justify it as political pluralism. Do we nominate and elect our President by an inane, almost indecent, orgiastic process? Devise a metaphysics of democratic consensus to prove that it is the best of all possible ways to choose a responsible leader. A sober valuation of the crucial importance of executive leadership ought to convince us that there is something better than this for political science to do.

Leslie W. Dunbar

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1. New York, 1949. Translated by J. F. Huntington
2. The Political Community, Chicago, 1950.
3. Chicago, 1957. Translated by J. F. Huntington.
4. Ibid., p. 123.
5. Ibid., pp. 175-180.
6. Ibid., p. 207.
7. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

EXCELLENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF HIGHER EDUCATION*

I am flattered to be here, invited by you to speak on the awesome subject: Excellence in the Affairs of Higher Education. I must confess, though, that I am not used to having so many presidents and deans as a captive audience; my more usual experience, where presidents and deans are concerned, has been as a part of the audience--sometimes, I am afraid, a "captive" part. But I take comfort in the fact that there are among you a few just plain professors; they will know what I am going through. I have always enjoyed a comment which I heard William Anderson, now Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, make some years ago. "I don't," said the white haired old gentleman, "look up to deans. I don't look down on deans. I just look at 'em." And if the good deans who are here today will pardon me for telling that story, I will add that it seems to me to express perfectly the ideal that all of us involved in the civil rights struggle are dedicated to: the great, democratic demand that each man "count as one and no man as more than one." The theme of this meeting is a fitting reminder that all of us have an obligation, as well as a right, to pursue to the full that excellence which is within us.

In one of the articles in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences you will find it said that three men more than any others have shaped the American university: Andrew Dickson White, the first president of Cornell; Charles

* Luncheon address at the annual meeting of the Department of Higher Education of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, held at Savannah State College, April 8, 1960.

Eliot, Harvard's president from 1869 - 1909; and Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of the Johns Hopkins. Each of these imparted to our universities one of their characteristic features. White built a university on the principle that it should teach every department of knowledge; and at Cornell today you will indeed find everything, or almost, from the distinguished Susan Linn Sage School of Philosophy to the Statler School of Hotel Administration. Other American universities have emulated this catholic approach. Eliot at Harvard decided that not only should a university teach <u>everything</u>, but a student had the right to study <u>anything</u>; so he introduced the elective system. And Gilman built the Johns Hopkins on the belief that the most important part of the university was its graduate school, and the education of undergraduates was of secondary value; this too remains a basic principle, if not widely admitted, of the American university.

I believe a new evaluation would have to add, as the fourth sculptor of American universities, the name of Robert Hutchins, who in a stormy career at the University of Chicago managed to criticize each of our three founding principles, and to force some modification of each. Against the Cornell idea, Hutchins insisted that some subjects belonged to culture and some to trade schools. He attacked the elective system, because he believed that educators had a responsibility to decide what adolescents ought to study. And against the John Hopkins principle, which held that research and not teaching was the first business of a university, Hutchins established in his own faculty rewards and positions of high status for the great teachers, as well as the great researchers.

Hutchins' criticisms have--and I think this is clearly so--been effective, and have altered our theory and practice of higher education. So if I may draw from all this, I would say that we now conceive of excellence in

higher education to mean these things:

- a school that is discriminating (I did not say "discriminatory") in what it teaches, avoiding both the stagnation of a hide-bound curriculum and the temptation to forget the difference between liberal and vocational education;
- a school that has its own well-considered view of what constitutes an educated man or woman, and the courage to require each of its students to study, not what he wants to study, but what the faculty in its judgment thinks he ought to study in order to fill his responsibilities as one of the educated men of his society;
- a school that rejoices whenever, through the grace of God, good scholars or good teachers come its way, and which gives them all honor.

(Parenthetically, let me say that I think we all have heard and read enough on the question of which is more "important," teaching or research. I give you my personal observation, for what it is worth: although I have known some great scholars who were horrible teachers, especially of undergraduates, I have never known a good teacher who was not also an acceptable scholar, continuously engaged in his own studies. I do not believe it is possible for a man to teach well unless he is unceasingly sharpening the edge of his mind, not only by "keeping up with his field," but by helping it to push a bit ahead through his own research.)

These principles of excellence we need to keep clear and bright in our gaze as we contemplate the practical problem facing our colleges and universities. For, as you all know, it is precisely the sort of problem which will tempt the schools to forget excellence. Put quite simply, the problem is one of an increasing horde of students to be accommodated by inadequate facilities and under-manned faculties. And yet - glory be! - there is at the same

time and throughout the land a preoccupation with quality education such as the memory of man cannot recall.

During the next few years - right now, in fact - American colleges and universities will be competing among themselves for good faculty, and good young instructors and assistant professors in particular. Ph.D. requirements have been tightened. The young Ph. D.'s coming out now and in the next few years will be, even more than we of the 40's and 50's, trained to the appreciation of research. They will look for a campus where there are opportunities to carry on research; where there is an atmosphere encouraging to scholarship; where fruitful scholarship is rewarded and honored.

* * *

Now, what has this to do with Negro colleges and universities? In the first place, of course, "Negro" institutions shouldn't be, anymore than "white" institutions should be. In the second place, whatever should be the case, "Negro" colleges and universities do exist and are likely to continue for some time, for three reasons: the endurance of prejudice; the unavoidable slowness of any transition; the institutional inertia which, within the Negro campuses themselves, will impede any change. In the third place, though "Negro" schools will continue for a time, they will do so not against a background of massive segregation but against a background of fairly rapid desegregation of schools of higher education in the South as well as the North. With these facts in mind, I want to call your attention to three statements which I have seen in my recent reading.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, is authority for the statement that only two of the Negro private institutions - Howard and Atlanta - are properly "universities." Dr. Wright went on to say:

> The Negro private college can no longer be expected to carry the major burden of the higher education of Negroes. It does not now have,

nor can it expect in the future to have, the resources for this enormous task. If it is to survive, it must be selective both as to its program and especially as to its students. It must make quality its watchword. In brief, this college must offer higher education which is adequate for the years ahead and should do so on a completely integrated basis. This means that the objectives of this institution must increasingly be those of comparable American colleges, i.e., comparable with respect to size and general character. The practices, programs and evaluation procedures must also be those of the best smaller American colleges. Unless the Negro private college is developed on this philosophy, it is not likely to survive.

Such an institution, operating in the Southern region, on an integrated basis, could be of incalculable value to the nation. It would doubtless be among the very few truly liberal institutions of the region, particularly in matters relating to the problems of race - problems with which so much of the world is now concerned.

There appears to be little basis for assuming that these institutions will or can be other than primarily liberal arts and teacher education. /1

Dr. Wright added, "There is little if any hope that all can survive as first-rate American colleges." To which I would add that there is, unfortunately, room for second rate schools, but little need.

I think Dr. Wright is altogether correct. If I may abstract his conclusion it goes like this:

a. The future of the Negro college is to develop as a sound liberal arts college, for which, in this country, the models would be places like Amherst (men), Swarthmore (coed), Bryn Mawr (women). The quality of such schools is not likely to be equalled but should never be ignored; it is all right to work in the shadows, but only if one chooses big shadows, and keeps looking up.

b. More than any other region of the country, the South sorely needs <u>good</u> liberal arts colleges.

c. The Negro colleges should direct their policies toward attracting an integrated faculty and student body.

In short, the Negro college which can fit itself for general service to scholarship and teaching will be the proof that integration is not only a moral imperative but a practical value.

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1. "The Future of the Negro Private College: Philosophy and Program," <u>The Journal of Negro Education</u>, Summer, 1958, pp. 408, 412-413.

Another statement which I want to mention is one which, apparently, brought down a great deal of criticism on its author's head. Mr. B. L. Hunton, a school official in the District of Columbia and himself a Negro, was quoted by the press in March of this year as saying that only four Negro colleges - he named them, I shall not - had special programs for superior students; he said further that if the others could not provide honors work for their top students they should either (a) pool faculties and facilities through consolidations; (b) become junior colleges; or (c) close their doors. I am not in a position to know whether Mr. Hunton's appraisal of the colleges was or was not accurate. I shall only say that it seems to me the point is beyond argument, that a true college must be equipped and prepared to serve the needs and develop the potential of the exceptional, as well as the average, student.

There is no compromising with quality, and when we attempt it we throw away something of our educators' conscience - and what we have to begin with isn't inexhaustible. There are good colleges, - and there are finishing schools. Some youngsters cannot benefit from college (or give benefit to a college), and do need a finishing school: but let's keep the two things clear and separate. For that matter, does anyone need four years of finishing school? Wouldn't two (junior college) be enough?

Every college exercising the privilege of conferring degrees upon its graduates must act as if its students had to have an education as deep and strict and rich as any students anywhere; as if the conditions of work for its faculty had to be as dignified[2] and accommodating as those anywhere. To quote Dr. Wright again, the Negro college "must make quality its watchword."

My third and final statement is one which drew much attention at its publication. It is the Wall Street Journal's report of July 15, 1959, head-

2. In fact, my observation is that the Negro community now generally accords more dignity to its scholars than white scholars typically receive.

lined, "Negro Colleges Train Too Many Teachers, Too Few Technicians." You know that complaint too well for me to recount it here. You know well, too, the historical, economic, and social reasons which have led to this over-training of teachers. You know better than I that other social and economic reasons now make both unnecessary and unwise the continuation of this old preoccupation.

* * *

A friend with a college-seeking son recently asked me which of two Southern universities I thought better; I told him. He asked me what it had that the other one hadn't, and I said I didn't know. But what it had had was something the other one never had been blessed with: a long period of exciting development under a liberal president. I doubt that any school is truly good until it has in its heritage at least one such iconoclastic, tradition shaking period, from the stimulus of which later, duller periods can feed. The times ahead for Negro colleges literally cry out for educational pioneers, who will lay new foundations for and by the "new Negro," of whom we hear so much. I hope your schools will be among those pioneers.

- Leslie W. Dunbar

Sent to
K. E. Boulding
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Nov. 21, 1960

L. W. Dunbar

SOUTHERN RACIAL CONFLICT:

The Way Out

Social scientists working in the field of racial relations are better advised to take their cue from the methods of the psychoanalyst rather than from the botanist, or mathematician, or chemist. A yet wiser method is to put their disciplined research at the service of their own cultural and historical involvement in the world-wide crisis of racial conflict. Social scientists will not discharge or fulfill their responsibilities by collecting and classifying data, or by abstracting problems from the imprecisions of concrete reality, or by observing rigorously controlled experiments. They will succeed best in learning and teaching something meaningful about race relations if they allow the problem to describe itself, dredging it up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, immersed in the moving currents of our cultural values, attitudes, and aspirations. It is precisely because W. J. Cash, being an extraordinarily perceptive man though of no science at all, wrote always from the inside of his problem, always with the sense of complete identity with the outcome of his story, that <u>The Mind of the South</u> has become the sociological classic it undoubtedly is.

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single

direction, have moved mountains." /1 In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern /2 race relations is that it is an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that determines the Negro's "place." All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem, are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority. /3

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1. Gunnar Myrdal, et. al., An American Dilemma, N.Y., 1944. p. 27

2. This article will be guilty of limiting its discussion to the South. This would be, as it always is, inexcusable in a discriptive or analytical study of what Myrdal properly called an American dilemma; my purpose is the more modest one of depicting a form in the taxonomy of social conflicts. There are, indeed, good grounds for believing that the real racial problem in the United States (i.e. the one which most affects the general safety and convenience) is that of assimilating colored peoples into the order of our metropolitan centers, north and south. From this point of view, the utilitarian urgency of the peculiarly southern problem is to get it behind us, so that our intelligence and energies can be addressed to the urban crisis.

3. Myrdal, op. cit., p. li.

This analysis was, I believe, undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1940 period; it is no longer so. Beginning at about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's was governed by the objective, How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population. The objective that determines the policies of the white leadership[4] is now changed, just as it was during Reconstruction, and just as then it was not revised by the wishes of the white leaders, but by men and forces exceeding their control. The aim is not now to obtain satisfaction, of any degree. Instead, it is, How to maintain white control of the institutions of southern society. To put it differently, Negores are not now regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a change of status.

The old policy--of using Negroes for the maximum satisfaction of white leaders--found application in all the institutions and practices of southern society. In economic life, it led to the gradual definition of "Negro jobs" and white jobs, and from that evolved a myriad of principles governing the economic relations between individual members of the two races. In politics, policy

4. Reference is to the dominant leadership since about 1954; there are important divergencies in the leadership, which will be discussed below.

dictated that Negro voting and office holding should be suppressed. This continued to be the practice long after Reconstruction was ended, and represented more than a fear that Negroes might again challenge white control. For what happened was that southern politicians adapted themselves and the organizations which they led to a well-understood pattern of competition for votes and of distribution of the spoils of office. The pattern became familiar, something the politicians took for granted and planned their careers around. Were the Negroes to vote the pattern would change, new tactics and appeals would have to be learned--in short a whole new ball game with new rules for winning would be set up. (This has already become a reality in the municipal politics of Atlanta and several other southern cities.) Furthermore, the southern politician was able to enjoy for decades the greatest bliss of the politician, i. e. the freedom to evade issues. He had only to yell "nigger" more loudly than his opponent, and in the ensuing excitement his constituents forgot about taxes, schools, roads, foreign policy, and all the other concerns of government. As James McBride Dabbs has put it,

> The race issue is central to their [southern politicians] existence, for it keeps the South solid and they are the politicians of the Solid South. If it should be resolved, the political forces of the South would realign themselves with the political forces of the nation, eyes alert to economic and other interests. Low income groups, white and Negro, would tend to align themselves with similar groups elsewhere, high income groups do likewise. This would destroy the livelihood of the typical Southern politician. He would have to become nationally cognizant and intelligent, and he might starve before he could do so. ...He may have forgotten most of his race prejudice, but he knows very well, deep down, which side his political bread is buttered on. /5

5. The Southern Heritage, N.Y., 1958. pp. 115-116.

Finally, the policy of maximum satisfaction was applied to all social relations. This meant, in part, that Negroes were to be used as servants or attendants for the flattery of white esteem or the easing of white people's domestic labors. It meant that they were to serve as the objects of white charity and philanthropy, and that the whites would satisfy their moral urgings by "doing for" their Negroes. (Parenthetically, let me state that I would not make this last comment to a lay audience. The supply of human kindness is not so great that any of its manifestations can be rejected. I am not denying the reality or sincerity of the many fine and decent relationships which grew up between southern whites and Negroes. I am only saying what I think is true, that these relationships were 1) a source of satisfaction to the whites; 2) were not believed to threaten white social superiority.)

In the change of policy, from one of "maximum satisfaction" to one of struggle for continued control, the southern racial conflict establishes its kinship with those colonial areas of Africa and Asia, where old relationships of superior and inferior are in change. The causes of this epidemic upheaval are beyond the scope of this paper; it is worth noting, however, that there are certain secular trends common, in generalized terms, to the South and to those old colonial areas. The South's economy is becoming primarily industrial; a similar, though much less advanced, transfer of labor and capital to industry is occurring

in the underdeveloped countries.[16] There is, also, the same exposure to the communications media of the world's great cities.

This latter point has, however, a double-edge. Both the South and the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia are burdened with a peculiarly treacherous distinction, which can be seen by contrasting their situation with that of the Latin-American nations. All of these areas are outside the center of communication, they are all "provincial," and they feel that to be the case to the extent that, though they may resent it, they do not dispute it. But at the same time, the South and the eastern hemisphere's underdeveloped regions are, unlike most of Latin-America, provinces in the glare of world attention. This is a difficult position: for a people to feel itself provincial induces attitudes of detachment and insularity; for that same people to know itself to be the butt of world concern induces responses which may range from childish attention-grabbing to excessive deference to outside opinion. To people in this ambiguous role, the most difficult of all alternatives is to act with un-selfconscious responsibility. But although this is as true of the South as anywhere, the South does differ from the African and Asian countries, in all of which there seem to

6. Perhaps a more accurate phrasing would be, that the South and the so-called underdeveloped countries are being integrated more closely into larger industrial systems. Too little reflection has been given to the endurance of the South's racial customs despite what is, after all, a relatively well-developed industrial economy; social practices which originated in an agricultural society managed for long to adapt to industrialization without much difficulty. If the South has only now reached a level of industrialism where the customs begin to crack, that fact might foretell a long life still for some of the mores of the underdeveloped nations.

be at least some elements who habitually defer to the makers of world opinion, in either their western or eastern capitals. So far as I have been able to observe, there are really no important segments of southern society, either white or Negro, who shape their actions by reference to what they think outside opinions would approve.[7]

In another, and more crucial, respect the South differs from the African-Asian group. What the difference means as to the prospects for smooth change of social conventions I am, frankly, not sure. In reference to world alignments, the political power of the African-Asian nations is increasing. In reference to alignments here in the United States, the political power of the South is decreasing. (There was, it may be recalled, a time prior to 1865 when the South had, or thought it had, independent power to act in world politics.)

These are, then, the props which dominate the stage on which the climax of the second period of southern racial conflict, which began in 1876, is now being acted out: steady industrial growth with concomitant shrinkage of the agricultural interest; rapid urbanization; sustained outside attention, in a world characterized by pervasive concern for other people's affairs; attentuated political influence in national politics.

7. cf. H. R. Isaacs, "World Affairs and U. S. Race Relations: A Note on Little Rock," Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1958.

If, as was proposed above, initiative in racial relations has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma--intellectual, emotional, political--of the Negro has always been the problem of identity. A man's valuation of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. The Negro has had the same need and means to identify himself as has anyone, and yet because of his history and his color he has for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever he has inquired of his society, "Who am I?"

With some notable variations, Negroes have adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait in terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negro southerners, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in favor of the more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgment of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to his question, "Who am I?" was far from clear. The Christianity he had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into his consciousness.

His white neighbor behaved toward him with contradictory policy and manner, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, he was accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those he regarded as friends, and displaced the actual person they knew--or thought they knew. Some of these stereotypes, and the way in which present-day Negroes react to them, can be generalized.

There is the stereotype of the violence-prone, lustful creature --the "rapist"--against whose attack all society must be on guard. No stereotype is more hated by middle-class Negroes. Confronted by high Negro crime rates, and finding no clear defense against the canard in the undeveloped condition of crime causation theory, they have little recourse. To assume a sort of community responsibility for the control of Negro crime would, although urged by some leaders,[8] run counter to other attitudes which, as will be remarked below, are prevalent among middle-class Negroes. For educated Negroes to accept a group guilt and responsibility for the race's crime and

8. See, e.g., B. E. Mays, "The Role of the 'Negro Community' in Delinquency Prevention Among Negro Youth," The Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1959. See also the interesting article by C. T. Rowan, "Are Negroes Ready for Equality?", Saturday Evening Post, October 22, 1960. L. W. Jones contributed to the White House Conference on Children & Youth a perceptive and balanced paper on the environmental and ideological influences affecting sometimes adversely the behavior of young Negroes; see Eli Ginsberg, ed., The Nation's Children, Vol. 3. For a summary of the charges of racial criminality see the Senate speech of Senator Russell, Congressional Record, March 16, 1960, pp. 5301-5306.

delinquency would be an almost Christlike action--a taking-up of a cross imposed upon them by history--which is beyond the range of secular duties. Feeling this, the middle-class Negroes' usual reaction to imputation of the stereotype, when it cannot be shunned altogether, is an angry charge of malicious insult.

There are other stereotypes, almost as disliked. One is that of being an "ingrate," and this is met usually by reasoned denial. Another, which Professor Roy Carter found the most commonly occurring in the news reports of the desegregation controversy, is that of mental inferiority.[9] Here the Negro does have available not only the well-established conclusions of psychology and anthropology, but the record of Negro achievement to support his claim that there is no measurable racial difference in intelligence when social and economic factors are equated.

Still another stereotype was found by Professor Carter in a later study to be the most frequently offered in the press, North and South, during the months of September and October, 1956: it was that of the lazy, shiftless malingerer. But Carter found this to be also the stereotype most frequently invoked for purposes of denial in the press of both regions.[10]

9. R. E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," Journalism Quarterly, Winter, 1957. Although Mr. Carter's sample of newspapers was tightly restricted, and his study confined to two months of 1955, the finding which is cited above seems to me, on the basis of a regular, wide, and often dreary reading of the southern press, completely correct.

10. R. E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the Daily Newspaper," a paper read before the American Association for Public Opinion Research, May, 1959.

A final stereotype is that of the starched and shiny churchgoer, a figure which can be made pathetically ludicrous when represented in the white man's conception as the Negro at his finest; as such, it becomes, especially for Negro intellectuals, a despised symbol, to be superseded by outright rejection if necessary.

These have been the adverse, the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. They have not been derived from southern opinion alone. The American North has generously borrowed from racial attitudes indigenous to the South. White southerners have, however, been relatively laggard in opening their minds to changed views of the Negro. Yet they are confronted today with a blunt demand from the Negroes that they accept the Negro on his terms: <u>and this is the crucial problem of race relations today</u>. For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of the Negro in accord with the Negroes' own, newly fashioned self-conception. That the Negro has discovered an image[11] of himself that is new, and deeply, preciously, held is the basic fact requiring new policies of race relations. Because of it, legally compelled segregation is no longer possible, unless accompanied by an unthinkable application of continuous coercion, which no society could endure. Jim Crow cannot live without Uncle Tom, and Uncle Tom is dead. His funeral wake was conducted, and celebrated, by the "sit-in" demonstrators of 1960.

11. This term has been so cheapened by recent over-use, that I employ it reluctantly. The same can be said for the word, "stereotype." I can only hope that I have used neither when any other word would do as well.

The Negroes have found their new image in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority. White supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[12] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[13] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, have produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances have caused and kept strong the individual security. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given specific form and intensity by the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived the same ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance required that they admit non-whites with whom they came into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

12. J. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, 3rd edition. N.Y., 1950. p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" could be re-read with profit for illumination of racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

13. Ibid., p. 145.

The influence of white society on the outlook of American Negroes has been so overpowering that they have developed few values independently of it. Here and there are ideological or social deviations, but they are invariably minor and probably not long-lived. The continued, objective interest of Negro intellectuals in W. E. B. duBois is one of what certainly must be only few concrete examples of Negro freedom from prevailing intellectual standards, which by now have assigned duBois his (Communist) place and forgotten him as an individual thinker. There are likewise a few distinctive social practices and institutions, but they are not likely to endure. This is a pity: for example, the Negro scholar within the Negro community has a far more prestigious status than American society generally accords the scholar, and is able more naturally and healthily to impress his thoughts on community opinions. On the whole, Negroes have made no original contributions to American culture outside the realm of music;[14] they have made their contribution, and it is sizeable, by enlisting in the service of established values and institutions. As Dabbs has put it,

> ...the higher the class of a given [southern] Negro, the more he has felt the indignity of segregation, and the more he has deliberately kept himself separate from us, and therefore unknown by us. Yet, all the time, the more he has changed the more he has become like us. For again, whom else could he copy? And let us not turn away from the word copy--: We are all imitators. It is thus that cultures largely develop. [15]

14. Of course, if the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. can succeed in getting the genuine allegiance of a large number of Negroes to the idea of non-violence, and if the idea were to become deeply rooted so that it were transferred to other conflicts than the racial, that would be an original contribution of tremendous magnitude. For a statement of his views, see "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence," Christian Century, April 13, 1960.

15. Dabbs, op. cit., pp. 71-72

I cannot, therefore, believe that O. Mannoni spoke meaningfully about the American Negroes, whatever relevance his comment may have had to the Madagascar people whom he knows. In fact, I would suggest that only the insecurity which has driven contemporary theologians to delve in the language of the Existentialists could have produced the following remarks, however profound they may appear:

> Certainly it is first necessary that he [the Negro] be recognized as a man, but it is also necessary, almost with the same urgency, that he be recognized as a different man, as a Negro. This embarrasses us. We complain that now it is he who has prejudices; we accuse him of racism in reverse. ...
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> The effort that the white American has had to make in order to give himself a good conscience, at the same time that he kept the Negroes "in their place," is certainly responsible for a part [L.W.D.'s note: true], perhaps a large part, of the present degradation of the white conscience in America. ...the white American has ceased to be the model of a naive supporter of slavery. On the contrary, he pleads his own cause with the greatest facility. He tends to become the model of a new kind of racist, far more disguised and more dangerous today. ...the furors of enraged southerners serve as an alibi for "good" whites who have invented this [sic.?] way of being charitably "racist." By themselves the Negroes are not a sufficient force to brake this [sic.?] inhuman development. But they are a kind of land-mark, to indicate the absurdity of it. It is from this viewpoint that it is necessary to understand the Negro as he takes stock of the situation. He does not take note of the fact that he is a Negro. That is something he is taught, and at the moment he learns it, it is an absurd fact, a factum which has no significance and which crushes him. As this enters his consciousness more deeply, there is the discovery, little by little, that it is possible to give this absurdity a meaning, and if this takes on meaning there are other "truths," much too prevalent up till now, which become absurd in their turn. That is what he wants to say when he advances to the white man, crying out to him in a brotherly attitude which is also a challenge: "I am a Negro." /16

16. O. Mannoni, "The Lament of the Negro," translated by J. E. Cunneen; from Cross Currents. It ought not to be necessary to point out that the quoted passage has no reference to Negro political solidarity in Harlem or elsewhere, which is not distinguishable from other manifestations of the same opportunistic spirit; e.g. the Irish vote in Boston.

Against this, set the more prosaic and more informed conclusions of an American scholar:

> ...the Negro intellectual finds that he feels a significant identity with the white middle class. He would like to live in a community that displays white middle-class standards. He would like to rear his children along the lines followed by this white middle class. He shares similar hopes and aspirations, and he feels himself superior to those further down the Negro and the white social scale. If he could, he would at the first opportunity trade his racial identity for class identity, and he does this to the extent that it is possible by observing class distinctions within the Negro community and by duplicating as far as is possible the patterns of the white middle class in his own behaviour. It is not some innate Negroness that toverns his identification with the Negro community and with the Negro middle class, but the external facts of social structural situations. /17

17. Wilson Record, "Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community," The British Journal of Sociology, September, 1957, p. 250. But note also the following statement by D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro Race in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," American Journal of Psychiatry, July, 1957:

> The Negro in Virginia is far better off economically and legally than ever before but he is more closely segregated. He has lost the security of his own culture and is moving rapidly toward a middle class white culture. This period of uncertainty and close segregation parallels the increase in the rate of Negroes admitted to the state hospitals in Virginia for cerebro-arteriosclerosis, senile dementia, and especially for schizophrenia. Very few, if any, of the steps recommended by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, who are experts in culture change, have been carried out to protect the Negro or the white man as this change in relationship is brought about. It seems to us most reasonable to believe that the preponderance of mental disease in the Negro over the white man and its increase in ratio to Negro population in Virginia is due to segregation and to the period of uncertainty accompanying culture change.

If Negro Americans in general, and Negro southerners in particular, have not diverged from the center currents of American values, there is reason, nevertheless, to recognize that in these times they have perceived those values with unequalled clarity. The late Charles S. Johnson once described the operative ideals of southern Negroes, in what was called by the editor of The Journal of Negro Education, "one of the best, if not the best, statements on the present South and the race problems." Johnson made the point, which has been elaborated further by Marion A. Wright, that the Negro southerner is able to accept, without ambivalence or evasion, all of the text-book maxims of American political and ethical beliefs; white southerners, on the other hand, and white Americans generally, are all too often in conflict with their own acknowledged ideals.[18] The Negro, said Wright, "has been at harmony with himself. With him there has been no question of a divided loyalty, no Faustian struggle for possession of his soul. By comparison, his white brother is torn and rent."

His white "brother," stuck in the swamps of southern history, has scarcely been able to keep his soul free of struggle. It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can "date" his acceptance of racial equality, at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in The God That Failed tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It

18. C. S. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," New York Times Magazine, September 23, 1956; the article has been reprinted in several places, including The Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1957. The address of M. A. Wright, titled The Southern Dilemma, has been published by the Florida Council on Human Relations.

is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. In Turgenev's Fathers and Sons, when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked-- "you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"--, Bazarov exclaims: "His upbringing? Every man should educate himself... As to the times, why should I depend upon them? Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" Admirable doctrine, but perhaps inadequate tolerance; and right or wrong, the key word of southern liberalism is and has been, "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has got (not primarily social scientific study, but reflective attention). I think, on the whole, southern liberalism has not been ineffectual, but I leave it to others to argue the question. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. It has several times been noted that few liberals--and, I think, almost none of those who are very useful--act out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously mingle socially with their Negro peers. This and more is all true, and perhaps is a fault; the self-conscious,

strained social relations are certainly a fault. Yet the significance of it is not, I believe hypocrisy or even timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he overtly opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He counts himself a southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He will, in fact, contend (and not only for polemical motives) that he--and not the defenders of segregation--represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality," against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which the liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem to me at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

But in fact, white liberals long since lost rank in the forces of southern reform. The initiative belongs to the Negroes, and until very recently, at least, was exercised by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. White liberals are in the position of supporters, generally not consulted in advance, of whatever programs the NAACP undertakes, a condition which NAACP leaders seem themselves to be mindful of.[19] Apart from some small

19. See J. A. Morsell, "Legal Opposition to Desegregation: Its Significance for Intergroup Agencies in the Years Ahead," The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Winter 1959-60.

grumbling over tactics or timing, this has not been difficult. The objective of the NAACP has been the end of legal discriminations, and the methods of the NAACP have been firmly within the framework of established legal procedures; both the objectives and the methods have been, in other words, the sort which all liberals can support. Because of this, the relationship between the NAACP spearhead and its allies has been notably free of the friction and internal dissension which so often has plagued reform movements.

This comfortable situation is not necessarily permanent; if it does alter, the terms of change for southern racial relations can be markedly affected. There are at least several new patterns in sight, none of which at present is more than a possibility. One would result if the NAACP lost its undisputed leadership of Negro agitation, or if to prevent this the NAACP shifted away from its primary reliance on litigation. There is understandable impatience among Negroes with the pace of change, and consequently with the method of court suits. The student protests which began in the Winter of 1960 over lunch counter seating was a manifestation of this discontent. It was a movement akin to the passive resistance and civic disobedience espoused by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. It happens that this writer has full sympathy for what the students did and the way they did it. The point simply is that new, extra-constitutional objectives and new, extra-legal methods could be disruptive of the liberal consensus which so far has been solid. By broadening the area of conflict, by lifting it out of the

methodical pursuit of whatever was, in the judgment of the lawyers, the next most vulnerable fortress of discrimination, the field is opened for competing strategies and programs. The campaign has had to now a certain neatness, which could well be lost.

So would it if a second possibility occurred, and this is a large effort by Negroes to capture political power in at least some southern cities. If this were to happen after legal discriminations had been generally ended, it would present only the same sort of problems as the Irish capture of Boston politics, or the Italian near-dominance of Rhode Island; in other words, not a problem of race relations but a throw-back to the ethnic politics which now seems on the decline in the rest of the country. But if Negro voters in the present climate were to gain or seriously threaten political control of a few or even one southern city--which would not be an impossibility if population shifts continue for just a few more years along lines of the past few--, race relations in the South would be enormously complicated. Some of the liberal elements which now support Negro advance could be expected to withdraw their aid because of other political issues; the same issues might draw supporters away from the segregationist camp, and the idealism which now underlies the Negro cause would be wounded perhaps fatally. For another reason, I think Negro concentration on political action would be unfortunate in the extreme. Thirty-odd years ago, Robert MacIver formulated the rule of "single alignment": the political contests of a country, he said, would fall regularly along a single plane. MacIver advanced his rule as a predictive principle: one

has only to think of France,[20] where constitutional and religious, as well as economic issues, breathe division into politics; or the United States, where racial controversy is a lingering intruder, to realize that verification has not yet been attained. But if the rule is not a demonstrated fact, it is a value of first rank. When the political interests of a democracy divide on a single plane--e.g. the economic--, the decision-making processes are adequate. To the contrary, democracies seem especially inept at resolving issues when they come in unmatched pairs or trios. Political action has never been able to solve our racial problem, which remains to distort, bedevil, and foul our political parties and the process of forming majorities on other questions of political urgency. Bad as is the present situation, a Negro "party" operating in a few localities would immeasurably add to the complexities of American politics.

A third possible development which could cause race relations in the South to enter upon a new pattern would be a change in the role of southern liberals. Now they are a critical, dissenting minority; tomorrow they could be a part of the political elite. This is not an impossibility; in fact, the issue of "open or closed schools" could well be the avenue by which liberals in some states might vault to political power. Liberals in power would mean, to put it shortly, that Negroes would face a basically sympathetic rather than an antagonistic state government. White leadership in southern racial relations would likely re-assert itself; indeed, I see really no other way for white southerners to be "decision-makers"

20. MacIver included both two- and multi-party systems in his statement. The Modern State, London, 1926. pp. 406-416.

in any important measure unless those favorable to racial equality win and control political power. Given the intransigeance of the present political machines plus the over-powering legal position of the Negroes, the white people of the South can now do little more, depending on their outlook, than delay, temporize, or adjust to Negro advances. Only if Negroes will stay out of the courts can whites lead; and Negroes will not stay out of court unless they are convinced that there is a disposition in state governments to recognize their rights. If liberals were to enter into political power the result might well be that Negro advance would be slowed: the pace of liberal policy might be slower than that of judicial decrees. The NAACP and other Negro groups might become in southern politics what they now are in national politics and in the politics of some (e.g. Atlanta, Nashville) southern cities: pressure groups, competing with other pressure groups to impress their demands on policy. Southern liberals might cease their automatic identification with the Negro cause, just as national liberals quit sometime during the 40's their earlier automatic identification with union labor. But for the present, the political power structure of the South generally prevents any possibility of racial relations determined by policy and not by battle; if the battles are being fought in courtrooms and at lunch-counters, they are nonetheless conflicts outside the normal political process, and therefore not susceptible to political settlement. As in South Africa, Negroes, being political outcasts, must combat the government, and not merely the government of the day.

Democratic politics has been impotent to resolve the conflict and to find a viable settlement for racial relations. One of the most depressing consequences of the South's racial structure is the dreadful conformity it has exacted of Southern politicians. No special sympathy needs to be accorded those politicians who have prospered, for they have generally been men who could succeed not despite but precisely because of the conformity. Nevertheless, if it be true that the South has had a woeful shortage of political leaders who accept responsibility for constructive action regarding the region's primary problem, it is also true that those who have tried have been frequently destroyed; Rep. Brooks Hays of Arkansas is only the best known of several recent examples. If it is true that racial discrimination in the South feeds on the South's rejection by the rest of the country, it is also true that those southerners (e.g. Senators Kefauver and Johnson) who have dared to ask for national acceptance have been rebuffed.

Over the years, Negro southerners have tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented--to their sorrow--with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They have tried, in the Booker T. Washington tradition, a humble regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They have left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West. Finally--and with really their only success--they have converted

the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "sit-in" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet its appeal has been to values thought to be implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The Constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[21] Negroes are, of course, employing other means than litigation to produce change. They vote;[22] they use the leverage of national pressure politics; they migrate; they cause inconvenience to pocket book, sensibilities, and conscience by "sit-ins." But underlying all is the Constitutional complaint and the Constitutional remedy.

Indeed, and this seems to me a rather chilling fact, the one method not used within the southern states, and but little and unavailingly used in national forums, is what the political scientists call deliberation. Nowhere in the South does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defenses of segregation; or to circumscribe as tightly as possible the scope of a judicial decree

21. cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," American Political Science Review, September, 1958.

22. In the South the vote means, as yet, even less than the relatively small numbers of registered Negroes would indicate. There often is no choice, in terms of racial policies, between the candidates; there is generally no or little participation in the spoils of victory; the Negro vote is too thin to produce the big change--i.e. the end of governmental support of segregation--, and not in as yet any state and but few locales a reliable instrument for yielding small changes.

when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility. I have already suggested that only if liberals can stumble into power is this situation likely tochange. We may well ask ourselves whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is less because it has appealed for settlement to a higher parliament and higher electorate, than because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution the first principle of which is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g. a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

Southern racial relations has been somewhat like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain all changes of interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities [23] --all have come, and though they have modified the old patterns and will surely in time overthrow them, the endurance--what a southerner might call the "cussedness"--of the old ways has been truly remarkable. Partly this is undoubtedly because southern racial relations have had, for whites, a tangible hedonistic value: it has been pleasant to be surrounded by "inferiors," and all the nagging of northern critics

23. Industrialization, immigration, and urban growth are the factors principally accountable for the increase of the Republican vote; see D. S. Strong, Urban Republicanism in the South, University of Alabama, 1960.

make it hardly less so. I strongly suspect that the mass of white southerners have been unaffected, in their moral views and their political theory, by outside cirticism. I am not, let me quickly add, in a position to give any verification to this statement, nor does it question at all the findings of M. M. Tumin and others that psychological readiness for desegregation seems to associate with degree of exposure to the mass media.[24] What I am, dogmatically, asserting is that white southerners have not heeded outside critics of their moral and political values. I am inclined to consider with optimism the chance that actual experience with compelled desegregation will induce a change in these values. And I believe, with Tumin, that there can be a "gradual piling-up" of changes in individual attitudes until there is a decisive emergence of many southerners out of a system of values typical of their regional culture into one now typical of the wider European-American culture. After noting, however, that his sample of subjects differed little in their attitudes about Negro inferiority but greatly in their readiness to accept desegregation ~~he~~ Tumin remarked:

> This can be taken to mean that the traditions of the South, as they are ordinarily conceived, have greater endurance and resistance to change in the area of the mental image of the Negro than in the area of concrete social action and behavior. This tells us again that the South, like any cultural unit, is

24. "Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1957. See Tumin's book, Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness, Princeton, 1958, especially chapters 6 and 7, for a revised and extended discussion. For a concise summary of ~~Tumin's~~ his findings see American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, January, 1959.

unequally susceptible to change in different aspects of its traditional cultural pattern. This in turn suggests that though various elements of a cultural pattern tend to cohere and constitute an organic whole at one time in history, some of these elements can and do slip out of the organic unity and become dissonant in their emphases, relative to other elements which persist in greater consonance with times past. If the Image of the Negro represents what is in the hearts of men, and their attitudes toward school desegregation represent their probable behavior, we can say that behavior can be effectively modified without any prior commensurate modification of what is in men's hearts. /25

One further comment along this same line may be recorded. T. F. Pettigrew has said:

> ...attitudes aid in understanding "reality" as it is defined by the culture. Second, attitudes can play a social adjustment role by contributing to the individual's identification with, or differentiation from, various reference groups. Finally, attitudes may reduce anxiety by serving an expressive or externalization function...
>
> All three major psychological theories of prejudice--frustration-aggression, psychoanalytic, and authoritarianism--deal chiefly with the externalization process. Valuable as these theories have been, this exclusive attention to the expressive component of attitudes has been at the expense of the object appraisal and social adjustment components. Moreover, it is the contention of this paper that these neglected and more socially relevant functions, particularly social adjustment, offer the key...
>
> * * *
>
> ...conformity to the stern racial norms of southern culture is more crucial in the South's heightened hostility toward the Negro than externalization variables. Or, in plain language, it is the path of least resistance in most southern circles to be against the black man. ...anti-Negro attitudes are not so much expressive as they are socially adjusting.
>
> * * *
>
> Some cynics have argued that successful racial desegregation in the South will require an invasion of tens of thousands of psychiatrists and psycho-therapy for millions of bigoted southerners. Fortunately for desegregation, psychiatrists, and southerners, this will not be necessary. /26

The change that has occurred in white southerners' moral and political values--and it has been considerable--has been chiefly the

25. Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness, pp. 194-195.
26. "Social Psychological Contributions to Desegregation Research," a paper read before the Southeastern Psychological Association, March 31, 1960.

result, it seems to me, of three home-grown factors. One, the growth in Negro self-respect and the slow but constant growth of white willingness to accept the Negro at his own valuation. Two, and more decisive, has been the corrosion of southern self-esteem since World War I under the continuous probing of the immensely talented southern novelists. Three, and of greatest impact, has been the reappraisal of southern values from southern pulpits.

The clergy has played for the South the role traditionally belonging to secular intellectuals, i.e. the role of social critics. They have been supplemented by some academic circles, by an occasional editor, and most importantly by the novelists. But the clergy has been in the forefront, both in effort and in effect. This is a relatively new position. For generations, the South could be unmoved by the outside critics of its social practices, because its own most valued moral interpreters offered reassurance. This almost perfect harmony between pulpit and pew has ended, and what began in the 20's and 30's as a small break is now irreparable rupture. In the South, where virtually everyone at least professes a church loyalty, this change is of momentous social meaning. Allen Tate, in his novel <u>The Fathers</u>, depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening now in the South: in the minds of many, <u>our</u> church is deserting us. Whatever is the outcome of the racial controversy, a new relationship between clergy and congregation is predictable, and southern society will be basically changed as a result.

It is rational to expect that the clergy will be continually reinforced in advocacy of change by the economic captains of the South, including those non-southerners who from managerial posts in national businesses control so much of southern economic life. The mounting evidence that racial discrimination plus disorder is unprofitable has been documented too well to require repetition here.[27] For several reasons, however, it would be premature to look for initiative in solving the racial problem from economic leaders. First, there is little or no evidence that they have any conviction that discrimination without disorder is unprofitable, and W. H. Nicholls' recent book, Regional Progress and Southern Tradition,[28] is almost the first attempt by economic science to persuade them that that is the case. Second, it is in the nature of American businessmen to be reluctant to link themselves with activities suggestive of social reform. Third, southern businessmen because of their other identifications are not always internally free to act in strict self-interest. The current hypothesis that sees the manipulation of the so-called "power structure" as the means of social change has many disappointments ahead of it.[29]

27. See, inter alia, H. H. Miller, "Private Business & Public Education in the South," Harvard Business Review, July-August, 1960; L. A. Thompson, "Virginia Education Crisis and its Economic Aspects," New South, February, 1959; W. H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition & Regional Progress, Chapel Hill, 1960, pp. 114-123; and occasional reports of the Southern Regional Council, numbers L-2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, and 19.

28. See also J. M. Yinger & G. E. Simpson, "Can Segregation Survive in an Industrial Society?", Antioch Review, Spring, 1958.

29. cf. J. B. McKee, "Community Power and Strategies in Race Relations: Some Critical Observations," Social Problems, Winter 1958-59.

Negro economic leadership, on the other hand, which has, after all, prospered under segregation, has been surprisingly firm in supporting agitation. In most southern cities, there are no important concentrations of economic power in Negro hands. In a few--such as Atlanta,[30] Durham, and Houston--there exists impressive capital development. There is no discernible rift between Negro business and the campaign for Negro rights, although strong disagreements over methods and timing occur and go generally unnoticed by the non-Negro press.[31] The consensus of the Negro population is impressive. It represents a well nigh complete desertion by Negroes of their old "place" in southern society in preference for a random existence on the fringes of the community, until such time as they can be reconciled to the community on terms of dignity.

The terms of change and peace in the South require a general re-casting of southern social processes, but perhaps no immediate change in the racial attitudes of white southerners. In this respect, the South may furnish for students a model of the separability of day to day life from ideology. It is quite possible, indeed likely, that the South can accommodate new patterns of racial relations

30. See the interesting contrast of Negro economic development in Atlanta and Baltimore recounted by Emmet Hughes, "The Negro's Economic Life," Fortune, August, 1956.

31. For a provocative analysis of leadership development within Negro ranks see L. M. Killian & C. V. Smith, "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," Social Forces, March, 1960.

before experiencing any radical shift in its ideological commitment to white superiority. It seems to this observer that the basic terms of change have to be, and likely will be, fourfold:

a. Semantic. The stereotypes must be, if not forgotten, at least kept out of public discourse, and the Negro must be embraced in the vocabulary of sensitive beings.

b. Social. Depersonalized relations must in large measure supersede the intensely personal relations which have been the happiest part of southern life, and yet a brake on southern ability to act justly. Likewise, class distinctions must in large measure supersede social (including racial) stratifications.

c. Economic. A widespread recognition throughout the business hierarchy that economic stability and continued growth require the orderly solution of the issues of race relations, as they succeed themselves in prominence.

d. Political. There must be a withdrawal of governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance in the South of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It must be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power must be independent of the competition of private interests, and, through its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

November, 1960

SOUTHERN TRADITION AND REGIONAL PROGRESS. BY WILLIAM H. NICHOLLS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. Pp. xvii, 202. $5.00.)

The theme of William H. Nicholls's book is that further economic progress in the South, sufficient to eliminate inter-regional differences, is dependent on escape from certain traditional non-economic values, chief among which are those associated with race and rural society. Thus have we come full circle, or perhaps the circle has only been tightened, from the days when we were advised that industrialization would be the solvent for the South's cultural impedimenta.

Nicholls defines economic progress as increase in per capita real income. From 1929-1948, the South reduced the interregional differential in income; since 1948 there has been little gain, even though southern income has risen. Presently, the income level of urban whites approximates non-southern averages, allowing for cost of living advantages. The problem, therefore, is the elevation of non-farm Negroes and the farm population both Negro and white to non-southern levels. One possible means is the emigration of Negroes and rural whites, with simultaneous large additions of farm capital; under the best of foreseeable conditions, both will continue to be desirable and therefore require encouragement. But emigration is a process wasteful of talent and educational investment, and draws most heavily from the productive age groups; capital additions to

agriculture cannot reasonably be expected in amounts large enough to cope with the problem. Consequently, more industrialization is the expedient to be preferred, and the South is another illustration of the law that economic progress is associated with a declining agriculture. The objective is not, however, a factory in every county-seat, but rather sufficient added plants in urban centers to drain off excess rural workers and hold them within the region. The elimination of white poverty is probably a prerequisite to the elimination of Negro poverty and the improvement of racial relations. Low wage rates should for the present be regarded as an asset in the attraction of industry, and will rise as industrial growth cures the present underemployment of labor. The manpower supply of the South, which is the region's prime advantage, is and has been handicapped by social traditions which segment it into non-competing labor groups; burdened already, the South is not strong enough to adapt to unionism's spawning of other non-competing groups. If Nicholls sees no special benefits to the South from unions he at the same time seems to regard the anti-unionism of many employers as a diversion neither in their or the region's interest.

The barrier to industrialization is, as has been said, southern traditions, and the bulk of the book is devoted to their analysis. They are (1) the persistence of agrarian values; (2) a rigid social structure; (3) an undemocratic political structure; (4) the weakness of social responsibility; (5) conformity of thought and behavior; and, unfortunately added only by a footnote, (6) the "other worldly

religion." Nicholls makes a clear and convincing case for the incompatibility of these "traditions" and the industrialization. He does not demonstrate as conclusively that the traditions are anything more than hurdles in the advancing way of economic change. On the other hand, he justifiably insists that the present race conflict has the potential for arresting the normal course of industrial development. What he has to say about the southern cultural landscape is generally well known to experienced readers, but he says it well. Chapters 2-6 embody an assessment of southern society that is devastating.

Nicholls concludes with a set of specific recommendations for accelerating economic change. They are worth the serious attention of students and policy-makers within and without the region. Curiously, however, they all are economic measures. If this seems somewhat illogical, given Nicholls's thesis that tradition is the prime obstacle, it is perhaps tacit recognition that manners are weaker than money. This is a valuable book which, if it lacks the originality of Cash or Dabbs, will occupy an honorable place in the self-discovery of the South.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Southern Regional Council

LWD
personal

The Quest for Equality, by Robert J. Harris. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. 1960. $4.00.

This book, although gracefully written, is for lawyers and students of the law. Readers of New South will, nevertheless, be glad it has been done and some will want to read and study it, because it is an historical sketch of the ideal of equality in America, together with an authoritative review of the adoption of the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and its interpretation by the courts. The findings and opinions of the author, who is Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt, are well indicated by the following passage:

> The picture which some critics, out of ignorance or malice, have sought to draw of the Court as a ruthless destroyer of States' rights is just as much out of accord with reality as the idea of a Court that is reckless with precedent to the point of usurping the power to amend the Constitution. Whatever may be said in criticism of the Court's decisions involving equal rights must be tempered by an acknowledgment that these decisions are backed by impressive precedents, are warranted by the text of the Constitution, and are an expression of the revolutionary ideals of the American Republic as borrowed from the Stoic philosophers, the Christian Fathers, and John Locke, and as given vitality by Jefferson and other American Revolutionaries. Altogether, therefore, the Court has done no more than reaffirm the traditional American doctrine of equality before the law. ....

L.W.D.

C.O. files

Unexpectedly Encouraging

The Face of Desegregation Today

Here is an analysis of the spotty record of school desegregation in the South, prepared by the research director of the Southern Regional Council. Despite pupil placement and token desegregation, massive resistance and the growth of private schools—and now the New Orleans riots—history will not wait. "The pace of integration will be quickened by the determination of Negro Southerners, expressed by sit-ins, litigation, and other means, to have done quickly with the incubus of segregation."

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

FOLLOWING the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, it became evident that there were, broadly speaking, two levels of control over the integration process. One was political and the other professional. Where integration was supported, however minimally, by political power it has proceeded steadily. This has been the case in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The absence of political obstruction has left school boards and professional educators free to meet the problems with whatever skills and values they possess. In most places these have been of high quality. Integration in these states has not always been smooth and there have been disappointments. There are still problems, some of which, particularly faculty integration, are likely to be thorny for years to come. But, basically, the educators have had the responsibility and professional insights have guided the change.

To a lesser degree this has been the experience also in Delaware and west Texas, where the state governments did not support integration but were, in Delaware always and in Texas prior to 1957, effectively neutral.

In east Texas and in the other states of the old Confederacy, professional control over the reform of the schools has been of secondary importance. The state governments dictated first that there would be noncompliance with the Court's interpretation of the Constitution. Even when they have yielded to federal authority, these states have dictated the terms on which the schools would drop racial restrictions. There were small exceptions to this pattern in remote sections of Arkansas and there has been the one important exception of Tennessee to the second phase of the pattern. In that state, once the agreement to desegregate has been exacted, state and local governments have generally allowed the professionals to lead the way. But even in Tennessee the word which describes the event is "desegregation," not "integration"; that is, there has been a limited, controlled admission of selected Negro children to some white schools. As of fall, 1960, this had resulted in fewer than 800 Negro children in classes with whites in forty different localities. These children have been admitted under arrangements which often have seemed educationally dubious.

Several events of this fall are notable. The schools of Houston were desegregated. This was the first important desegregation in east Texas, it involved the South's largest school system, and it exposed the unwillingness of the state government to apply the sanctions authorized by state law to obstruct change. Two Miami schools enrolled Negroes, representing the first more or less bona fide desegregation in Florida. With hardly a disturbing ripple, Knoxville, Raleigh, Richmond, Roanoke, and Fairfax County (Va.) joined the ranks of populous centers which have complied. No violence or disorder erupted in these or any other desegregated areas when schools opened in August and September; it was the first year this had been so.

Subsequent events in New Orleans have brought a renewal of turbulence. In a report of August 19, 1960, the Southern Regional Council remarked with regret "that New Orleans, rather than Atlanta, will be the first city of the Deep South to meet the test of desegregation. Unlike Atlanta, where the problem has been under vigorous

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citizen discussion since at least January, 1959, New Orleans has steadily, almost determinedly, ignored the likelihood that it would be affected." This foreboding has been justified by the behavior of the Louisiana state government and the New Orleans mob, which came into being on November 14 when the first Negro students entered formerly all-white schools. In the same report of last August, the council said that if "the imminent crisis in New Orleans is not overcome, or even if New Orleans treads the bitter path of Little Rock between 1957-59, the prospects will be gloomy for the South and for national self-respect."

At the time of this writing (mid-November), no one can feel the shape of New Orleans' future. The alternatives, however, seem predictable. If municipal law enforcement remains firm, and if appellate courts uphold the resolute stand of the federal district court, there will be grudging and gradual acceptance of desegregation, combined probably with some experimentations with newly formed private schools. If, on the other hand, law enforcement wavers or appellate courts cannot sustain the adamant insistence of the lower court that there be open, desegregated public schools, the situation will crumble into chaos perhaps more appalling than that from which Little Rock finally extricated itself. In either event, the rest of the South will take instruction.

And that is the essential point. Over the years, each success in defending segregation has encouraged other efforts at resistance. Each retreat before federal authority has led other southern state and local governments to adopt more tractable policies. If the authority of the Constitution is sustained in New Orleans, the prospects for orderly desegregation in 1961 in Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Dallas will be good. If resistance in New Orleans achieves even a partial success, there can be no optimism about 1961.

(EDITOR'S NOTE—Since writing the above, Dr. Dunbar has prepared the following supplementary report on the New Orleans situation, bringing the story up to December 13.)

Two elementary schools of New Orleans admitted four first graders on November 14 to formerly all-white classes; 137 Negro children had applied for transfers, but only five met the placement criteria and one of these changed her mind. Desegregation was in compliance with a federal court order of last May; the case had been filed in September, 1952.

The two schools selected are near each other, and the neighborhoods they serve are racially mixed; also, the attendance areas are adjacent or nearly so to the St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes, both of which are fervently segregationist in their political leadership. Initial reaction to desegregation was riotous, but the opposition soon turned to other tactics. A white boycott of the desegregated schools has been completely effective at one of them; at the other, the remarkable bravery of a few parents has kept some white children in attendance. The rest are either out of school (Louisiana has repealed its compulsory attendance law), are enrolled in hastily organized private classes, or are making the short journey to St. Bernard, where they have been welcomed by the public school system.

In the meantime, federal marshals escort any children, white or Negro, who wish to attend school. The local police have striven to keep order but have not been instructed to take the measures necessary to end the harassment. The school board has not asked the court for a sweeping injunction of the kind which in Clinton, Tenn., and Hoxie, Ark., ended interference. The federal executive has applied little or no influence. Local business leaders have been generally silent and in fact turned out in force at a testimonial dinner to honor the segregationist chieftain of St. Bernard and Plaquemines. The mayor has been meticulously nonpartisan. The legislature continues to pass new laws designed to break down the desegregation order. Included among these are measures which withhold funds, including salaries.

These facts are not recited to condemn, but to indicate the immensity of the problem of desegregation in the Deep South. It is suggested that they show how absolutely necessary it is that desegregation be preceded by good planning and preparation.

About one-third of New Orleans children, including about half of those who are white, are in Catholic schools. In 1956 the hierarchy intimated that integration was near; in 1959 it announced that integration would occur "not later than" in the public schools; on November 15, 1960, the timing was revised: integration will occur "only when public school integration has been effectively carried out." Catholic schools, like the public schools, will start desegregation with the first grade.

THE principal tool for controlling the entrance of Negro students into white classrooms has been the so-called pupil placement laws. As used in Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia these laws have in fact made a nonsegregated education for Negro children a privilege rather than a Constitutional right, and have awarded it only to the few who satisfy stipulated criteria. Considering the cultural barriers as well as the still large differences of quality between white and Negro schooling, it makes sense to proceed selectively. The essential question, however, is whether placement is guided by professional criteria or by a political motive of curtailing desegregation as strictly as the law will allow. It would seem to a layman who has watched this struggle closely that two types of placement are educationally valid. One occurs where, as in St. Louis and Washington, the entire school program is reorganized on a non-racial basis and students are assigned to various achievement groupings. The other occurs where, as in Nashville, a good-faith decision is made to begin desegregation at the first grade, or, as in San Antonio, to begin it at curriculum breaking points (first grade, junior high, senior high).

Judicial decisions of the past year, however, in both the Fourth and Fifth Circuits have narrowed the grounds on which placement laws can be administered for discriminatory ends. It can be expected, therefore, that school districts will tend either to abandon the clumsy procedures of placement or put them to the work of serving educational aims.

The product of placement in Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia, as well as in Houston and in all likelihood next year in Atlanta, is what has come to be called "token desegregation." To quote again from the Southern Regional Council's report:

> Its intention is to placate both law and community custom. Its success has caused some of the old adherents of massive resistance to see it as an even more effective method of avoiding the law. It was a matter of some note in the South, for example, when the widely syndicated columnist John Temple Graves and the editor of the Charleston *News and Courier,* Thomas Waring, moved to this position; as Mr. Graves one time stated it:
>
> > An unhappy handful of colored children, not to be more and wanting out, is to be preferred over closing our schools.
> >
> > Taking the same position, Tom Waring said at Selma last night he was not accepting even token integration willingly but "if it is forced on some of us we should neither despair nor commit rash acts in our anger. . . . If a few Negro children are forced into scattered white schools, that does not mean they will be there indefinitely. Once the pressure groups find that massive integration is being denied them by the courts, their incentive will be dulled. It will become ever more difficult to recruit Negro parents willing to let their children become martyrs for a dubious cause. . . . "
>
> Massive resistance has, at least for some, a quality of heroic defiance; this new strategy, which in effect proposes that the spirits of Negro children and their parents be wrenched till they break, seems patterned after the anxious cunning of Br'er Rabbit.
>
> These small beginnings toward desegregation have been approved by many in the belief that the main necessity was to take a first step, and in the expectation that once a community got over that it would advance steadily toward ending segregation. There is by now less reason to believe this. Where a desegregation plan has (as, e.g., in Nashville) a built-in principle that almost insures growth, there can be reasonable confidence that segregation will come to an orderly end. But plans which, as in the so-called Pupil Placement laws, require school boards to pass on individual applications will proceed no faster than the disposition of officials, the stresses of politics, and the fortunes of litigation permit. The process can be forced by organized effort in the Negro community to multiply the number of applications, and this is . . . beginning to occur.

The classic illustration of token desegregation is North Carolina. So successful has the state been in minimizing desegregation that traditionalists in other southern states have noted wistfully that it alone had, prior to 1960,[1] methodically desegregated one step ahead of federal compulsion. The first three cities in North Carolina to make the change were Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem; the record has been as follows:

Negroes in Classes with Whites

	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
Charlotte	4*	4	1	2
Greensboro	6	5	5	5
Winston-Salem	1	4	7	9**
	11	13	13	16

* One of these withdrew after harassment.
** In addition, Winston-Salem has admitted several Negro students to city-wide advanced placement classes and to industrial crafts centers.

Educators could well ponder seriously the probable psychological and social effects of token in-

[1] In September, 1960, a federal court required desegregation in Yancy County. This was the first court-ordered desegregation in the state.

PDK Desegregation Committee

The Phi Delta Kappa follow-up committee on desegregation will meet this month at the request of its chairman, Truman M. Pierce, dean of the School of Education at Auburn University, Alabama. Other members are Peter F. Oliva, University of Florida, Gainesville, and Benjamin Carmichael, superintendent of schools, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The committee was named to call attention to problems of desegregation on which the fraternity might act. It succeeds the PDK Commission on the Study of Educational Policies and Programs in Relation to Desegregation, which concluded its program last year.

Copies of the commission-sponsored guidebook, *Action Patterns in School Desegregation,* are still available upon request from Phi Delta Kappa headquarters.

tegration on the Negro students involved; on the white students; and on the whole community, which must year after year maintain its preoccupation with the issue. Indeed, in a broader context, there is reason for realistic concern over the future of the generation of white youth who have been growing up in the South since 1954. It would seem unlikely that youngsters reared in the foul and dirty political atmosphere of recent years, dominated by the preachment of law defiance and repeatedly punctuated by violence, can mature without encasing a measure of these years' bitterness and recklessness into their natures.

Second in interest only to the fate of token desegregation is the outcome of the private school experiment in Virginia. Prince Edward County has completely abandoned its public schools, its Negro children are in their second year of nonschooling, and education of white children has been assumed by a private corporation. In Charlottesville and in Front Royal, dual school systems—public and private—now operate. The private system seems well established, especially in Charlottesville. In Norfolk there has been the least successful venture, probably because a private system requires a more wholehearted coordination than is natural to a metropolitan center. As of now, it would appear likely that the Charlottesville schools may endure, but that they will tend to assume the character of ordinary private schools; what may happen to the others is altogether conjectural, as is the question of transference of the private school idea to other states (though attempts at it will certainly be made in the lower South). In Virginia, the financial lifeblood is the provision of state tuition grants to the students; the constitutionality of this plan has not yet been tested.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Virginia private schools is the manner in which they serve to combine other conservative convictions. Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, in a forthcoming report[2], describes conservative educational philosophy and practices which are almost as close to the heart of these schools as is desire for segregation.

ROOM FOR OPTIMISM

SCHOOL desegregation remains entangled in the politics and emotions of southern life. These factors make the posture of resistance sternest in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The writer may prove guilty of inexcusable optimism, but Georgia appears, during 1960, to have turned its face toward readiness to comply. This would seem to be true not only in Atlanta but of decision-makers within and without the state government. In North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia movement toward widespread desegregation should grow each year; all three states have reached a point where change can and probably will proceed faster than the law compels. In Arkansas, Florida, and east Texas the expectation is that this will not be so for another year or more.

And everywhere, from Tennessee to Mississippi, the pace of integration will be quickened by the determination of Negro Southerners, expressed by sit-ins, litigation, and other means, to have done quickly with the incubus of segregation.

[2] Prepared for the Southern Regional Council.

Court Suit on Religion in the Schools

► A Dade County, Florida, court is taking testimony in a case which questions eight different religious practices in the public schools of Miami. The suit was brought by Jewish parents who object to classroom Bible readings, prayers and grace, religious hymns, religious holiday observances, religious symbols, baccalaureate programs, religious censuses, and religious tests for teachers. The case will be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary, the American Jewish Congress declares.

Russian Merit Rating for Students

"At the university level about 80 per cent of Soviet students receive government stipends based on scholastic achievement, the higher the mark the higher the reward, or up to an equivalent of $1,200 per year," according to Nikolai Nazarov in "Schooling of Future Scientists," *USSR Magazine,* No. 1 (28), p. 38.

file Lwd Speeches -1961

Written for Forum magazine 7/26/61 (other copy filed with [illegible] letter in M.A. file)

THE FREEDOM RIDE

Leslie W. Dunbar

The sit-in demonstrations began in the South early in 1960. The device was simple: Negroes, most of whom were students, violated local customs by seating themselves at lunch counters and asking for service. The tactic spread contagiously, though least in the so-called Deep South, i.e., the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. By the year's end, more than 100 cities and towns of the South had responded to the sit-ins by opening to Negro patronage at least some of the eating places formerly for whites only.

No other method had ever achieved as much in so short a time as had these non-violent protests. Moreover, not the least of their results was the effect they had on the white South. At first annoyed, then angered, then confused, white Southerners in scores of places came fairly rapidly to a grasp of the rightness of the protest. For almost the first time in their history, they yielded on a racial issue without being compelled by the federal government to do so.

Because many Africans, Asians, and Europeans visit the office of the Southern Regional Council, I know that the above statement hides a question eternally puzzling to them: the nature of our federal system of government. Indeed, I have sometimes wondered, when my explanations have proven helpless, whether we Americans believe in federalism firmly enough to make it sound credible to others.

The sometime impotence of American federalism has been revealed clearly by the Freedom Ride, which since May 4, 1961 has been the most prominent form of the Negro movement. Unlike the sit-ins, the Freedom Ride is an attack on laws, not customs -- laws which are plainly unconstitutional under rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States and yet still are enforced by some state governments.

The Ride is an assertion of a clear federal right to travel freely and peacefully from one state to another; yet only most clumsily can the federal government protect this right against state obstruction. In short, the benefits of decentralized government do not come without pain. The inability of the federal government to shield private citizens, in all circumstances, from deprivation of rights by state and local authorities is one side of a coin, whose other is the limited power of Washington to interfere in the private lives of citizens.

Federalism works poorly without a general consensus among the parts of the country. On the racial question, that consensus has come slowly between the South and the rest of the nation. The victory of this generation is that we now are moving toward it with a sure pace. The Freedom Ride will help perfect American unity. That will be, in sum, its historical accomplishment. The sum, as it now is in late July, has five parts.

First, the Freedom Ride brought the Negro protest movement to the heart of the Deep South: Alabama and Mississippi. The latter had been the only state to have no sit-ins; Alabama had been the one state where governmental power had wrecked the sit-ins of 1960. Yet into these two citadels of caste the Ride penetrated daringly. This is likely to be a telling defeat for Alabama and Mississippi, just as it would be for any tyranny whose fearsome myth of invincibility had been defied, and the defiant not destroyed.

Secondly, in the three Alabama cities where there was violence, the mob did its work with official toleration. The nation -- and the world -- had seen this before; mobs can be, in the American South as well as in totalitarian nations, the instruments of official policy. Each spectacle, however, hastens the conquering revulsion.

Thirdly, the arrests of Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi affords another, and the clearest, opportunity to test juridically the anti-trespass laws passed by several southern states as a defense against sit-ins.

Fourthly, lunch counters in the bus terminals of Montgomery, Alabama have been desegregated as a result of the Ride. This was not only a defeat for segregation, but also a humbling setback for the Governor and his policies of bitter-end resistance to reform.

And finally, the national administration has requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to prohibit by effective regulations the practice of segregation at any stations where interstate buses stop. Non-Americans will be baffled that a Commission which the President cannot order, but can only appeal to, has the responsibility to regulate interstate travel; such, however, is the complexity of this government, a complexity which Americans also do not widely understand, but only get used to.

These I would say are the achievements of the Freedom Ride, and they add to a contribution to American popular unity. I have said nothing of the moral witness which the Riders have offered against racial injustice. Here it is doubtful that they have widened or deepened that already given so magnificently in recent years by Negro Southerners. More than any previous protest, however, the Ride has enlisted both white people and non-Southerners for direct action in the South. Thus, the Ride has given its distinctive witness to the savagery of racism, but also to the unstilled surge of the free spirit throughout American democracy.

REPRINTED FROM

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A NATIONAL JOURNAL OF LITERATURE & DISCUSSION

VOLUME 37 AUTUMN 1961 NUMBER 4

The Annealing of the South

By

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Anneal: to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (*Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition.*)

NOW the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was most acute here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by Southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because Southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them reservoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society

loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where Southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular—Kentucky—has a general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the Southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. In fact, the South has never been all of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, Southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in Southern self-consciousness: mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the Southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes; but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. That which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After the Civil War, white Southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions—all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal—the shortest—length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor—this flat belt gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesmen. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do; the other sections of the South—the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations—have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because Southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an élitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but by now several generations of them have held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white Southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man; and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed Southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that Southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War,

and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white Southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white Southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at worst, a venial wrong: yet one which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white Southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegrated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white Southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past or to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro Southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal courts. (Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.) By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Topeka,* declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, New Orleans, and Montgomery, probably lie ahead. But the South—the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition—will lose again. And *that* South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South have been America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people, who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades, suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were *enough* Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among Southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white Southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crecy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. It said to the white South, "Do this now, and do it of your own design, because we are all one community, for which you are, at the moment, the caretaker." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded. And so, within a year, about one hundred cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope—for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for rekindling hopes. The white Southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope—that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The Freedom Ride has been a more contrived and less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-ins. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement and intuition, and perhaps too much a vagrant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights and privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective, and there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment: i.e., the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction and struggle have not, as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro Southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings and desires and beliefs and the white South has been hearing, and has been learning.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold

R. Isaac in Phylon last year, "Five Writers and Their African Ancestors," suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro Southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed this section to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been, usually, opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers—and that includes most of them—move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high, but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first fifteen cities, in numbers of Negroes, only three—Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans—are Southern, and they rank seventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both Northern and Southern. In ratio of Negro to white the Southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South—Atlanta—is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54 per cent Negro; Atlanta's is 38 per cent. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Ne-

groes who live in the South declined from 81 per cent in 1910, to 60 per cent in 1950, to 52 per cent in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10 to 11 per cent of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the Southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century—after about 1820—the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in Northern and Western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with them many non-Southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

Yet there is more to the Southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed, almost no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, responsible press has never had finer exemplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the Southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on Southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted Southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> . . . mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives. . . .

The Southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess / In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and often meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive Southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry *has* made things happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in Southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-Southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois' electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than Southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being vigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts: those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy. (No Southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. No Southerner has served since Johnson, and he was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.)

The bastion of Southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines com-

mittee chairmanships, Southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil-rights laws in eighty years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before—from 1861 to 1877—had taken an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of Southern resistance is measured by the mere eight hundred Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But eight hundred is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia desegrates some schools in the city of Atlanta this September, and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three and Louisiana.

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been, like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe that the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South's heroic age is with us now.

Reading file

Statement of: Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Before: The Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, March 6, 1962.

I would like at the beginning of my statement to say that I have not had my remarks reviewed by my Executive Committee. Consequently, recommendations which I shall make are my own, and not necessarily those of the Southern Regional Council.

The matter which prompts these public hearings is of concern to many of us in the South. You have confronted an issue which has four basic ingredients. One of these is the enormous expenditure of federal money for the support and strengthening of education. A second is the legitimate interest of the government, not only in how its money is spent, but in the grand aims of education.

The third basic ingredient of the issue is the known fact, of which any further documentation is almost superfluous, that in a great many areas of this country, including nearly all of those in the South, Negroes receive inferior educational treatment and opportunities. This is true in elementary, secondary, and higher education, public and private.

The final ingredient of your -- and our -- issue is this: it is ~~in~~ precisely those states of the country in which, because of low economic status, there is the most need for federal assistance in order to provide good education that racial discrimination is most widely practiced. I refer, of course, to the southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-political, biracial, research and education organization. The board of the Council consists of 85 Southerners drawn from both races, the major religious faiths, and the 13 states of the southern region.

I understand that your parent committee has recently expressed its impatience over the lack of firm data as to just how great is the federal outlay for educational purposes. You will excuse me, therefore, if I do not know the exact figures. We all know that the expenditures are huge. I have seen estimates which run over $2 billion a year. Congress has a clear obligation to keep such a vast outlay under constant observation and evaluation. This sub-committee, therefore, is to be commended for studious attention to this issue of high national importance.

This large federal investment will be further and substantially increased when -- perhaps I should say "if" -- Congress passes the federal-aid-to-education program long before it.

The federal outlay takes many forms and serves many aims. I believe that as you consider the issue you will want to keep these various aspects distinct. They present, I believe, separate questions and problems Congress and the Executive should deliberate on as ~~it~~ they decide~~s~~ how best the national interest in non-discriminatory education can be protected. As you consider whether or not federal funds should be withheld ~~as~~ so long as discrimination exists, as you consider whether Congressional or Executive action is needed or appropriate, I believe you will see that there are several types of situations, each of which has different features and problems. I shall, therefore, confine my testimony to an attempt to define some, at least, of the problems.

1. Federal aid to compensate for federally caused burdens.

The prime example, of course, is the impacted areas program under P.L. 815 and P.L. 874. Under these acts, the government pays, according to statutory formulae, school districts whose enrollment is increased as a result of federal installations. In a sense, the government contributes to school support as would any taxpayer, though in fact, I am sure, the government has been a very generous taxpayer indeed.

I think the case for withholding of funds, by executive action, from segregated schools is weakest under this impacted area program, because the Congressional intent seems pretty clear the other way. Congress, of course, has power to condition the aid. Whether Congress would want to do so is another matter. The question is whether the government, possessed of the power of eminent domain, can rightfully locate installations in a state, add to the school burdens of that state, often at the same time remove property from the tax digest, and then set the terms under which its compensation will be given. At the best, this action would affect only some school districts. It strikes me as an erratic, back-door method of doing what Congress has not done directly; i.e., by broad legislation help implement the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court in 1954.

On the other hand, certain facts should be noted. The impacted areas program is presently the only direct federal aid to public schools for construction and operation. Moreover, I think you will find that a disproportionate share of the total P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 outlay has gone to the southern states; i.e., has gone to the support of segregated schools. I believe, therefore, that Congress should realize clearly that its only present program of direct aid to schools does greatly strengthen segregated systems; when it is also remembered that Congress has not yet done anything to help speed the integration of American schools, the real and the symbolic effects of the impacted areas program become even more sharply imprinted. Under point 4 of my presentation I shall, therefore, speak to this question further.

2. Non-educational, across the board, programs of federal subsidy.

The best example of what I have in mind is the school lunch program. Here, as I understand it, the end served is children's health, and federal assistance is extended on the basis of a statutory formula which takes account of both population and income.

I think that in this and any similar program the national interest is protected if there is adequate federal supervision to assure that benefits are fairly distributed among the children. This does

not appear to be the case. I do not have later figures, but data for 1952-57 show in seven southern states* that only about half as many Negro children in Average Daily Attendance benefited, as did white children.

3. Federal aid for special training.

A good example is the vocational education program under the Smith-Hughes and later acts. Money is allocated to the states on application and on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis, according to statutory formulae largely based on population factors. Applicable Regulations require that there be no racial discrimination.

The purpose of the program is to help equip young people with skills which are needed by the country. Especially in view of our imminent shortage of technically trained persons there would seem to be no excuse for Executive laxity in enforcing the non-discrimination requirement. Nor would there seem to be any excuse for the Executive to, at this date, interpret that requirement to many anything other than non-segregated training.

There is complete segregation in the vocational schools of at least seven southern states and perhaps others. More than this. There is flagrant violation

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina.

of even the separate but equal principle. Arkansas, for example, has a state vocational trade school for whites, none for Negroes. Georgia has two state vocational schools for whites, none for Negroes. Moreover, within such state or local vocational schools as do exist for Negroes, training is consistently confined to jobs considered appropriate for Negroes. For example, in Chattanooga, we recently reported as follows:

> Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of courses. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

In Houston we reported that:

> The only vocational high school in the city--San Jacinto High, an all-white institute--offers full, three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro high schools.

Federal funds go to both Chattanooga's and Houston's vocational programs.

In order to receive federal aid, the states must submit satisfactory plans to the U. S. Office of Education. It is inconceivable that the Office of Education should continue to concur in plans which assume that only certain jobs are available to Negroes.

Let me add that I see no difference in principle between the Executive's responsibility in regard to vocational training and its responsibility in regard to such programs as the language and counseling institutes of the Office of Education or the institutes of the National Science Foundation. In each case, the aim is special training to serve a national interest. The schools are selected by the Executive. They should be schools which will permit the attendance of any person who has the requisite qualifications. It was a scandal that in at least four southern states, none of the counseling institutes offered in fiscal year 1960 were open to Negro teachers. We can all be glad that Secretary Ribicoff has said that this will not again be permitted.

4. Proposed federal-aid-to education for general purposes.

I suppose there is little one can add, after all the debate of recent years, to the question of whether federal aid, if and when passed, should be

denied to segregated schools. Last year the Administration offered a bill which did not restrict aid and no attempt was made to attach the so-called Powell amendment. The bill, nevertheless, failed.

What seems to me important to note is that neither the question of federal aid nor the question of restrictions has ever had a fair test. The federal aid proposal becomes entangled with the segregation or religious issues. The principle of no aid to segregated institutions, because it has been urged mainly in relation to one area only - schools -, has never had a fair test because it has been opposed - and even sometimes tactically favored - by opponents of federal support for education.

Sometime, I think, Congress should give thought to separating these issues, by considering and voting on, without reference to any single program, a resolution to deny the use of any federal money for the support of any racially discriminatory institution or program, of any kind. I think, in short, that the issue is broad, and should not be confined to the one field of education. I think the strategy of limiting the issue to that one field has not worked. It is in this context that I would like for you to receive my earlier remarks on the impacted areas program.

5. Federal loans to colleges.

An example is the college housing program. Here the Housing and Home Finance Agency receives applications from schools, whose eligibility is defined by the statute, and makes loans at very favorable terms.

Although individual applications are reviewed on their merits, it is notable here again that the southern states receive a disproportionate share of the federal assistance. Up to 1959 approximately $1 out of every $4 of loans went to institutions in the eleven southern states. I do not have later figures.

The Commission on Civil Rights, in its special report on Public Higher Education, reviewed the question of the power of the Executive to withhold loans from segregated schools. Without commenting on the question, I do urge that Congress carefully study the law and the conditions it establishes for loan eligibility. I think one cannot too often urge that if Congress will not do anything positively to end educational segregation, it has thereby a double obligation not to strengthen or encourage segregation.

6. Federal aid for research.

The Southern Regional Council, in a study issued last year, said in reference to federal funds for

higher education:

> Where the funds are given or loaned to any institution that applies and is eligible under the statute, it has been argued that the executive department should not, in the absence of legislation, make the award conditional upon a policy of non-discrimination. But with the huge funds distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and channels the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students.

Gentlemen, I could - and so could others - fill pages with figures and detail. I shall not do so, because the issue seems to me so clear. I am frankly puzzled that an Administration which has announced such high intentions in the civil rights field, and has in so many ways demonstrated its sincere interest, is insensitive to this matter. The Executive has full discretion under the various research programs to choose its beneficiaries. An estimated $750,000,000 was spent on university-centered research by the federal government in 1960. It is literally inconceivable that the same Administration which requires every government contractor, and his sub-contractors, to practice non-discrimination in employment spends money of this magnitude without thought for the racial practices of its recipients.

7. <u>Federal aid under laws which explicitly permit segregation</u>.

The best example here is the Morrill Act, which,

in its terms, authorizes grants to segregated institutions. I can only suggest that an issue so unmistakably created by Congress is a matter which, I am sure, is of special concern to you.

8. Federal assistance to individuals for education.

Such assistance, conferred on the individual but paid to the school he enters, is provided under the National Defense Education Act, which contains a proviso against federal control of the administration and personnel of any institution. I do not presume to offer you a legal interpretation of this clause. The Commissioner of Education would seem to be required to do business with almost any accredited institution.

I would question whether this ought to be the case. I would recommend to you that you study both the legal question implicit in the present law, and the question of whether that law should be altered to restrict National Defense Fellows to non-discriminatory colleges. I am sure that I do not need to remind you that the Commission on Civil Rights found, in seven southern states, only one Negro and three desegregated public institutions which had Fellows in attendance, as against 10 white institutions. For these seven states, 65% of the fellowship funds going into public institutions ~~when~~ went to all-white schools.

These are, then, eight areas in which the problems differ somewhat. It seemed to me that they each require your consideration.

In conclusion, I think the whole problem of federal aid and its relation to segregation is high-lighted by the evidence set forth by the Commission on Civil Rights when it found that for the years 1950-1958, federal aid to public higher education had in six southern states been distributed as follows:

Federal Aid Per Student
Public Higher Education

	White	Negro
Alabama	$118.49	$11.77
Florida	85.34	21.66
Georgia	205.61	18.35
Louisiana	88.83	10.10
Mississippi	208.85	29.35
South Carolina	157.67	35.78

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Office of the Managing Editor
Peabody Hall
The University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

March 22, 1965

Prof. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Professor Dunbar:

I am enclosing a JOURNAL OF POLITICS cheque for $22.65 which is your share of the royalties received by the Southern Political Science Association from THE AMERICAN SOUTH IN THE 1960'S covering the period from the date of publication to December 31, 1964.

Sincerely,

Harry Kantor

HARRY KANTOR
Associate Managing Editor

Address: Study Conference on Race Relations Program in Texas
Texas Council of Churches
Dallas, April 26, 1962

LWD
DRAFT

It is now a common saying that the Christian Church has helped little to end segregation in the South. ~~The~~ This ~~saying~~ ~~has~~ I think, is true, but more needs to be said.

In the first place, there is the fact that Negro churches have been a ~~mighty~~ steady force for change and have been, indeed, drawing closer and closer to the very center of the Negro struggle against social injustice. Sometimes ~~I think that~~ when, in our anger and disappointment, we deplore the inaction of "the church," we possibly betray a residue of social snobbery ourselves, because we unconsciously are identifying "the church" with ~~the~~ "the white man's church."

Secondly, there is the happy fact that white church-people, both pastoral and lay, have worked hard, have sometimes suffered hard, to end the old system. They have, of course, not been alone. ~~I have noticed~~ In such movements as the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools, HOPE in Atlanta, and SOS and CPE in New Orleans, ~~that~~ the non-church people equally with church people organized ~~to~~ pressures, wrote the leaflets, cranked the mimeographs, stuffed the envelopes. But, nevertheless, church-people have, and not only in recent years, ~~forgot~~ fought the good fight out of convictions learned from their religion.

Thirdly, there has been a gradual separation of pulpit from pew since, especially, about World War II. This has meant that in the present great crisis of the South, the political leadership has had less and less of the balm of theological ~~re~~ re-assurance. In earlier crises it had it freely. In the Civil War period the pulpit blessed what the politicians and the economic overlords did; during the shameful years from 1877 to 1914, when the South deliberately degraded its Negro members, the pulpit approved. In today's crisis, the pulpit has conspicuously withheld its comforting hand. The segregationists have had to find their peace of mind, their ease of conscience, elsewhere. If the church has not been prophetic in its recent ministry to the South, neither has it been generally a refuge of comfort.

Finally, while we justly critize the white churches of the South for their failure to lead, for their failure even to witness brightly for racial justice, we should at the same time recognize that seldom in history has the church led or even strongly supported an extension of democracy. By and large, the church is and has always been, except for periods of great internal stress, a conservative institution. This may be lamentable, but is probably the church's unavoidable nature.

Having said all this, I would like to suggest that the opportune time has now arrived for the chruch, the corporate church, to guide the South. In most southern states, the days of massive resistance have ended. In these states, the political, ~~&&&&&&~~& economic, and civic leaders exhibit now an awareness that there must be, indeed that there will be, a steady advance of civil rights. The only questions any longer are of degree of swiftness, of sincerity, and of intelligence in adjustment. In such a climate, even a conservative institution can, if it will, move freely. Because we are all human and weak, we could understand and sympathize with the hesitancy of the church in the massive resistance era, can still do so for the church in some of the Deep South states. But in states such as North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, ~~and Texas,~~ in large parts of Arkansas, in south Florida, and north Georgia, the time is full ripe for the church to take up its ministry of reconciliation. ~~If it does not, we shall all be shamed.~~

~~For~~ We are face to face with some tough ethical questions, ones that come into our daily lives, and we need the wisdom and instruction of the church. We are living in a society which is no longer segregated but is not yet desegregated and certainly is not integrated. It is a desegregating society, and as ~~in~~ in ~~as~~ any transitional order social rules and moral guidelines are fluctuating. The old order passes and the new ~~order~~ is not yet arrived. Now in this day of transition the church has its most

opportune time to give guidance in framing tomorrow's social patterns.

I said we currently face some ~~severe~~ ethical questions. At least they seem so to me. Let me suggest them by a few examples:

1. In a city where some eating places have opened their doors to all races, and others have been asked but have refused, can white persons who regard segregation as a moral wrong continue to patronize places from which their Negro neighbors are excluded?

2. Should these same white persons, if they are church-goers, continue to worship at a church which has been asked and has refused to admit Negroes; or should they stay within the congregation and seek to change its policies?

3. How Shall teachers and administrators of Negro schools and colleges work to strengthen their own institutions ~~or work~~ for educational integration?

~~I do not think~~ The answers ~~to these issues~~ are not clear cut. They are examples, to which anyone could add, of the opportunities that now exist for moral choices that will be formative of the society emerging in the South. If we in the South will meet this transitional period with courage and with intelligence, the South may yet show that three centuries of suffering and error have not been outside divine mercy. I am one of those optimistic, perhaps naive, Southerners who believes that we can here in the South do a lot better with an old challenge than have our brothers to the North. White Southerners have always claimed to know

"their" Negroes, and Negro Southerners have claimed to know "their" white folks, and there has been a good bit of self deception and blarney in both claims but also enough truth to give us in the South the groundwork for building ~~a fine~~ decent ~~community of persons~~ towns + neighborhoods + churches, once the civil rights war is over and won. For in some valuable measure we Negroes and whites of the South do know each other, are not strangers, have shared a regional consciousness, have been poor togehter, have revealed our meanness and have got a lot of the enormous supply of it out of our systems. We have no secrets from each other. We know each other's sinfulness and weakness and mulishness. There is a tolerance + a kind of affection, and ~~in my naiveto, that~~ when we get beneath the rancor and the passion -- and the hate -- ~~that~~ we shall have something solid to build on.

The church can help in this, ~~or~~ as no other institution can. The church can help us find our way through these hard questions of ethical practice. But even more, the church can help us with ethical struggles that go far deeper. As we all know, there are ~~two~~ two sorts of moral decisions we have to make. There are the ones which face us each day, and require us to act one way or ~~other~~ another, to decide what is right and what is wrong. And then there are the more basic decisions which, sometimes unconsciously, we make and which thereafter determine how, in the moments of action, we move. I want to discuss ~~four~~ three such decisions that face us.

1. ~~Ethical decisions that really all person which I am affected by these with~~

~~I~~ are convinced that segregation is a moral evil. We believe that ~~it is wrong~~ ~~wrong~~ segregation is unjustice and sinful, & we are confident that ~~the~~ our

1. It is likely that nearly all persons reached by these words are convinced that segregation is a moral evil. We believe that segregation is iniquitous and unjust, and we are confident that our belief is right. Although knowing very little theology, I have the impression that there is general agreement among well nigh all religions that there is no sin greater than that of pride. Do we run the risk of falling into the sin of pride through our convictions that our moral judgment about racial relations is the right one, and that of the traditional South is wrong and evil? Are the righteous as well as the wicked prone to pridefulness?

These seem to me to be timely, practical questions. There is no one so intolerant as the self-confident, uncritical, reforming liberal, and we in the South who believe that we are on the "right" side, the side of God, of history, are faced with a toilsome responsibility. We need to work for reform, but at the same time we need to keep alive our brotherhood with those who oppose us. Negro Southerners have amazed the world by their practice of non-violence. Some of their teachers and leaders have dedicated themselves to loving their enemies into submission. Awed and grateful as any person must be by these attitudes, I say also, in all frankness, that there are Negroes who plainly assume that they are morally superior to, at the least, most whites. White liberals are all too often susceptible to the same belief in their moral stature.

In the South of the next few years, we shall be needing all the moral stamina we can summon. We shall need it not only for our regional and personal problems, but because those will be occurring against the backdrop of a chaotic, frightening, and scared world. Negro and liberal white Southerners will have ever-increasing influence. In much of the South, there is already in process a transfer of power from the traditionalists. Unless we can school ourselves to accept this influence and power calmly and unpretentiously, our's will be a sorry triumph. The world has an overflow now of bitterness and vindictiveness. Negro and liberal white Southerners must not contribute more, by

being vindictive toward those who have fought against civil rights. The world has a surfeit of ideologies, moral and political certainties spawned in self-admiration and self-fascination and imposed heavy-handedly on others. Let us not burden history with more.

(2) There is little doubt but that the political influence of Negro and white liberal Southerners is increasing. We have for long had almost no power, Through the growing strength of the Negro vote, and through the spread of liberal ideas, we are acquiring power, and with power will come responsibility. We need the guidance of the churches -- the white and the Negro churches -- to teach us how to accept the responsibilities of power.

For Southerners, there is a special poignancy in this need. One of the distinctive traits of the South has been the trust, almost the veneration, we have given our leaders. We followed and believed in Mr. Jefferson, and Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis, and Lee, and the Redeemers, and Carter Glass, and James Byrnes, and Richard Russell. Mention these names to many Southerners and you set their spines atingle.

Perhaps we of the South will never get over our immaturity until we confront a plain fact which generations of Southerners have conspired together in avoiding. The fact is this. Our politicians have been wrong everytime in their regional leadership. At every great crisis in southern history, our political leaders did the wrong thing, wrong for the nation, and wrong for the South. No people has ever had less cause to be grateful to its statesmen than we of the South.

A new leadership is emerging. Because the record behind us is so incredibly poor, we have to ask, "Will the new be better?" Will Negroes and liberal whites know how to lead, as their day comes? Are we a region capable of self-government?

3. The most thoughtful and thought nourishing essay I have recently read is Samuel DuBois Cook's article, "A Tragic Conception of Negro History." Cook calls our attention to the fact that throughout American history, Negores have been oppressed and rejected always on the grounds of ethical desirability and necessity. He then contends that this will continue for the foreseeable future, that it is the Negroes' tragic fate to find their interest and their values subordinated to someone else's idea of what is socially, politically, or morally necessary. "Born of sorrow," Cook writes, the Negro "must gird himself to encounter deep sorrow for a long and indefinite period; for such is likely to be his destiny. ..... Sober analysis of the present situation .... suggests that psychological, emotional, spiritual, and cultural estrangement from the... roots, flowers, and sunlight of American culture will probably govern the Negro's foreseeable future."

Cook may be right; I hope not, but I am not sure. There is one particular reason which allows hope that he may not be altogether right, and it is very nearly the reverse of what Cook himself has described.

One of the truly notable characteristics of Negro Americans has been that, when they have asked for relief from racial injustices, they have almost invariably given three justifications for their demands. First and second, they have said we want justice and we are entitled to it. But they always add a third reason. Sometimes they may say the economic welfare of the country requires that discrimination be ended; sometimes it may be that democracy requires it; sometimes, that God requires it. To put it in other words, Negroes relate their campaign for civil rights to other goals. They see racial justice as not only an end in itself, but a necessary means to other ends.: democracy, the American Dream, the Judaeo-Christian truths.

This habit of mind is a very wonderful thing. We white people can only be humbly thankful for it. That Negroes should consistently join their cause to some other, and often higher, end is a revelation of magnificent spirits and minds. If Negro Americans can retain this sense of loyalty to interests and values outside their own personal and racial ones, I think there is at least the chance that Negroes may become the creators of much American history, rather than the "animating pawns" that Cook correctly says they have been. And herein lies the possibility that the estrangement of Negroes from American culture may be cured not by drawing Negroes in, but through Negroes lifting our culture toward their moral concepts.

The next issue of New South will carry an article by Herman Long, in which this distinguished Negro scholar attempts to fathom just what Negroes mean and what they want by integration. If I understand Long correctly, he is as wholeheartedly committed as anyone could be to integration, as meaning the end of all political, economic, social bars to the free movement of Negroes through American society. Yet at the same time, he does not want Negroes to throw away the cultures they have themselves built.

Nor should anyone. This country is today drawing spiritual nourishment from its Negro citizens. There are strengths here in Negro life which must not, for the good of all of us, be discarded. It is, above all, the Negro churches that must husband these resources.

file-LWD-Speeches
(Revised)
(see later)

Address delivered to the Tuskegee Institute Commencement Exercises, Tuskegee, Alabama, August 10, 1962 by Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

Only Copy

In the course of two automobile trips this summer I travelled nearly the full extent of U. S. 29, from Washington, D. C. to Flomaton, Alabama. I drove, on both occasions, from North to South. Imagine, on the contrary, that you were driving toward Washington, and that you were delivering there all the accumulation of history and all the conflicts of human interests that lay along that road. What a load, what a massive and yet fragile burden you would carry into the heart of our national affairs.

Imagine your trip beginning, not where mine ended, but a few miles farther south, in Pensacola. You would be in a city which this fall will desegregate its public schools. The Negro children of Pensacola will have waited eight years for the Supreme Court's ruling to be obeyed; across the border in Alabama, the children are still waiting. Children born in 1954 are now in the second grade, and still segregated. Children, white and black, who graduated last June from high school were just finishing the 4th grade in 1954. They grew up in the loud strife of ~~those~~ these late years. Their characters were formed against a background of chorused politicians inciting the people to disobedience and evasion of law, and of many Negroes and a few whites quietly and courageously working for a better land. Their personalities took shape in an atmosphere permeated by violence in many places, by peaceful,dignified acceptance of change in many others. As you drive through the South, you are travelling through an unanswered and unanswerable riddle. What have we taught the generation we

have just raised during these years of mingled meanness and greatness of action here in the South? Have we taught it to admire a cheap politics and cowardly violence? Or did this generation of youth learn most from the bravery and the idealism and the calm good sense which have also been a part, and a big part, of southern life?

These are questions you carry with you as you drive. Much of the South through which you pass on U. S. 29 seems little changed from old traditions. Down in Escambia and Covington Counties, it is truly a long, lonesome road, through swamps and pines, until you come out into the good, rich land around Troy, and then on into Macon County and Tuskegee. Here traditions have snapped, with a crack heard all the way to Washington. And here Washington seems not 600 odd miles away, but very near. (I wonder if, in some future time, markers like those commemorating the battles of the Civil War will be placed along the highways of the South where the battles of this second civil conflict were fought. If so, a very large one will be here in Tuskegee.)

You go on, through the textile towns of the Chattahoochee. They remind you of cotton, and of how Negroes were needed and used to grow the cotton but were as a matter of policy not allowed and still hardly allowed to touch its manufacture. But you are reminded of other things as well. The textile towns were instruments not only of southern industrialization, and not only of Negro exclusion; they were instruments of white

paternalism over whites, they were a means whereby despite industrialization the control over southern politics and economics was kept in the hands of a very few. You go on up the road, past the beautiful, grand homes of LaGrange and Newnan, Georgia, and on into Atlanta.

There is an old bit of doggerel about East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet. I don't know about the truth of this, but in Atlanta North and South have met. Atlanta is a big place, and needs a lot of thinking about to figure out. So you put it in the back of your mind and head on: past Stone Mountain, where the Klan used to gather, and where on a night recently it overpowered some half-hearted state police and gathered again; (But, of course, only a few years back the state of Georgia would not have sent even half-hearted police to oppose the Klan.) through Winder, and again Washington seems very near, because this is the home of Senator Russell, for long the chieftain of that immensely powerful band of southern Congressmen who fight against every proposal for civil rights legislation; into Athens, where a year and a half ago white students rocked the world by rioting over the admission of Negro students. There were only two Negro students, one a young lady and one a man, and you remember that nearly all the rioting was directed at the girl; and you wonder about this.

You go on, into and through the Carolina Piedmont, by-passing a half-dozen or so smaller Atlantas, busy, money-making cities,

having little in common with the old South, yet caught within it and not really unhappy that this is so. As you approach one of them -- Greenville -- you see a motel for Negroes; the name of the motel is "Ghana." On the day you drive by, sit-ins are occurring in Charlotte, and on most any day there may be something similar going on in any of the other towns. The last of these little Atlantas is Greensboro.

You had put Atlanta to the back of your mind, to think about later. You feel that you would like to do the same about Greensboro; what happened there on February 1, 1960 unlocked events -- and people -- that have shaken the South, the country, and - even more than did Athens, but with the same awesome power - the world. It was and is such a deep thing that to think about it stretches your mind, and like any lazy man you prefer not to do that. But there is an urgency here,and we don't have time to put off thinking about Greensboro. In the briefest possible language, what it meant and means is a final, emphatic rejection by Negroes of the old idea that racial justice could not be established until everything had first been made ready: the white people of the South had to be made ready, the Negroes had to be made ready, and the laws had to be made ready. The white people were to be conditioned or taught to tolerate justice and the Negroes were to be taught its responsibilities. The new idea, which has been the keynote of the civil rights movement since World War II, is this: Let's

first have justice, and then -- white and Negro both - teach ourselves, instead of being taught. Let's be in charge of our lives, instead of the objects of other peoples' decisions. People do not have to be made ready before the social order can be made just.

This is the cry that Greensboro threw out. It echoes back and forth through our South today, and its sound reaches to Washington and well beyond. Washington doesn't hear very well, and keeps getting the sound confused with others. The sound occasionally gets through, however, and in its stumbling, bumbling way Washington responds to it. In Albany, for example, after months of maddening indecision, Washington finally heard clearly, and acted. It was, I think, a proud moment for Americans when this week the Department of Justice went into Judge Elliott's court and declared that the federal courts should not be used for the suppression of Constitutional liberties.

The sound went on ahead of us on U. S. 29 into Virginia too. In Danville, the white burghers were startled by it and tried to keep it out of town. One way they tried was by closing up the local library, for books,are, you know, great applauders whenever anyone begins praising justice. But that didn't work, and now the library is open again, though the chairs are gone, and Negro and white readers practice Mr. Harry Golden's vertical integration. The sound went on up the road to Lynchburg, and some girls from

Sweet Briar College -- the South's Vassar -- walked into town and joined in sit-ins with Negroes; for them and happily for many others, although still too few white students around the South, the bugles of Greensboro were sounding more clearly than those of Gettysburg.

From Greensboro to Charlottesville isn't far, and uphill much of the way. You drive on into the town of America's greatest son, the finest human fruit of its soil, imagining that Thomas Jefferson might have looked out from Monticello and seen and been glad. Now it is true, and worth remembering that though Jefferson sensed the horror of America's racial problem, he did nothing to help his countrymen overcome it or to avoid its worsening. But even Christ once prayed that, "if it be possible, let this cup pass away from me." I mean no sacrilege by the comparison. We are all of us human beings, and even the Christ, the God in human form, knew and experienced, precisely because he was human, a moment of weakness. The tragedy which we live among is that all over this land of ours, and all through this history of ours, colossal figures such as Jefferson and multitudes of lesser men of good will and even of greatness of spirit have prayed to let this cup pass, have run their course without helping cure America's greatest blight.

But now American cannot wait longer. Now the cup will not pass. We speak of the "Negro revolt." We might phrase it another way, and say that now American democracy has been

cornered by the next and greatest of its unfinished tasks, and that until and unless we face and defeat the racial problem the life will be squeezed from our democratic hopes.

And so the road leads to Washington. Most roads of American life do, sooner or later. All this weight of history and pain and hopes we picked up along U. S. 29 rolls into the White House, into the Capitol, into the cubicles where administrators work, into the Supreme Court. The weight is heavier today than ever, because it includes the urgency which Tuskegee, Athens, and Greensboro bespeak.

There were signs along the way from Charlottesville to Washington, signs that suggest much about this South in which we live. There were some -- I counted two -- which you will have to turn your neck to see, because they are billboards set to catch the eye of the man, the Northerner probably, driving south. These billboards advertise Farmville: they say that it is a good place to live and that it wants new industry. They do not tell how, for three years, Farmville and all the rest of Prince Edward County have kept closed the doors of the public schools and denied schooling entirely to its 1700 Negro youth. What irony these billboards reveal! Give us, please, they say, a new plant, a new mill which will inevitably change and revolutionize the southern way of life we now stoutly defend by locking Negro children out of school. There is irony of another kind too in the horse country around Warrenton, where rich people from the North have big estates on which they play like southern

gentlemen, because even though time after time the North defeats the South the conqueror secretly admires the vanguished. Beyond to the west are the Blue Ridge mountains, which shadow the long road into and out of the South.

You pass battle markers that tell you that the grounds of Manassas are nearby. It was one of the many fields where a hundred years ago white men killed each other because of black men. That war was fought, according to Lincoln, to preserve the Union. Today's civil rights struggle has the same purpose: to preserve the Union, by making it worthwhile for all its members.

And so you have been through it all, or nearly all: piney woods and swamps, the old plantation country, the Piedmont, the mountains, the haunts of old aristocrats. I did not lead you on it because a travelogue seemed a relatively painless way to spend a hot, August night in Tuskegee. I knew of no better way to say to you that we are part of a region and a nation and a time where the track is incredibly fast and crowded. We -- you and I -- have got to accomplish in a few more years gigantic social and political change, we have got to do the job well, and we have got to be able to digest the change. We have got to learn to live with domestic as well as international crises. We are going to need the aid of government, at all levels. And thus my commencement challenge to you, in 1962, is this: get into politics. Vote, get others to vote, work for candidates, organize your votes, run for office. Not only to serve yourself.

To serve America, to serve the cause of decent, humane civilization.

So after our long trip we have come finally to Washington. What do we have to say? I think it might be good if someone who had made this trip stood on the steps of the Jefferson memorial, looking out over that beautiful basin, and speaking in a quiet voice -- with a radio microphone conveniently near by --, said:

> Dear Mr. President, Congressmen, Justices, bureaucrats; and Dear Governors and state legislators too, Honored Sirs: I have just travelled through a lot of history and a lot of living, breathing human beings who have problems that you are going to have to do something about. All the problems and all the history have to do with a word, and that word is equality, and whether we believe in that word and how we practice our belief. There has been a lot of talk already about this thing called equality, and so I'll be brief. I want to remind you of just two thoughts. First, one we owe to Aristotle, who used to be a popular writer in the South because he taught that slavery was naturally good and right. But Aristotle taught also -- and the white South hasn't wanted to read this -- that once you do admit a man to citizenship, it has to be full, equal citizenship. Because, said Aristotle, distinctions among citizens are like a cancer eating away the health of the community. The second though to remind you of comes from another old fellow, who was no liberal either. Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes tried to teach us that we must practice equality. Why? Because,

said Hobbes, even the weakest man can, by craft or trickery, injure or kill the strongest man, and <u>will do so</u> if he feels that the strong man is treating him without respect. Now it is not only to save your lives that I tell you you must establish equality. People want happiness as well as life, and along my journey up here I have seen a lot of people, people who have to live with and get along with each other. You are the statesmen, the leaders of these people, and not of just some of them but of all of them.

I'll remind you, therefore, of something else both Aristotle and Hobbes knew and taught. Governments must be neutral. They must never take sides. The Communists think otherwise, of course. They think governments must take sides, and that the only good government is the government of the proletariat. Our principles are different, and we need to stop violating them. In the South we have state and local governments which are white men's governments. This has got to stop, and these governments have got to become neutral.

And so one final thing. I have reminded you of what two old writers, Aristotle and Hobbes, said, and now I'll call your attention to some words of a contemporary French writer, Bertrand deJouvenel. He tells us that the real purpose of government is "to increase the mutual trust prevailing at the heart of the social whole."* Men live with the aid of slogans, and this I think is a very good slogan for the governors of people to have.

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*<u>Sovereignty</u>. Chicago, 1957. page 123.

Well, this might be the speech our traveller up U. S. 29 might give when he reached Washington.

Around the country now there is a lot of speech-making, and some words and ideas get repeated over and over. It seems to me that lately I have heard or read a number of Negro spokesmen say something like this: "There is much about American society with which we don't want to integrate. What we do want is the freedom to choose and to help build -- not necessarily a better America but -- a more decent, humane life and culture."

If I am right, and if this idea is growing in currency and strength among Negro Americans, I believe it is a wonderful happening. One of the tragedies of our time is that the former colonial territories, as they gain release from the West and as they repudiate much that is western, cling tenaciously to the worst of the western tradition. Nationalism is an invention of the West just as surely as the steam engine. It is the Frankenstein's monster which we in the West created and which has been our special curse. And of all parts of western culture, this is what Africa and Asia most want. They want our curse. This is tragic irony.

If Negro Americans can bring new leaven into American society, if in the churches and schools and colleges that serve Negroes the word can go out that Negroes have an opportunity -- and, therefore, an obligation -- to be not blind sheep, following after the lead-bell of white society, but persons of independence

building as they can a finer culture -- then these will be the days of jubilee. I think James Baldwin is right in affirming that the Negro American is inseparably an American, and must achieve his identity as such. And Baldwin has learned the profound fact that no American has a given identity, that Americans have always been a people in search of themselves. "The necessity of Americans to achieve an identity is an historical and present personal fact."* What Negro Americans are today called to do is not to identify with American society. What Negroes have to do is to join with fellow Americans in the search for identity. In a basic sense, nobody knows the name of any American.

But I believe that Martin Luther King also was right when he said that,

> ...from the first day an American farmer shouldered a musket for liberty, to this day, a national character was being formed, which could grow only if it lived in a climate of decency and fair play.**

We here in the South have to create this "climate of decency and fair play." The present rulers of southern politics will not give it to us as a gift. We shall have to fight for it, and win it: we shall have ~~the~~ to politic, politic, politic.

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*Nobody Knows my Name. N. Y., 1961. page 137.

**Address, May 17, 1962, at formation of Gandhi Society for Human Rights.

Only Copy

Leslie W. Dunbar
Address, October 28, 1962
Catholic Interracial Council
New York City

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL DUTIES

I feel sure that the planners of this meeting had no expectation that it would occur at such a time as this. The years of the cold war have taught each of us an ability to live, in some way or another, with constant tension. Not before this last week, however, have we been so close to what has been dreaded for so long.

I think we cannot but wonder what effects war, or an intensification of the cold war, would have on the struggle for civil rights with which we are engaged. I shall not try any public speculation about that, except to note that there would undoubtedly be a loss, in some degree, of public and governmental interest. There is a sort of tragic irony in the reflection that both of the last two world wars followed and interrupted periods of great social reform in the United States. Since the close of World War II we have been in another such period, this one having to do with reform of human relations. These are bitter coincidences to contemplate.

But today also in Rome an inspiring event is unfolding, as the ecumenical conference which that good man, Pope John, has summoned continues its deliberations. We live in a fractured world today, but one which seems to have within it a throbbing impulse, an essential yearning, for unity. We see it everywhere. The Protestant denominations take small, hesitant steps toward unification. Nations cling to the U.N. Western Europe moves steadily toward common institutions. Sectionalism in our country yields to national values. And everywhere, men are letting fall the blinders of their souls, and are seeing with new clarity and concern the lives of other men. The popularity of slogans reveal much about what people really believe and wish. That line of John Donne's -- "No man is an island" -- has been quoted so many countless times that it has by now become a slogan, and one that reveals our deepest hopes.

I believe that the civil rights movement is an outcome of the soul yearning that has made the line, "No man is an island," a living, breathing, popular prayer. When we ask ourselves why there has been, since 1944, a great surge forward in civil rights we can give many answers--economic, political, educational. But underlying all has been, I think, a newfound, small, still voice within us that says "yes" to unity, "no" to division, that says "yes" to brotherhood, "no" to separation and segregation.

It is likely that nearly all persons reached by these words are convinced that segregation is a moral evil. We believe that segregation is iniquitous and unjust, and we are confident that our belief is right. Although knowing very little theology, I have the impression that there is general agreement among well nigh all religions that there is no sin greater than that of pride. Do we run the risk of falling into the sin of pride through our conviction that our moral judgment about racial relations is the right one, and that of the traditional South is wrong and evil? Are the righteous as well as the wicked prone to pridefulness?

These are, I think, not vain questions, but timely and practical ones. During the next few years, we shall be needing all the moral stamina we can summon. We shall need it not only for our racial and personal problems, but because these will be occurring against the backdrop of a chaotic, frightening, and scared world. Because of the democratic advances made since 1944, when the white primary was outlawed and the civil rights momentum began, Negro and liberal white men and women have and will have ever-increasing political influence. Unless we can school ourselves to accept this influence and power calmly and unpretentiously, our's will be a sorry triumph.

For, as I understand it, at the heart of the civil rights movement is a repugnance against the over-use of power. But even deeper than this there is a commitment within the civil rights movement, at its best, in favor of the belief that a good society is a society of people linked together through gentleness of spirit. And, even though most workers for civil rights whom I know are people of realism, who expect no Utopias now or ever,

they are, I believe, people who are devoted to "that city laid up in heaven" made up of gentle people. And in that city they try to live. Indeed, the very term civil rights resembles and has a common root with that other word, "civility", which describes the manner in which civilized men and women live with each other. So when we work for civil rights we are really working for the civilized behavior of people toward each other; we are working for civility.

We are, then, on trial. We are, through the magnificent leadership of the NAACP, its Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and hundreds of adult and youth crusaders all over the South, winning the campaign for civil rights. There are ahead some very rough days. But as certain as these are, victory is equally certain. And we are on trial. We shall have to prove that we have no desire to punish those who opposed us. We shall have to prove that, having secured the civil rights of Negro Americans, we now are ready to go about the rest of the Lord's work.

Here in this luxurious hotel that civility I spoke of a moment ago is everywhere. In this setting we may find it easy to forget that the fundamental issues have to do with persons who never come to this hotel or any place like it. The hardest wrought issues of civil rights concern those whom an earlier and more romantic generation would have called the down-trodden masses. If you want to find these people you will have to go into the vile tenements of Harlem. Or into a lifeless county of rural Mississippi where white men with worn-out wives and worn-out land and too many children drag themselves through a bewitching southern climate with nothing really important to do and no hope of finding anything to do which will give their lives self-respect. Or you will have to look in some alley of a southern city or town, heavy with the oppressive yet somehow friendly odor of frying catfish, where Negro children, too numerous to count easily, are the only spots of brightness in the human scene. Or you will have to look in the camps of the migrant workers, who are truly America's forgotten people, as they make their way up and down the eastern seaboard

and into the gardens of California and into the broad lands of the Midwest. America likes to call itself a middle class country. If it were wholly a middle class country, there would be, I suspect, as much fetid prejudice of all kinds as we have today and perhaps even more. But I venture to believe that we would not have the problems which currently make the struggle for civil rights so grim. It is the disadvantaged tenth of American people, both white and Negro, who give the tense seriousness to racial relations. Asking these people to acknowledge the civil rights of others or to accept and exercise the rights which are their's under the American constitution, is like asking people on whom a whole society stomps to behave with civility. These people are outcasts of civilization.

Consequently they act as such. Why should we, after all, be surprised if a handful of semi-illiterate white men in an impoverished county, having spent what little change they have on a bottle of booze, and having nothing else to do or even to wish for, go off and burn a Negro church? Why should we be surprised if, despite all the efforts of Negro community organizations, families confined to a vermin-infested ghetto do not send off to the public schools children who are models of behavior and intellectual curiosity?

We have millions of people in America for whom the American standard of living, the American way of life, the affluent society are but the emptiest of phrases. These people include Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, white folk of the rural South, and others as well. I believe that the next great task of our national life should and will be a massive effort to reclaim this social wreckage. At the present, a very large proportion of this bottom tenth of the population is Negro.

Well, of course, the white supremacists (who live, incidentally, both in the North and South) are right about one thing. Negroes are often poor, often have high crime rates, often have low educational records, often display personal and family irresponsibility, <u>simply because they are Negroes</u>. And that this should be a fact is a sin of the white race as enormous and as hideous as other sins of the white race, such as Hitler's cremations and Stalin's starvation of the peasants. After having hammered at the Negro consciousness

and vitality by 300 years of slavery, brutality, discrimination, and segregation, some of us seem now perplexed to discover that many Negroes do not behave well. It is altogether proper to be disturbed on account of this, and to deliver a rebuke. But let's deliver it at the right door.

The behavior standards of many Negroes, just as the behavior standards of white mobsters of the South, are a rebuke against the whole nation. We sowed, and we reap. And we will not reap a good grain, unless we cultivate with care and loving attention. No minority can lift itself out of poverty by its own boot-straps, unless, like the Jews or the Orientals, it is a people with its own religion, its own communal exclusiveness, its own traditions and history, and its own pride. If you want Negroes to lift themselves by their own boot-straps, then make way for the Black Muslims. Perhaps in a century or two they could do it. But if you don't want Black Muslims, if you don't want to wait centuries, then you and the rest of America must assume responsibility for curing the disease which America caused. We need to stop talking about the "Negro problem," and to start talking and thinking and acting about the nation's moral <u>and</u> economic <u>and</u> political necessity for rescuing the millions whom we have cut adrift and who now hang like a ball and chain about the necks of the rest of us.

Moreover, we need to stop talking about the "Negro problem" if for no other reason than common courtesy and good manners. Down South, one of the traditional roles of the Negro house servant was to make the white children of the house mind their manners. I hope my good friend Henry Moon, of the NAACP, will not object if I thank him, because he, wearily but patiently, took time out recently to resume this ancient function of his race, by writing a letter to a certain magazine, trying to teach the white folks once again how to mind their manners.

Some are so disturbed by the civic performance of many Negroes that they urge that we shift our main campaign now away from civil rights and toward the improvement of Negro habits, character, and ambitions. We have to remember that for a long, long time, under the guidance of Booker T. Washington and white philanthropists, a great effort was made on behalf of the improvement of Negroes, on the premise that this was the way to gain admittance

to the rights and dignities of the white man's free society. Much good resulted from these efforts, and we are all today in the debt of those people who during the late 19th and early 20th centuries worked so hard and in such loneliness. What a huge debt we owe, for example, to those few who worked even better than they knew how to lay the beginnings of the Negro colleges and universities which are in fact the wellsprings of todays civil rights movement and of the proud Negro leadership which inspires and directs it.

But we have to admit also that this approach did not work in two important particulars: one was that no matter how much he improved himself the Negro was not admitted to the white man's free society. And secondly, we found out that there were sharp limitations on how much Negroes could improve themselves unless they had the rights of free men.

We learned, if we had our senses about us, that in a democracy and in a free enterprise economy only the people who have civil rights can obtain the advantages which we all want and require. Civil rights precede civic improvement; the opposite is not the case.

And there is a long way yet to go before the civil rights of Americans are made secure. There are fields such as housing and white collar employment and family relationships which have hardly yet been scratched. I am one of those optimistic, perhaps naive, Southerners who believe that we can in the South do a lot better with an old challenge than have our brothers to the North. White Southerners have always claimed to know "their" Negroes, and Negro Southerners have claimed to know "their" white folks, and there has been a good bit of self deception and blarney in both claims but also enough truth to give us in the South the groundwork for building decent towns and neighborhoods and churches, once the civil rights war is over and won. For in some valuable measure we Negroes and whites of the South do know each other, are not strangers, have shared a regional consciousness, and have been poor together, have revealed our meanness and have got a lot of the enormous supply of it out of our systems. We have no secrets from each other. We

know each other's sinfulness and weakness and mulishness. There is a tolerance and a kind of affection, and when we get beneath the rancor and the passion--and the hate--we shall have something solid to build on.

We shall have in the South some old myths to lay to rest. For example, one of the distinctive traits of the South has been the trust, almost the veneration, we have given our leaders. We followed and believed in Mr. Jefferson, and Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis, and Lee, and the Redeemers, and Carter Glass, and James Byrnes, and Richard Russell. Mention these names to many Southerners and you set their spines atingle.

Perhaps we of the South will never get over our immaturity until we confront a plain fact which generations of Southerners have conspired together in avoiding. The fact is this. Our politicians have been wrong everytime in their regional leadership. At every great crisis in southern history, our political leaders did the wrong thing, wrong for the nation, and wrong for the South. No people has ever had less cause to be grateful to its statesmen than we of the South.

A new leadership is emerging. Because the record behind us is so incredibly poor, we have to ask, "Will the new be better?" Will Negroes and liberal whites know how to lead, as their day comes? Are we a region capable of self-government?

Consequently, the happiest thing I have to report to you is that the desegregation controversy is bringing peace, not bitterness, relaxation, not continued tension, to the South. You may be amazed to hear this; those who know and love the South would not be. As my friend and boss, John Wheeler of Durham, N. C., likes to say, Southerners are the most adaptable people in the world. Once the crisis has past, once a battle for civil rights has been fought and decisively won, your typical white Southerner relaxes, accepts it, feels better about the whole thing, and goes on about his business. I believe I can report to you that Atlanta

and Richmond and Nashville and Greensboro and many other localities of the South are happier cities today than they have ever been. And the explanation is simple: they are freeing themselves from an ancient, hugh, oppressive problem.

If I give you a report of good tidings, I must in fairness add a warning. The civil rights movement has now penetrated the Deep South, even into the rural Black Belt. We shall have, and I say this with all the gravity I can command, some of the worst, if not the very worst, conflicts that we have ever encountered.

But the main tide is running clear and strong, and it will be hastened along. There will be, for example, over the next two years unprecedented resources and energies put into voterregistration campaigns throughout the South. Those who are working in this campaign are not merely trying to register Negroes; they are working as the country's servants, in behalf of the extension and perfection of democracy. Through their efforts, the oligarchical control of southern politics, which has extended all the way from county court-house to Congress, and which affects even our foreign policies, is being broken.

One of the truly notable characteristics of Negro Americans has been that, when they have asked for relief from racial injustices, they have almost invariably given three justifications for their demands. First and second, they have said we want justice and we are entitled to it. But they always add a third reason. Sometimes they may say the economic welfare of the country requires that discrimination be ended; sometimes it may be that democracy requires it; sometimes, that God requires it. To put it in other words, Negroes relate their campaign for civil rights to other goals. They see racial justice as not only an end in itself, but a necessary means to other ends: democracy, the American Dream, the Judaeo-Christian truths.

This habit of mind is a very wonderful thing. We white people can only be humbly thankful for it. That Negroes should consistently join their cause to some other, and often higher, end is a revelation of magnificent spirits and mind.

Now we must all learn that spirit. We need to learn that free men have civil duties. That among these civil duties are the obligation to secure and exercise our own rights; to demand and defend rights for others; to exercise our rights and fulfill our duties because we acknowledge service to causes higher than our own self-interest; to deserve the respect of all men, and to grant our respect to each of our human brothers.

LWD file

2nd Albany Report
Oct., 1962

INTRODUCTION

The wreckage of Oxford may have caused some Southerners, and more of their fellow-countrymen, to wonder if the South is a region capable of self-government. Oxford was unprecedented in drama and in its threat to constitutional government. It was, however, but the foreordained outcome of the ideology of "massive resistance," taught and applied since 1954 by chieftains of politics from Virginia to Texas. All but a few areas of the South have by now got well from this intellectual and political sickness; but Mississippi would not have acted as it did this autumn, had not the legislatures and governors and Congressmen of the other southern states acted as they did earlier.

The power of state or local law enforcement was first used to thwart federal authority in Mansfield (Texas) in 1956. This happened again, with immense consequences, in Little Rock in 1957. There can be no confidence, even after Oxford, that there will not be other similar rebellions.

Howard Zinn's report is about another kind of southern response to social and legal change. He writes about Albany, Georgia, where since November 1961 Negroes have worked hard and suffered much to have their humanity recognized. If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords, it needs to be prepared for the likelihood - almost the certainty - of other Albanys.

Albany has also been a scene of mass disorder. The notorious riots in the South over desegregation have been of several types. Some have been more or less spontaneous, as were, for example, the Chattanooga riots during the sit-ins of 1960; these have not been, however, the deep-wounding variety. Some have been deliberately incited by conspirators, as were the Clinton (Tennessee) riots over school desegregation in 1956; there is at least persuasive evidence that the University of Georgia riot of early 1961 also was the handiwork of an organized few. Of much greater importance have

been those mob actions tacitly but knowingly invited by public officials and permitted by the police: the mobs of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery during the 1961 Freedom Ride were of this kind, and so too was that of Oxford. It is worth noting that there has been only one important instance when a white mob formed, knowing that the ~~XXXXX~~ police would probably be uncooperative, and deliberately challenged the police. That was in Little Rock in 1959, and the mob was easily dispersed.

The disorders of Albany have been basically different. They have been like those of others since early 1960, in Orangeburg (S.C.), Tallahassee (Fla.), McComb (Miss.), Baton Rouge (La.), Talledega (Ala.), and elsewhere. They have been caused by Negro demonstrations, not by a white mob.

Professor Zinn describes the Albany events with clarity. He shows how there has interacted in that city forces, institutions, ideas, and personalities in unique patterns of profound seriousness. The Southern Regional Council publishes his study because we believe the country urgently requires an understanding of what is and has been at issue. We think that, for two reasons, Albany has an importance even deeper than that of Oxford.

First, as the civil rights movement penetrates the Deep South, and into smaller cities and rural areas, there will be other localities, and perhaps many, where a similar pattern of events will occur. Albany has had, as was said above, its predecessors, so it will have its successors. This will be so because the twin forces which have produced the Albany crisis exist also in hundreds of southern places. These are, on the one hand, Negro determination and willingness to act; and, on the other, the willful or inert resistance of white persons and their institutions. Furthermore, the methods used are likely to be the same: peaceful though firm Negro protest, and firm, relatively quiet, police suppression.

Second, in a sense that the turmoil at the University

of Mississippi was not, Albany was a national responsibility. Oxford was a result of southern history. Given that history, there is no sure ground for believing that the crisis could have been prevented by any policy or action of the federal government. The whole nation is implicated in Albany. It is the price paid for eight years of inaction by Congress, of hesitancy by Presidents, of timidity by southern moderates in making good the promise of the decision of 1954. The Negro demonstrations, in the streets of Albany and Talladega and Orangeburg and dozens of other places, are the direct result of disillusion over the good faith and intentions of national and regional leadership.

* * * * *

There have been three principal actions in the Albany struggle: the municipal government, including its police; the federal government; and the Negro populace. A brief look at the policies of each, which Professor Zinn will examine in detail, may be instructive.

(1) In Albany, both Negro protests and white reactions have been characterized by non-violence. Not only has the XXX police force refrained from violence, but it has prevented white XXXXXXXX mobsters from gaining even momentary control. In these respects, the police methods used in Jackson (Miss.) for Freedom Riders have been copied. Because of their temporary success in both cities, their use will undoubtedly spread to other localities where Negro demonstrations may occur.

Good police practice means more than the prevention of violence. It means, also the protection of rights. There is legitimate grounds for saying that in Albany sophisticated police work has done the traditional - almost legendary - job of the mob, i.e., the suppression of Negro dissent and assertion of rights. The city government of Albany is still a white man's government, and the police is its instrument.

(2) The federal government, represented solely by the Department of Justice, has hovered about Albany from the

beginning. Incredibly, in this whole time, it has not acted. As we said some months ago:*

> The Department (of Justice) apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing power in Albany. It confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation! . . .
>
> The Department can be extraordinarily helpful in resolving issues when it can, and intends to, act. When it does not intend to, as in Albany, its "presence" adds little, except possibly confusion. Where it has little authority to act, . . . there is still a role for the federal government to play. One can question, however, whether the Department of Justice is the best to carry it out, for it is a role of persuasion. By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman and representative in the South. The Administration would do better by applying at congressional and state capital levels the influence which it possesses, and to insist in those quarters that southern officialdom give respect to Constitutional rights and ordinary decency.

The Department of Justice during the past two years has with vigor and skill brought voting suits under its Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. It has been equally decisive and even more successful in defending the integrity of federal courts in several situations, such as that of New Orleans during 1960 and 1961, in combatting bus and train terminal segregation; and in responding to utter breakdowns of law and order, as in Alabama during the Freedom Ride and in Oxford. It seemingly has not known what to do in an Albany-type situation.

We do not necessarily endorse all of Howard Zinn's analysis of federal powers or his recommendations for their use.** We do point out that the record of the federal government in Albany says as clearly as would a public announcement that the federal government will not act unless there is uncontrolled

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* Executive Support of Civil Rights, March 13, 1962, page 18.

**See pages , below.

violence. There has been no acknowledgment of a federal duty to protect federal rights, the rights of speech and peaceable assembly and equal protection of the laws.

Is the South helpless to handle its own problems? No. In fact, the overlooked but primary responsibility for the deterioration in Albany rests on the state of Georgia, and the federal government should always give a state the opportunity to act. (The federal government, through its months of discussions with local officials and relatively scant intercourse with state authorities, has done little to encourage the state to see its responsibilities.) But federal rights of individual citizens must be protected, and, when local and state governments fail, there is a federal obligation.

(3) This is not the time to ask whether Negroes are wise and justified in carrying on public demonstrations, as in Albany. The time for that question will be after the first important racial reform anywhere by the white South without Negro pressure.

In a recent telecast, the director of the Citizens Council of Mississippi said, with admirable candor, that he and his organization oppose Negro equality because of their "vested interest" in a system of inequality. There is as much, if not more, truth to this than to the usual belief that Southerners are more racially prejudiced than other Americans. In areas such as Albany all the institutions of government and society are organized to defend segregation, and on the premise that Negroes are not entitled to the full and free use of community benefits. Against these entrenched systems, Negro resort to unconventional pressures can hardly be condemned.

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The South is still engaged grimly in internal social and political combat, but the present is a time of optimism as well as of anxiety. In most of the South's large cities, and in some other areas as well, there now exists an unbreak-

able momentum behind the extension of civil rights. Indeed, the very fact that the civil rights movement has finally reached into the Black Belt, producing the eruptions of Albany and Oxford, is the surest mark of the progress made in the South. At the same time, it means the civil rights movement is approaching its climax, and that the days ahead may well be the severest yet.

The South is, as traditionalists often say, being subjected to a second Reconstruction. There is no reason for friends of civil rights to deny that this is so. What is different, however, is that the leadership in this Reconstruction comes from the South itself - from the millions of Negro Southerners who have supplied the initiative and the will for this change. By their effort, they have made the South a better place to live, freer than it has ever been of emotional torments and political leadstones.

But the need now is for initiative to pass out of Negro hands. Racial relations in the United States is not merely the Negroes' problem, is not merely a Negro problem. It is a problem of the health of our democracy, the strength of our economy, and the integrity of our minds. What the country critically wants is governmental assumption, at both the state and national levels, of responsibility and initiative for the reform of racial relations, and for the uplifting of the economic and educational levels of the bottom tenth of our population.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

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Lund - Speaker

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENT SITUATION*

In 1962, as in every one of the last dozen or so years, two issues have been predominant in our national political life. One is the cold war, and the other civil rights. Other issues come and go, holding public attention for a while; these two grand issues stay on, and neither seems ready to abate.

Although civil rights has occupied our thought and permeated our politics for so long, it is a problem taken only half-sericusly by most Americans. The cold war, and all the multitudinous side effects engendered by it, has so preoccupied Washington that only lip service and after-thought are typically given to civil rights. But even more discouraging is the fact that lesser issues, in their moments of prominence, are almost invariably given priority over civil rights, and the grinding dilemmas of racial relations of which civil rights is only a symptom. Whether the issue of the day is medical care for the aged, or tax revision, or federal aid to education, or what, civil rights must take a back seat in Washington, as the votes of southern Congressmen are bartered for. None of our recent Administrations, neither of our political parties, nor the American people as a whole, has truly ever regarded civil rights as anything more than the dissatisfaction of Negroes. It has not been seen as a national problem which must be solved. Instead, the motivation behind such governmental action as there has been can be summed up in the phrase, if I may take liberties with a sacred text: the Negro you have with you, and when so ever you will you may do him good.

This inclination is, at least, a gain. During the 1930's, as America struggled to escape from its greatest business collapse, its people shook themselves from another kind of depression. For the better part of 50 years, the condition of Negro Americans had been allowed to stagnate. White America took little moral or

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*This is the final form of three speeches given this Spring and Summer on the same assigned topic. The occasions were: Race Relations Conference of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Monteagle (Tenn.), May 4; Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, July 3; Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations, College of the Bible, July 18.

political interest. Black America, despite the heroic captaincy of men such as Washington, DuBois, and a growing band of professional men, took far too little active interest in its own status and welfare.

During the 30's, this changed. Once again, the moral dilemma which had tormented American history for 200 years, until it was chloroformed about 1880 and put out of sight, came back to haunt the national conscience. National politics began to feel again the throbbings of the racial issue which had dominated and frustrated our national life from the 1830's to 1877. The Negro people began to stir.

Why this happened I shall not here try to explain, or, more accurately, to decipher. It did happen. From the 1930's we date the Negro revolt. Another way of putting it would be to say that American democracy began in the 1930's to finish another - and, I believe, the most basic - of its tasks. We began the largest of our tasks in fulfillment of the old aim of establishing a"more perfect union."

Emphasis during the 30's was on Negro welfare. Emphasis since the end of World War II has been on Negro rights. And though we have, unfortunately, in these later years lost a great deal of the constructive concern of the 30's for how people live and what they are owed by the economic system which they support, the shift of emphasis to civil rights has been good and necessary. A people has to make itself free before it can, without either state or private paternalism, know what its welfare is, and fashion it according to its own judgment.

The changes since World War II have been tremendous. The changes still necessary are immense. These are the two fundamental facts, both of which cry for recognition.

By a series of brilliant law suits, discrimination in higher education and in voting were attacked. During the Korean fighting, integration of the Army was substantially achieved. In May, 1954,

the Supreme Court made its historic ruling against state-compelled segregation of public school children by race. By other legal victories, which still continue, segregation was further weakened wherever it is chargeable to public action.

The decision of 1954 introduced the era of massive resistance in the South, which began to end with the reopening of schools in Virginia in early 1959. That massive resistance occurred was in considerable part due to the irresponsibility of the administration of President Eisenhower, which failed to offer any other leadership to the country, and of Congress, which waited three long and vile years before taking any action to help the country through its greatest domestic problem. What Congress finally did in 1957, and again in 1960, was principally to take a weak and generally fruitless step toward affirming that citizens should be free to vote.

In early 1960, in Greensboro, American democracy walked into a room of mirrors. The sit-in movement did more than anything I can think of to show America its own face. The results have been striking, some happy, some unhappy. What we saw in the mirrors was soiled and unkempt; and so there has been a period of cleaning up which has taken the form of accelerated and frequently voluntary desegregation. But some have so hated what they saw in those mirrors that they have wanted either to leave the room of mirrors altogether, or to jump frantically up and down and shout that the faces in the mirror are not theirs, but those of unbelievable devils who must be pursued and given a ceremonial burning. It is, I think, an open question today as to who will win out. Those who want to clean up the mess, and I hope this category includes all of you. Or those who, and I believe they are numerous and growing, who are tired of the whole wretched business, and want to retreat to the moral numbness of pre-1930. Or those who, with the mania of all ages, hunt down devils in order to establish their own innocence.

A fourth category, of course, ~~are~~ is the segregationists, but they are now of vanishing importance. The institutionalized practice of segregation is still a huge and frightful enemy. The segregationist himself is on the way out as a force. He is still - let me hasten to say - strong in many provinces and a few states; but his days are numbered and few. This is so if for no other reason than that, as a practical matter, he cannot endure bereft of political influence and power, and in today's America he can not hold political power without the assent of Washington. And the administration now in Washington, though it has many shortcomings, has committed itself and the government as a whole against segregation and its profiteers.

This is, I think, where we have been these last few years. Where are we now, and where are we likely to go in the near future? Some parts of this picture I want to sketch as I see them. I have time only to talk about fragments; the rest of the mosaic will have to be left unfinished. The pieces I want to pick up, examine briefly, and try to put in place are (1) the status of southern segregation; (2) the Negro movement; (3) the role of the federal government; and (4) Negro-white relationships.

My most generalized comments will be on the first issue: what is the present strength of segregation in the South? There are two parts to the question: public and private segregation. Public segregation is, I think - and all of you who know the South will realize that for the next few minutes I shall be generalizing furiously - about as strong today as ever in large areas of the Deep South, where the Citizens Councils and their allies are powerful and permeate state governments, and where any breaches that occur, such as in the waiting rooms of terminals, are as yet chiefly only of symbolic value. The victory of George Wallace in Alabama probably insures that for another four years the heart of Dixie will be pumped by racism. In other equally extensive and more populous areas of the South, public segregation is today, I think, pretty much a man of straw. It falls wherever

it is pushed. It does not fall by itself. It has to be pushed. The push has to be organized and directed; wherever it is, segregation falls. I would say that this is the requirement, and indeed the only requirement, in all of Virginia except the southside; in nearly all of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas; in north Georgia and in most of Florida and Arkansas. There is a lot of pushing to be done, and in each situation the right leverage has to be discovered. But when the lever up-ends, the straw man falls, there is no "trouble," and nobody cares.

A lot of private segregation is similar. In restaurants, hotels, theatres, and such, there is in these areas of the South no strategic problem, and the tactical problems, while vexing and multitudinous, all have to do with finding the right levers, i.e., pressures, for the job.

In other kinds of private segregation, such as exists in churches, clubs, neighborhoods, families, the South is tending, I think, toward the northern patterns of muted prejudice and noiseless, but highly effective, discrimination. Some of us who believe that southern culture has within itself the possibility of doing better than has the North keep our hopes alive, but they are, admittedly, not ones to be bet on.

Let me go back to that word "trouble." For years, indeed for generations, it has been a peculiar and awesome word in the South. Whenever a change in racial practices was requested or suggested, gentlemen could be counted on to come forward and say, "No, we can not. Much as we would like to take this step, just and needful as it is, if we did so there would be 'trouble.'" To avoid "trouble" -- this has been the public policy, almost the public philosophy, of southern racial relations. It still is. Only now, and this is the great gain, in areas of the South outside the domain of the Citizens Council, "trouble" has been re-defined. The new definition is unclear and self-contradictory, and perhaps only a Southerner can understand it. "Trouble" means to the average white Southerner today two things:

a. efforts to end segregation quickly (the NAACP and Martin Luther King are "troublemakers"); but it also means:

b. strong resistance to efforts to end segregation quickly (not only the KKK but loudly segregationist political candidates are "troublemakers").

In short, the public policy of most of the South outside the remnant of the hard core is a reluctant willingness to desegregate--anything else causes "trouble."

The political and business leadership of much of the South has pretty obviously decided that segregation is expendable, and less valuable than public order and a calm business climate. This does not mean that these leaders will lead the advance of civil rights. They will do no such thing, as yet. They will only give the signal for retreat and surrender, when public order is threatened. The time may not be far off, however, when in some southern states, and Tennessee and North Carolina as well as Kentucky come to mind, the political leadership will throw at least some of its weight behind civil rights, and not merely seek to prevent "trouble."

In this connection, the most exciting of recent events has been the Supreme Court's decision in the re-apportionment case, and the quick response to that already in Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and elsewhere. One does not have to be an optimist to believe that the increased representation of urban people in our legislatures and ultimately in Congress will create a new and relatively liberal climate in which some of our present problems can be honestly faced and treated.

The Negro movement, to go on to my second fragment, is in a time of both difficulty and rich promise; which is to say, about normal for any popular movement. Through the Voter Education Project established by the Southern Regional Council I have within the last year had the opportunity of working closely with all the principal civil rights and racial relations organizations. I have been sincerely admiring of the

dedication and intelligence and cooperative spirit brought by these organizations to their common struggle. I have been equally admiring of the vigorous and sophisticated voters leagues which exist today in a number of southern cities. There is a bountiful supply of good leadership, plus a widespread understanding that the problem is to reform the South, not to punish it.

There are, as well, serious problems, and they affect not only Negroes, but the country as a whole--for in a real sense, the country has depended on Negroes for its moral ministry during the last decade or so. First, and I think most serious, there is inadequate community organization. I am not either an "organization man" or a "joiner" but the fact is that individuals don't fare well in our terribly complicated modern societies unless they cope with it through organized interest groups, and Negroes have too few and not necessarily the right ones. Second, there is a regrettable tendency among some in the civil rights ranks to flirt with ideology. I think we need less philosophy, and less methodology, and more organization. Third, I am fearful that a combination of circumstances, most of which cast no credit on anybody, threaten to snuff out and frustrate the idealism, the wonderful spontaneity, the bright spirits of the student movement. I tell you without reticence that I was one of those whose heart was clutched by the protest movement of 1960. I don't want the grandeur and beauty of that movement to be stilled. I want humanity not to be deprived of this fine outreach of courageous goodness.

My third comment has to do with the role of government. The Kennedy administration has done much, though, as the Southern Regional Council pointed out, it has not done two things. It has not in the South shown an interest in anything beyond law compliance and token desegregation. And it has avoided strong policies in any fields where strong policies would lead, possibly, to conflict with state governments.

The prophets tell us, however, that some day the President will issue an Executive Order against discrimination in federal housing programs, perhaps in time to help Democracy in this November's elections. And I suppose that Congress may in a year or so tinker again with the civil rights acts, and help along the voting cause a bit more. The greatest thing to look forward to is the possibility --and it is only that--of a legislative enactment along the line of the Clark-Celler bill to speed up school integration.

But, frankly, I suspect we have had it. I hope I am wrong, and if I am I'll come back--gladly--next year and admit it. My congenital pessimism about politics and politicians whispers within me, however, that the fertility of the Kennedy administration in the civil rights field is nearly over. Decisions and policies made this past year-and-a-half should be, for the most part, permanent, and become institutionalized and keep on expanding their good. But the creative period is, I imagine, ended.

Well, so what. Our job is the same, the same as it was last year and in 1960 and in 1958 and in 1952 and in every year. To defend and define values. To supply initiative. To organize.

A final comment about Negro-white relations. It is a big--a world-wide--subject. I want to speak of only a sliver of it, and yet a sliver that is a crucial wedge. I want to register one man's plea that liberals--both white and Negro--grow up. "The goddamn white man" is humanity's woe; but so too is the liberal who hollers after him. Don't, for the good of the world, people it with devils. The world has little need for another savior, or even several, to drive out its devils. The world needs men of courage and intelligence (i/e/, liberals*) who perceive that there are no devils in the world, only problems, and who set themselves to solve them. The race problem is more than America's dilemma; it is the world's. We shall make a contribution toward ending it only if we avoid the madness that overcomes honest anger. For a new racism to grow from the ruins of an old would be mercilessly tragic.

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*My own definition of a liberal. If you believe courage and intelligence define a conservative, please substitute your word for mine.

Let me conclude by saying, then, that the primary need of racial relations in the South over the next few years will be to teach Southerners--of both races--to want more. To teach them to want more and better education, and what education consists of, and how hard one must work to get it. To teach them to want more economic goods, and how one must prepare to earn them. To teach them to want lovely and friendly cities, and well-kept lands. To teach them to want--and to work; to teach them to want--and to enjoy. Not until the white Southerner wants and works and enjoys, will he get his mind off race.. And not until the Negro Southerner does the same, will he discover how to breathe the free air of civil rights.

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We Dissent, edited by Hoke Norris. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1962. 211 pages. $4.95.

This is a book of 13 essays written to advance realism and maturity in the South. Were all of the quality of three or four, the book would be a publishing service. Unfortunately, this is not so. A couple of the contributions are plain bad, and several others are too tired to lift the book above the triteness of its conception.

In the best of the essays - and it is very, very good - Paul Green writes, "I am tired of the subject of the South - whether its the Old South, the New South, ... the peckerwood South, or even the emerging South. I am tired too of hearing about the Southern Negro as an object of anguish and concern. ... I am tired of both integration and segregation then. I'd like to be left alone to do some thinking about people as just people and forget color, except perhaps to remember that the blood of all of us is red."

Paul Green knows as well as any man (and implies it in the rest of his piece) that neither he nor any Southerner will be "left alone," and that being tired he can only look forward to becoming more tired. But the point is, there's so little left to say, of enduring interest. There's a lot more that will be said and has to be said in the political arena, the battle of words, editorials, pamphlets, and speeches; but this is not lasting stuff. There is a whole library yet to be written on the history and character of the Negro freedom movement. And there is always room and hope for a fresh view of the South, a companion volume for Cash, Dabbs, and Lillian Smith. But We Dissent is none of these. It gives almost no insight into the Negro movement, and, as a whole, is too drab to achieve literary value. And it is not a political tract, at least not a relevant one.

The editor, crying "Dissent!", presents his writers as if massive resistance were still the watchword of the South,

against which no white man can speak without risking "economic, social or political disadvantage, if not destruction." Poppycock! Only in one state and some dreary areas of two others is this perhaps true.

Most of the essay writers do, of course, know the South well, and write about it with clarity and without exaggeration of either its faults or its merits. Painfully, because several of the essayists are my friends, I would like to select three which I thought particularly interesting.

First, Paul Green, who writes a "Farewell to the Civil War": "And I declare here for myself that there is no light, no message of hope, no living truth to be found in them and their doings" - he means the Old South and the War. "But if we jump over the Old South and go back to the eighteenth century ... that's something else. There we find light, hope, truth, and help for the present age...."

Francis Pickens Miller writes quietly and fondly of his Virginia, and he too tries to lift the eyes of the South back to the eighteenth century, back to what we left when we "took the road from Monticello." "The dawn that many Southerners have been waiting for is at hand. It has been a long night. ... 1832 was the dividing line of southern history. From that day on the forces of liberalism as personified by ... Jefferson were in full retreat. ... Appomattox was midnight. ... The most painful experience for the South since ... was the aftermath of the Supreme Court desegregation decision of 1954. ... one great good has come out of the tragic period through which we have been passing, and it is this: Thoughtful and intelligent Southerners have been forced ... to face the reality of the world ... and to begin to come to terms with that reality."

This reviewer liked also the quite different piece by Kathleen Keen Sinnett, despite several, as they seem to me, mistaken observations (as distinct from the mistaken <u>facts</u> in the essay of historian Thomas D. Clark). The sharp quality of

Dr. Sinnett's perceptions may be sufficiently indicated by one quotation: "If there were no Ku Klux Klan, it would be necessary for the moderates to invent one. Only terror has held human beings in the abject subjugation that is the common lot of Negroes in the deep South, a subjugation that is the foundation stone of the status quo so dear to the moderate heart."

Other contributions to this volume are by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, Lenoir Chambers, Johathan Daniels, James M. Dabbs, and Borden Deal; there are also reprints of pieces by Ralph McGill, Hodding Carter III, LeRoy Collins, and Hoke Norris.

Leslie W. Dunbar

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ESSAY COLLECTION

Schlesinger's Critical Skill Distinguishes Political Study

THE POLITICS OF HOPE. By Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. $5.

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has collected 20 of his essays, written between 1949 and 1960, all but one of which have apparently been printed before.

Schlesinger

They treat various subjects, ranging from the causes of the Civil War to the New York success of John Osborne's "Look Back in Anger," and including lucid interpretations of three worthy thinkers: Reinhold Niebuhr, Walter Lippman and Bernard DeVoto.

Though there is variety, Schlesinger's interest in American history and controversy interlaces and controls all.

Mr. Schlesinger is now a presidential assistant, having taken leave of Harvard, where he has been professor, student and faculty son. No one more faithfully represents, even to the point of typifying, the qualities of contemporary Harvard.

IN OUR TIME, Harvard has been distinguished by brilliance rather than originality, by mastery and not profundity. It is nonetheless our great university, and quite possibly the world's.

Schlesinger's polemics — and his historical writings as well — have been a defense of liberalism. I think we may acknowledge a special and large debt to him in two particulars.

First, he has labored to establish and make clear the brutishness of the Communist conspiracy, and to erase the sentimental notion we once had with us that communism deserves the tolerance of liberals. This book only occasionally takes up this argument, that goes back to his 1949 volume "The Vital Center," except in one essay, "Varieties of Communist Experience."

Dr. Dunbar, former professor of political science at Emory, Mount Holyoke and Smith College, is executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Schlesinger holds hopes that the Poles and Yugoslavs may outlast their political and ideological tyrants, and was encouraged during a visit to the Soviet Union by the restlessness of youth.

He clearly separates himself, however, from the widespread fallacy of excusing communism because of its failures; i.e., because human beings even after years of domination still endure as individuals.

SECOND, throughout the last decade, when what Sen. Fulbright once called the "swinish blight of anti-intellectualism" was heavy on the land, Schlesinger kept up a steady warfare against the moral smugness, the crazy idols, "the torpor of the '50s." This is the theme of a majority of the essays.

They combat the mentality which discovered and played with the word "egghead," an obscenity against the humane culture if there ever was one.

They deplore what Schlesinger considers "the politics of fatigue," which, in his view, let economic problems accumulate and social needs go unmet.

They shudder at the doctrine laid down by President Eisenhower's chief economic adviser, that the ultimate purpose of the economy "is to produce more consumer goods."

(No idea was more persistent in political theory from Plato to the late 18th century than the belief that rampant luxury was absolutely fatal to any state. We haven't used such old-fashioned ideas lately. But we do have a debate going, in which Schlesinger is a principal figure, as to how we should distribute our national wealth between private wants and public needs; and, fundamentally, this is the old issue of "la luxe" once more.)

YET FERVID as is Schlesinger's rejection of the 50's, he can nevertheless remark, and rightly, that "after all, Jean-Paul Sartre is both far more irritating and a far greater enemy of freedom than Herbert Brownell."

The title comes from Emerson, and represents his distinction between conservatives—the party of memory—and liberals —the party of hope.

Schlesinger (and his father) have elaborated a cyclical interpretation of American history, which sees periods of respite and drift (such as, in his demonstration, the 50's) alternating with longer periods of activity and purpose (such as the 30's and 40's).

In this scheme, the 60's should witness a revival of national energy, and along about the 80's there should be a recurrence of the passivity of the 50's. I am not sure that I can agree yet with Schlesinger's ardently expressed conviction that a new era has decisively begun.

Schlesinger is, it seems to me, not an interesting writer when he is endeavoring to construct ideas, as in the first two essays of this book ("On Heroic Leadership" and "The Decline of Greatness"). All but one of the other pieces are critical, and his skill at criticism gives him a high and respected place in contemporary American intellectual life.

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Remarks for the panel "The Impatient One-Tenth," at the Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, March 28, 1963

by: Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

I cannot help but notice that of your three panelists I alone am white, and that I have also been given here the last word. This is kind of Miss Baldinger, but also a rare experience: the white man, particularly the southern white man, does not today often have the last word.

Now this is really the most profound thing I know to say. Right now I ought to sit down and let you meditate in silence on that remark. People at luncheons don't however, do well at silent meditation, and I am as tenacious as most men of a semi-captive audience. So I'll talk on for a while, but if you want to close your ears and meditate on that one -- and only -- profundity which I have to offer you, go ahead. Your time will be well spent: white men no longer have the last word -- not even Mr. John Fischer.

As a matter of fact, this seems to me to indicate the one basic amendment which time (and Messrs. Wilkins and Farmer) has made to Gunnar Myrdal's analysis of the American dilemma. He wrote, you will recall, that whites determine the Negroes' "place," and that "in the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic." Since Myrdal wrote in 1944, we have witnessed an almost full swing of the circle. At the most, white people today are engaged in tactical maneuvers. The strategic power to determine the direction and pace of change in racial relations is, for the present, in Negro hands.

I am a refugee scholar, and this emendation of Myrdal will be my contribution for today to scholarship. From here on, I have nothing to offer you but the reflections of -- and I wear the name proudly -- a liberal.

I have these last two years or so read an awful lot of writing (and I leave it to you whether I am using the word "awful" in its correct or its popular meaning) about the Negro mood, Negro thinking, the Negroes "self-image," and the Negroes' opinion of white people. Despite my irreverence of a moment ago, some of this has been extremely thoughtful and well done interpretations. I think particularly, for instance, of things written by James Baldwin and Harold Isaacs. But I have yet to read an analysis which fitted all Negroes, and I have encountered no generalization -- except one -- which seems to me to cover all the cases.

One of the things we can still be happy about in our race relations is the fact that Negro Americans exhibit as many varieties of human nature, and self-interest, and intellectual bents as do the rest of us. I remember a conversation I had a year or so ago with a young white girl, who, with all zeal flying, was working with SNCC. There had been a mass meeting the night before, and she was giving me an indignant, a horrified account of some skeptical comments made during the meeting by a local Negro banker. When she finished her tale I said that it didn't seem so much to me, that the gentleman had spoken just as I would

expect a banker to speak. My young friend almost burst, in shouting back, "But he's a Negro!"

I may be mistaken, but there seems to me more than one way to create a stereotype. It also seems to me perniciously illiberal to insist that all Negroes must think and act according to the notion someone else may have as to how Negroes think and feel.

Moreover, there is one pretty large group of Negroes who seem to me to get left out of all the analyzing and interpreting. With Roy Wilkins and James Farmer seated here beside me, I shall timidly add that they seem to get left out of most agency programs. I refer to the lower economic class Negroes of southern cities -- and that's a lot of people. Nobody ever seems to do much about them, or for them, or with them, and the heavy thinkers seem to be unmindful of them. Their counterparts in non-southern cities get a lot of attention. Middle class Negroes north and south get attention. And everybody is concerned, one way or the other, with southern rural Negroes. But the denizens of southern urban slums don't seem to interest anyone and, in fact, I hazard the guess that they are the least self-conscious of all the elements of the Negro population.

I indicated earlier, however, that there is one generalization about the Negro mood which is accurate and generally applicable, and it is suggested -- but only suggested -- by the

word "impatient" in our panelis topic. We can say with complete assurance that a major fraction of Negro Americans will no longer acquiesce in segregation whether by law, custom, or contrivance, and that that fraction is steadily growing larger. This means, of course, that segregation will end. You simply cannot have a segregated society without the acquiescence of the minority race. As soon as Negroes stop acquiescing, the country has but two choices. One is force, in the manner of South African apartheid. The other is desegregation. Jim Crow cannot live without Uncle Tom, and Uncle Tom is dying fast.

Despite all the rich and wonderful variety and individualism among Negroes we can note, however, that there is probably more unity of interest and of political values among Negroes than exists within any other group of contemporary American society. No other group, not labor, not business, and not farmers, has the same high degree of consensus about what its interests are and where they lie. I believe that every civil rights victory has intensified this unity, that every new victory for yet a while will add to it further, until some predictable but as yet unknown point is reached where each new victory will erode a bit at this unity, because an ever growing number of Negroes will have once again found their "place" in American society, but this time a "place" that satisfies their manhood and their womanhood.

I suppose too at some day there will be, in the sad nature of things, another erosion. Negroes not only have a large measure of internal unity. They are about the only distinct

group of Americans who are in unity with traditional American ideals of freedom and opportunity and tolerance. Because of this, they are in today's politics a good and needed leaven in behalf of liberty against all its malicious attackers, from the sophisticated right or from the maudlin John Birchers.

Implied in what I have just said is the optimistic belief that both the internal unity of Negroes and their unity with American idealism will endure until dissipated by victories. I am mindful that other threats exist. They can be, and I believe will be, overcome, but they are nevertheless serious.

There is, first of all, the threat represented by those who are not impatient, but have lost all patience, by the Black Muslims and other nationalist groups. There are, secondly, the pestiferous Marxists, who buzz around us like noisome flies, and who if they ever make any inroads -- which as yet they have not -- will have to thank the willful refusal of some of us to put any value on the experience of others. More serious, I believe, than either as a threat to the unity of the Negro movement than either the Muslims or the Marxists is the self-adulation engaged in by some of the more vocal Negroes, especially those within the so-called "direct action" movement, and by their psalmists. I suppose that to complain about this stamps me conclusively as not only a white man, but as one who is insensitive to old ways and new rights. Recognizing full well that my credentials as a critic will not themselves be recognized, I shall still remark that the Negro movement is capable of breeding

its own diseases, and that the virus it needs to beware of just now is that of intolerance, an intellectual and moral intolerance of white people.

James Baldwin, who is right about so much, is plain wrong when he says that "nobody knows my name," that white men don't hear him. Who hears anybody, unless he shouts hard? Societies are amoral. Even churches -- I mean the corporate, institutionalized churches -- are amoral. Societies give no man more respect than he demands; they value a man as he values himself. Negroes no longer are accepting the white man's valuation of them. Painfully, but eagerly, they are teaching themselves to believe in themselves. I spoke a fortnight ago before a fairly large and heterogeneous audience in a Florida city. In the question period, I got the second most common question one gets from southern white immoderates. The most popular is that one about, would you want your daughter, etc.; a distant second best is the one about the Indians. Why don't <u>you do</u> something for the Indians? The question is an easy one; you simply reply that nobody, including you ever did much for Negroes, until they started doing for themselves. My questioner made it even easier by adding slyly,"Is it possible that the Indians vote is not as important as the Negro vote?"

Well of course.

I am trying, really, to make a point. I believe we have given disproportionate attention to studies, both literary and scholarly, of what Negroes think and feel and say. I think our scholars and

our literary lights have given too little attention to what Negroes do. When I read the essays or the latest outcropping of social science research I get a feeling of the desperateness of the Negro modd. When I look around, though, I don't see Negroes acting desperately. I see them acting as though they thought it worthwhile to fight, as if they believed they were going to win. I see them using the established processes and institutions of our political democracy as if they believed in them. I see them acting as though they thought American society was worth integrating with.

I believe that the Negro mood measured by feelings may be desperate and bitter. The Negro mood measured by action is not; it is angry, and that's a different thing. And I believe that our real selves are discovered by how we act, and not by how we feel. Which is a conclusion that leads me to suspect that most of our current social science is irrelevant, because social science, with its questionnaires and its IBM cards, seems to have lost all interest in social action.

I want to say a little bit about regional differences. These will be purely the personal impressions of a man who may know the South fairly well but knows northern race relations only superficially.

I think,for the long pull and maybe even for the present, the South may be a little better off than the North in point of psychological and spiritual health. Negro Southerners are every

bit as angry and maybe more aggressive than Negro non-Southerners. They seem to me less bitter and frustrated and confused. First, because they are not rootless, as such an unfortunately large number of northern Negroes are. Even in darkest Mississippi, they are at home, and have a sense of belonging to family and graves and a piece of soil. Secondly, they can recognize their enemies, real flesh and blood creatures, and its easier for a man to fight a man than to fight the shadowy system which crowds and oppresses and bewilders the northern Negroes.

Southern white men have an advantage too but, because of progress, they are losing it fast; while we still have it it will be of some growing help. Will Campbell boasts that, proportionately, more liberals come from Mississippi than any other state. He may be right, and the reason is simple; there is almost no middle ground, and once a white man dissents a little bit, he gets shoved all the way up Jacob's ladder. The same thing has been true of much of the South (and that's why a few of us are among you today). But as I said this is changing rapidly. Progress down South is coming in fast, and our new southern cities are building cultures at breakneck speed that have within them all the little niches and way-stations for hypocrisy that a northern city affords.

insert

The areas of disagreement between whites and Negroes are, moreover, probably going to increase. If so, it will be a normal development, and not a cause for questioning the nerve or the good-will of white liberals. In the 1930's and 1940's, liberals

INSERT FOR PANEL DISCUSSION - March 29, 1963

National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference

What I am trying to suggest is that white Southerners still have the capacity, in regards to race, to be honest with themselves and with others. Let me repeat that what I am here talking about is psychological and spiritual health. White Southerners are today, as they have been throughout our history, the principal impediment to a sane race relations. Their influence is more than regional. I believe that a good case could be made for the proposition that Northerners have generally, deny it as they will, taken their cue in racial attitudes from the South. The dreary facts about southern prejudice and discrimination I do not have to recount; you know them too well. Reluctantly, I have to concede that one of the more ~~important~~ needed of recent essays is ~~&&&&&&&&&~~ Gerald Walker's article in -- of all places -- the April issue of Cavalier magazine. Cavalier used a different title, but the one which Walker had submitted was more descriptive: he had called his piece "The Racial Inferiority of the White Southerner."

pretty much always supported whatever labor demanded; this is no longer so, and the earlier situation when liberals identified with farmers has been gone so long as to be all but forgotten.

The probable areas of disagreement are, chiefly, two: matters of timing and the singleness of Negro aims. As to the former, I decided for myself a couple years ago to put my sense of timing on the shelf. I believe that the Negroes of our country have absolute right and privilege to press on any front whenever they decide that they should. I believe that whenever white liberals or government officials seek by either persuasion or maneuver to postpone Negro pressure for some legitimate objective, they -- and not the Negroes -- are guilty of the subsequent and inevitable estrangement. Because on any ground that I can conceive of -- morality, politics, strategy, or even mental health -- the pace of integration should be set by Negroes, not by white liberals and certainly not by white moderates and not by the Department of Justice.

My organization publicly defended two years ago the Attorney-General's plea for a "cooling off" in the Freedom Ride, and under the circumstances we would do it again. This was not an issue of timing: the demand had already been made and forcefully so. The only question at issue was whether the Attorney-General would be trusted to carry through actions he had already begun, and which were the only ones anyone could think of, for satisfying the legitimate demands. I am well aware that

others will say there was another issue; some will call it simply the registering of protest, and our more religiously convicted friends will call it "witnessing." As a means to any end, except possibly the purgation of one's own psyche, I think witnessing is of little value. When Albany Negroes marched and prayed in the streets they did, I believe, a magnificent and wonderful thing; they were heard. When "witnesses" from Chicago and New York and elsewhere came down to do likewise, they were not heard, and I think, and I say this with all humility, they did not help. I believe, after some years of observation, the white South is capable of hearing and respecting Negro protest; it heard during the sit-ins of 1960 and I believe it has been reached also by Albany. I don't believe the white South hears the transient witness from abroad. If you think this doesn't matter, well then never mind. If, on the other hand, you have hopes that the civil rights movement may achieve its own sort of deep dialogue between Negro and white Southerners, then I offer these comments for your consideration.

In his February 28 message to Congress, President Kennedy said that, "In the last two years, more progress has been made --- than in any comparable period of our history." On March 14, when Negro students marched on the Atlanta City Hall to protest hotel segregation, Mayor Ivan Allen met them with the message that Atlanta "has made greater strides" than most cities in solving its problems. Both of these statements, excusable as they may

be for campaign purposes, are gruesomely irrelevant and, if repeated often, would be in opprobrious bad taste. What this administration has done compared with its predecessor is an arguable matter but entirely beside the point, just as is what Atlanta has done compared with Birmingham's record. Perhaps courts may be permitted to say that there is equity in "all deliberate speed" but the rest of us have not that privilege; it is bad morality and -- I would suggest -- also bad politics.

Nevertheless, we need a clear-headed perspective. At the beginning I promised you I would say only one profund thing. Here is, however, another one that borders on the profound. It also borders on the common-place, but a trite saying is, after all, merely a profundity that has been overworked. Common-place as it may sound, there is no more important truth for us to grasp <u>today</u> than an active understanding that we have come a long way these last few years, but have a long way to go. It seems to me crucially important that we all recognize this. If Negroes lose sight of how far we have come since, say, 1945, they will lose sight also of the fact that their own efforts have demonstrated that American political and legal processes can be made to work in the cause of freedom. If white people lose sight of how very much there still is to do they will consign the country straight to a holiday in Hell, that is to say, to a succession of Albanys, McCombs, Greenwoods, Little Rocks, Prince Edwards, and tortures not yet dreamed of.

The second area of probably growing disagreement between whites and Negroes has to do with the single-mindedness of Negro demands. The Negro groups stand for civil rights, equal opportunity, and integration. Whites can support these aims and have. But their conflicts of value arise. We have seen this already, for example, in regard to trade unionism and with some -- not all -- controversies about northern school integration. Somehow these disagreements don't worry me. The economic and political and intellectual bonds holding a very large and influential segment of the white population in support of civil rights are too strong to be seriously weakened, provided Negroes continue to supply firm and decisive leadership. That being the case, I think we should not wring our hands and wail whenever disagreement pops up. Disagreements between allies usually result in valuable self-examination.

But let me retreat again to the only area I know much about, the South. We have had disagreement, long and angry. Because only during the last year or so has the civil rights movement really assaulted the Deep South, we are certain to have a great deal more angry, even violent, disagreement. This assault coincides in time with an intensified drive in the North for the more sophisticated objectives of the integration movement, and coincides also with a new and higher wave of Negro frustration and resentment. I think a prudent man can only anticipate that

the next few years will be stormy, embittered, and decisive in many ways. What our race relations will be like a decade hence I do not know. For my part, the only solution I know to the American dilemma is to work at it.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

April 2, 1963

Professor Avery Leiserson
Editor
The Journal of Politics
302 Calhoun Hall
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Professor Leiserson:

After cautiously examining many misgivings, I have decided to attempt the article which you so kindly have invited me to write. I think you could have made a better choice, but I shall do what I can to contribute to the success of the 25th Anniversary issue.

I have noted the content and length requirements mentioned in your letter with care, as well as the September 1 deadline.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Published by
THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
In cooperation with
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Editorial Offices
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March 21, 1963

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Editorial Board of the JOURNAL OF POLITICS has approved plans for its 25th Anniversary Number, presently projected for February, 1964, calling for a symposium issue on the changing South, to consist of twelve scholarly articles by recognized authoirities in each field, approximately 6500-7000 words (26-30 double-spaced pages) in length, which would analyze the patterns of change in the 1950's and conclude with a projection of the major discernible trends forward through the 1960's. The attached table of contents will indicate how we visualize the issue as a whole, as well as the relation of each article to the others, hopefully minimizing by means of emphasis in the title the degree of unnecessary overlap in contents. Within the limits stated above, each author will have a free hand to organize and present his analysis of the material, but the editorial staff will of course be glad to answer questions, or to coordinate outlines prior to the writing stage in the event any author wishes to initiate such a procedure.

I am writing to inquire whether you would be willing to contribute the article on "The Changing Mind of the South." Your work in this field is such that at least three persons have recommended you name as lending both competence and distinction to the enterprise, which we believe will have a broad educational impact both in this country and abroad. Copy will have to be in the hands of the editor by September 1, which allows virtually eight months. Permit me to add my strong personal hope that you will be able to see you way clear to making the JOURNAL'S

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council

March 21, 1963

25th Anniversary Number a noteworthy and continuing contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Avery Leiserson

Avery Leiserson
Editor

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Proposed Table of Contents for
25th Anniversary Symposium Number of the
JOURNAL OF POLITICS

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4. Urbanization and Metropolitan Development
5. Population Shifts and Power Structure in the Local Community
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7. Political Movements and Counter-Organizations
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12. The South in National Politics

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302 Calhoun Hall
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Nashville 5, Tennessee

April 3, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I was delighted to receive your acceptance of the JOURNAL'S invitation to contribute to our 25th Anniversary Symposium. Your willingness to participate is reassuring evidence of the soundness and value of the enterprise, and leads me personally to look forward with the greatest anticipation to the arrival of the manuscripts on or about September 1.

It has been suggested that authors may wish to submit a writing outline, or analytical table of contents, for criticism, comment and suggestion from this office. The Associate Editor and I will be glad to perform this role if you wish it, but I want to emphasize that such action is wholly voluntary and must be initiated by the author in every case. The JOURNAL does not solicit contributions without being convinced in advance of the competence of the individual to handle the defined topic, so that we have every confidence that a minimum of editorial emendation will be necessary. I am sanguine enough to hope that the analytical delimitation of subject-matter reflected in the article titles will eliminate all but unavoidable points of interconnection.

With warm regards, and every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Avery Leiserson

Avery Leiserson
Editor

AL:cs

Only copy

File Dun. Speeches, 1963

Before the Sub-committee on
Employment and Manpower
U. S. Senate Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

Statement of Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council*
August 2, 1963

President Kennedy in his message to Congress of June 19, 1963 combined in one discussion the goals of "fair" and "full" employment. I believe that this is the right approach and the only one on which sound national policy can be built.

In his Manpower Report of March 1963, the President made the startling statement that, "There are 32 million Americans who are still on the fringes of poverty, and worse."** There are differences of opinion as to how "poverty" should be defined and measured, but by almost any criteria we may use, there are an enormous lot of Americans who are poor. For example, in 1960 when the median money income of families was $5,625, five percent of our families had incomes less than $1,000, and another eight percent had incomes below $2,000. In the same year, when the median American over 25 had completed 10.6 years of school, 6.7% of our whites over 25 and 23.5% of our non-whites had less than five years of schooling.***

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*5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

**Manpower Report of the President, etc., March 1963. page xxi.

***Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1962. pages 332 and 117.

Without reciting more of statistics that are already generally familiar to you, I think we can recognize the very deep, the very complex and involved reality of a sizeable fraction of our people living in or near poverty, and therefore contributing little to the national wealth. I think we all know also that far too many of these disadvantaged persons are Negro.

In the Manpower Report, the situation of Negroes was described in these terms:

--an unemployment rate twice that of white workers;

-- an unemployment rate for Negro males 2½ times as great as that for white males;

--heavy concentration in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations peculiarly susceptible to unemployment;

--umemployed <u>longer</u> than are whites;

--victims of jobs and educational discrimination.*

We need national policies that will help eradicate the racial imbalance within our economy, but also ones which will constantly search for the causes and remedies of poverty in America.

We need, as a nation, to grasp the vastness of the problems, and to realize that to cure them we must prepare our people better to be productive. But I think there is

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*<u>Manpower Report</u>, page 43.

bountiful evidence that racial discrimination bars Negroes from economic productivity which no amount of job training or professional education will insure.

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961, and the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 are steps toward the full and fair use of our manpower. So, too, are the President's 1963 recommendations for expanded programs. But we might keep in mind the painstaking analysis and conclusion of Professor Gary S. Becker:

> There is abundant evidence that [economic] discrimination against non-whites systematically increases with their age and education. Many barriers to the education of non-whites will probably be taken down in the future, and this will increase their education relative to that of whites. This would also increase their income relative to that of whites if there were no discrimination; but, since discrimination rises with education, an increase in the education of non-whites may increase only slightly their incomes relative to those of whites.*

Professor Ralph Turner has reached a similar conclusion. He found that "approximately two-fifths (39%) of the occupational deficiency of non-whites may be attributed to the factor of education. 'The residual three-fifths is attributable to discrimination and types of qualification not indicated by educational attainment.'" Dr. Turner also stated that "close to three-quarters (74%) of the Negro's excess unemployment must be attributed to discrimination and qualifications not indicated by education."**

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*The Economics of Discrimination, (University of Chicago Press, 1957), page 130. Italics supplied.

**Melvin M. Tumin, Segregation and Desegregation (New York: Anti-Defmmation League of B'nai B'rith, 1957), p. 68. The author is abstracting from Ralph H. Turner, "Foci of Discrimination in the Employment of Nonwhites," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, 1952, pp. 247-256.

The President rightly said in his June 19 message that complete elimination of employment discrimination would not put to work a single unemployed Negro worker who is without marketable skills.

But I think we must add that unless discrimination can be brought under control, skills will not beget employment.

The dreary economic indices of Negro Americans become doubly alarming when one considers that Negroes have actually lost ground, relative to whites, in the past few years; in 1952, the median family income of Negroes was 57% of the median family income of whites, but ten years later it had dropped to 52%.

There is a belief abroad that Negroes are advancing economically; the above statistic casts doubt on its validity. With your permission, I would like to enter into the record the page-proofs of a study soon to be published by the Southern Regional Council. It is titled The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South, and is by Professor Vivian W. Henderson. I refer you particularly at this point to pages_____, where Dr. Henderson carefully analyzes the relative economic progress of whites and Negroes, and concludes:

> ...Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954, they have not progressed in income as well.

In 1950, the dollar gap between Negro and white median family income was $1,080; in 1960, it had grown to $1,522.

And the position of Negroes in the South is even worse. Negro family income in the South is only 46% of white family income. In only one southern state, Florida, have the earnings of Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers. In each of ten other states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from a 6% negative change in Virginia to a 25% negative change in Arkansas for male workers; and a negative change in the income of all persons, ranging from a low of 7% in Georgia to 21% in Tennessee. In other words, although Negro income between 1950-60 did increase sharply, the gap between white and Negro income was growing.

The fact is that most of the gains registered by Negro employees between 1940 and 1953 were in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, or in routine clerical positions -- and it is precisely this kind of work which is being progressively outmoded by our changing economy.

There are those who contend that the low earnings of Negroes do not prove discrimination, but merely the accuracy of familiar stereotypes about Negroes as poorly qualified, lazy, or irresponsible. Undeniably, many Negroes do have low

occupational aspirations and bad educations. But this condition is a part of the problem that must be overcome, not a justification for doing nothing about it. Segregated and inferior schools, denial of equal access to apprenticeship and other job training, and lack of opportunity to gain on-the-job experience necessary to promotion, these are aspects of discrimination so deeply woven into our practices that they blind many of us as to who is to blame for the hardships of the Negro.

The most important manifestation of discrimination in the South is the unwritten yet thoroughly codified division of the labor market into a dual track system of "white" and "Negro" jobs. This means that a virtually impenetrable job barrier stands between Negroes and many jobs traditionally understood to be for whites only. Negroes are sometimes accepted in occupations normally reserved for whites under abnormal circumstances -- during a war, for example, when there is a shortage of white manpower -- but even then there is a marked tendency for employers to utilize white women, wherever possible, rather than Negro men.* The job barrier has also been raised at the threshold of many jobs once considered in the domain of Negroes. The group most seriously affected by outright denial of employment, of course, are those highly qualified persons who cannot find a position commensurate

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*Donald Dewey, "Southern Poverty and the Racial Division of Labor," New South, XVII, 5 (May, 1962), p. 12.

with their skills in the South.

The difficulties of the Negro worker in obtaining entry into the job market are just the beginning of his travail. Since the dual track system of job organization in the South decrees that Negroes shall neither work side by side with whites on the same type of job, nor rise to a position of authority over whites, "direct personal competition between individual whites and Negroes is limited largely to isolated jobs where a man is on his own -- as in truck driving. And... these isolated jobs are also dead-end jobs." *

The mechanisms utilized to block Negroes from job advancement range from the ingenuous to the ingenious. Many foremen and employers doubtless accept unthinkingly the stereotyped image of Negroes as "hands" who neither want nor are capable of filling positions of skill or responsibility. Negro protest is fast ending such notions. But lack of on-the-job experience, exclusion from apprenticeship training programs, from business and vocational training, from the services of private employment agencies, from a host of other advantages which whites have -- these are obstacles which protest will not overcome without the help of governmental policies.

Employment discrimination is a problem of the utmost seriousness, not only for the Negro citizens of the United States, but for the nation as a whole. It causes waste of

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*Ibid., p. 11.

manpower resources, it creates a sizable bloc of deprived and oppressed citizens who are ever more deeply alienated from the mainstream of American society, and it represents a scandalous contradiction of our political ideals.

The loss of talent caused by job discrimination is in itself reason enough for prompt governmental action. The President's Council of Economic Advisers declared in 1962 that the economy is losing $13 billion annually in national income through failure to employ fully the present educational attainment of non-whites. The Council further estimated an additional $4 billion loss through failure to provide equal educational opportunities. As Mr. Harry J. Kelley, a Commissioner of the Michigan FEPC, recently observed in a speech before the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, whenever one sees a minority group person succeeding in an "unexpected" job, it should be a cause for rejoicing in more than one sense: it means that an American citizen is no longer prohibited from the full development and expression of his personal abilities, and it also means that the nation is benefitting from those abilities, instead of letting them go to waste through forcing a talented individual to do work that could be performed by a less skilled person.* In an era when rapid technological advance promises to create a demand for hundreds of thousands of skilled operatives in electronics, chemicals, precision instruments and research, full utilization of manpower resources is a

*Harry J. Kelley, "Six Years of Fair Employment Practices in Michigan."

national goal that deserves high priority. And this goal cannot be achieved without the elimination of discrimination in employment.

Equalization of job opportunities is in the public interest, secondly, because it is a necessary step in the achievement of other national interests. Low income means low health standards and low physical vitality, with an attendant drain upon the public resources and personal energies necessary to productive study and work. It means a high degree of family disorganization. A study by Dr. Hylan Lewis, sociologist on the staff of the District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council, demonstrates that low family income is associated with an abnormally early "cut-off point" of parental authority.* Poverty-stricken parents simply lose control of their children, in most cases, at an age much earlier than adolescence. James Conant's warning concerning the "social dynamite" of discontented unemployed urban youth deserves to be pondered soberly:

> In a slum section composed almost entirely of Negroes in one of our largest cities the following situation was found. A total of 59 per cent of the male youth between the ages of 16 and 21 were out of school and unemployed. They were roaming the streets. Of the boys who graduated from high school 48 per cent were unemployed in contrast to 63 per cent of the boys who had dropped out of school. In short, two-thirds of the male dropouts did not have jobs and about half of the high school graduates did not have jobs. In sucn a situation, a pupil

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*Hylan Lewis, Child Rearing in Low-Income Families, (Washington: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961).

> may well ask why bother to stay in school when graduation for half the boys opens onto a dead-end street?
>
> An even worse state of affairs was found in another special study in a different city. In a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, a sampling of the youth population shows that roughly 70 per cent of the boys and girls ages 16-21 are out-of-school and unemployed. When one stops to consider that the total population in this district is equal to that of a good-sized independent city, the magnitude of the problem is appalling and the challenge to our society is clear.*

When a boy or a man perceives that he cannot attain the goals considered desirable by his society through the means considered legitimate by the society, he must either renounce all hope of attaining the goals and thus lapse into apathy or flee into some type of purposeless escapism, or he must seek to attain these goals through illegitimate means, and thus fall into crime or vicious acquisitiveness.

To speak of the tragedy of human waste caused by discrimination in employment is to anticipate the third point of urgency. We ought to act fairly because not to do so is to continue to violate the ideals of this nation. America is nothing if it is not the land of a free and upright people.

A NATIONAL POLICY IS NEEDED

Even if all of the state and municipal FEP laws were adequately drafted and enforced, the need for federal action

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*James B. Conant, "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities," Social Dynamite: The Report of the Conferences on Unemployed Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas (Washington: National Committee for Children and Youth, 1961), pp. 26-27.

would be real. There are, I believe, 28 states, including all of the southern states, which are not covered. Three-fifths of our Negro citizens live in the southern and border states, only two of which have any kind of FEP law whatsoever.

The inadequacy of FEP laws on a state or local rather than a national basis is compounded by the typical mode of corporate organization. "In contrast to the partial and Northern-oriented coverage of state and municipal FEP laws, American private enterprise in most lines is organized predominantly on a national rather than a state or local basis. Most of the major enterprises in manufacturing, transportation, public utilities, and mining, and important sectors of construction, trade, finance, and services are national and multi-regional in scope, and many have establishments in all sections of the country. This organizational feature of industry and business has an important bearing on the problem of effective administration of FEP laws. Since major policy decisions in these enterprises are nearly always made at the headquarters level, the effectuation of changes in employment practices through FEP-agency intervention can be achieved most effectively if the agency negotiates with top management in terms of all plants - or all noncomplying plants - in a particular company or industry. The desirability of utilizing this approach is evident if one considers the difficult

problem of shifting from a long-standing discriminatory (and usually segregated) employment setup to a nondiscriminatory, integrated operation in a southern plant.*

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has achieved some promising results, especially in the field of government employment, but we have not been given by the Committee the data which would make possible an intelligent appraisal of its effectiveness in combatting racial inequities in the employment practices of federal contractors.

Nor can there be much hope that employers will voluntarily change discriminatory patterns. With some employers, no doubt, refusal to hire or upgrade Negroes on an equal basis is the result of genuine racial prejudice. Such employers will endeavor to maintain racist practices even in the face of market realities which permit or encourage merit employment, and will not alter policies unless required to do so by enforceable law. But these men are rare. Most employers are eager to hire and promote the workmen and executives who perform most capably; indeed, many are willing to take some risk in order to provide equal opportunities for Negroes. Employers may understandably, however, shy from offending too greatly the sensibilities of their customers and employees. They feel bound by the unwritten laws which make it unheard

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*Paul H. Norgren, "Governmental Fair Employment Agencies: An Appraisal of Federal, State and Municipal Efforts to End Job Discrimination," a paper read before the Columbia University Seminar on Labor, January 24, 1962, pp. 19-20

of for Negroes to hold white collar positions, or to hold certain jobs alongside whites or in preference to whites, and which make it improper for a Negro to have supervisory authority over whites. Such employers need the support of an unambiguous directive from public authorities to enable them to use Negro manpower in a rational fashion, and the experience of many state FEP commissions is that businessmen are often grateful for this support.

And as Mr. George Meany said before this sub-committee on July 25, trade unions "need the power of the federal government to do what we are not fully able to do.*

APPROACH TO A NATIONAL POLICY

Mr. Chairman, I am not here to support or to criticize any one of the employment bills which have been introduced at this Congress. I would, however, like to conclude my testimony by indicating certain features which a national policy, formed and founded on the basis of study and experience, should, I believe, include.

First, policies should be focused on the issues of individual growth and manpower resources, not on the racial question. We need to move rapidly toward a national goal of full employment of fully productive people.

Second, the question of racial discrimination should be confronted and dealt with as a part of the larger issue.

---

*New York Times, July 26, 1963.

Third, a fair employment statute should emphasize the national interest and not individual rights. This is to say, its administration should concentrate on affirmative action by employers and unions, and not on the adjudication of individual complaints.

Fourth, national legislation should not displace state and local legislation. To say, as I have, that we need a national policy does not mean that we need national administration throughout. We have here an opportunity for cooperative effort by federal, state, and local authorities, and skilled legislative draftsmen and skilled and imaginative administrators can realize this opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, the people of this country are struggling with some huge social problems. No matter how hard they work to solve them, no matter how much help they get from the President, the courts, and from state legislatures, they are not going to solve these problems without the help which Congress, and only Congress, can give.

August 12, 1963

Professor Avery Leiserson
Editor
The Journal of Politics
302 Calhoun Hall
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Professor Leiserson:

Thank you for your letter of August 1, and the welcome news that contributors may have until September 10. I may well need some of the extra time.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 8/2/63

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Published by
THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
In cooperation with
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

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August 1, 1963

~~Professor~~ Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Professor~~ Dr. Dunbar:

The time has come when an editor must exercise his unpleasant duty of reminding busy people of deadlines. September 1st is rapidly approaching, and I am looking forward with great anticipation to receiving your contribution to the JOURNAL'S 25th Anniversary Number. Our schedule will not be wrecked if you don't get it in until the 10th, but Labor Day comes on September 2 this year and the A.P.S.A. meetings are on the 4th through the 7th.

The Table of Contents and Contributor's Page promise a really distinguished issue of the JOURNAL, and I am confident you will feel proud to have been associated with the enterprise.

With my deepest personal appreciation for your efforts, and kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Avery Leiserson

Avery Leiserson
Editor

AL/ca

Lund Letters 1963

September 10, 1963

Professor Avery Leiserson
Editor
The Journal of Politics
302 Calhoun Hall
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Professor Leiserson:

Enclosed is my manuscript. I hope that it will serve the purpose you had in mind. It was a difficult thing, and I am not at all sure of it.

I assume that the title proposed in your letter of March 21 was, first of all, a topic and only a suggested title. But if you prefer it to the one I have used please make the change.

I am sorry that my schedule was such that I was not able to take advantage of your April 3 offer to critique the contributors' outlines. I know that your editorial printing schedules are probably skin tight, but if you would have any suggestions for the piece, I would be appreciative of them. Small perfections you will, of course, feel free to make.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (MS: "The Exposed Nerve")

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January 17, 1964

Dr. Avery Leiserson, Editor
The Journal of Politics
Vanderbilt University - Box 1825
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Dr. Leiserson:

Enclosed are the corrected galleys from Mr. Dunbar's office, together with an order for reprints.

As to the requested biographical data, Mr. Dunbar received his Ph.D. from Cornell University, and has taught Political Science at Emory University and Mt. Holyoke College, and is now the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm
Enclosure
1. Corrected galleys
2. Reprint order

File: Staff - Pub. Articles 1963

April 22, 1964

The Journal of Politics
204 Peabody Hall
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Sirs:

We would like sent to us two (2) copies of the February 1964 Anniversary Issue of the Journal of Politics. Please bill us at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Journal of Politics
204 Peabody Hall
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla

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Speech delivered before the Conference on Disadvantage, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, April 10, 1964

File Staff-Prof 1964 Speeches

"THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE"

by: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Tuskegee is a place which sobers the thoughts and emotions of a speaker as none other does. If you have the same moods that I have, you must alternate between glowing hopes and sharp cutting anxieties, as you live from day to day, and indeed from moment to moment, in these years of American history. We see in one moment the rapidly approaching new day, and then in another moment we suffer the frustration and the pains of the present, and perhaps some nagging doubts about what the new day will in fact bring.

We are engaged in seeking moral and political answers to the question of whether America can be a home for all its people. Sometimes all of us, whether our skins are white or yellow or ~~brown~~ black, must wonder in the loneliness of our human frailty, whether the universe in which we live is friendly to man or an implacable opponent. Does the universe care whether men are happy? Is human life only a cosmic joke? Are we merely deluding and teasing ourselves when we speak, as we so often do, of the sacredness of the human personality?

These anxieties are common to all men. But Negro Americans have had their spirits weighted also by the more immediate question of whether this country, this culture, this civilization

is a home to which they can belong. Many generations ago a lot of black people and a lot more white people came to live here. Our crisis today is, most simply put, the issue of how they can get along better with each other. Tuskegee symbolizes an old idea about that issue, an idea now widely discarded, and I believe rightly so, though we must still honor it for the magnificent spirit of friendship and trust which it extended to white persons. Tuskegee symbolizes also a new idea and a new fact, which is that the time has come in the South for Negroes to move squarely into the political and civic leadership of their communities. Many of my later remarks will stress what I believe to be a truth; i.e., that Negroes have the responsibility for leading America today. If I am correct about this, Tuskegee, and what may happen here during the next few years, ~~is~~ are of profound importance.

No speaker or writer, with hide slightly less thick than that of an elephant, can help but wonder frequently what he is about when he addresses other people. We live amidst a confusion of words, swirling from all directions, seeking to persuade us, to indoctrinate us, to sell us, to inspire us, to inform us, to amuse us. There are so many voices and there are so many things to read. The danger is that our minds will be deadened, if they are not already, and that for our own peace we shall not hear, though we politely listen; and we shall not absorb or remember, though we shall continue dutifully to read. Let

me confess to you that I have nothing to say which you have not heard or read before.

And yet this confusion of words grows out of the human yearning and necessity to talk with each other. To unload on each other our feeling of helplessness and at the same time our own hopes as we face the task and try to meet the call of being human beings. I have nothing new to say. I can speak to you only of old ideas, old hopes, old wrongs, and visions which are as old as they are still unfullfilled.

The watchword of the civil rights movement is "freedom." There is another word which means the same: "liberty." Though these two words have no difference of meaning, as far as I can sense, I find myself wishing that we would use the word "liberty" more often than we do. Freedom is a new word, a word of Old English and Teutonic origin. Liberty is a word which comes to us from Latin, and links us with classical times. I prefer it because it reminds us that the goal we seek is an ancient one; that the ideals which inspire us have ~~inspired~~ invigorated civilized men for centuries. I prefer it because it reminds us that the endless words we speak are addressed to a problem as old as civilization itself. The Negro struggle for civil rights, the struggle of white Americans to emancipate themselves from the race problem, these are but the continuation of a search for liberty which has been going on since the days of Periclean Greece, since the days of the Roman Republic. All that is best

in our civilization, for more than 2,000 years, has been pledged to the same cause for which children died in Birmingham last year, for which Medgar Evers gave his life, and for which John Fitzgerald Kennedy was sacrificed.

America means so much, to us and to the world. This generation of Americans has the awful responsibility of saving it. I do not say that thoughtlessly. I need at this point only to document my concern by reference to what has just happened in Wisconsin, in order to suggest how deep is the challenge and how severe is the flaw which runs through our national character.

There are malignant anxieties in this nation, caused largely, I believe, by the changes occurring in our society and in the world at large. The pressures of a long continued Cold War, the impact of new and strange science and technology, the tumultous growth of cities and their hard problems, the decay of old world powers and the birth of new states, the rising aspirations of the colored people of Asia, Africa, and America -- all these things and more have upset the world, and many of our countrymen are finding it difficult to acclimate themselves. They feel anxious and threatened. And they will sometimes act desperately, against all and any change. They will act through the Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klans, the John Birch Society, through movements for unpledged electors, and in other ways.

And yet America is something special. Mankind has dreamed two grand dreams. One is that God cares for every individual, that not even a sparrow falls to the ground without His heart being hurt. The other dream has been that there can be America. For of no other nation or state is it similarly true that the essence of this country is ideas and dreams, and ones which are shared by human beings everywhere they live. America is not the institutions and men in Washington, not the state governments, not Wall Street or Madison Avenue or even Main Street. The reality of America, that which holds us in loyalty and fealty, is made up of the dreams which have been shared by all its great sons and its devoted people, dreams that here in this good land liberty and self-respect could take root and grow richly.

This generation has the obligation to save that dream. Of saving the dream of free men freely governing themselves, a dream which burst on the world like a great hosanna, and which still is merely a dream over most of the world. Of saving the faith that relies on every individual to do his duty to his neighbors and to his country. Of saving that grand belief that men should be left free to make their own way, to fullfill their own talents, to enterprise freely in the economy of life. To save the conviction that there is wisdom to be discovered, excitement and joy to be found, when free men speak and write freely their thoughts.

There is all this to lose, all this risk of losing our joy and our zest for the adventure that is America. We do not need

to worry about losing religion and morality. We are, after all, only men, and religion belongs to God, not to us. Religion is a bond which holds men to God and to each other, but the bond is of God's making. In His wondrous and mysterious and loving way, He will preserve religion somehow, whatever we, His wayward children, do.

But what we have made ourselves, we can destroy. Men made America, and men gave it the principles and institutions which, no matter how often and cruelly violated, have always sustained the country. Men made America, and men can destroy it. Men have America by the throat today in Mississippi, and here also in Alabama, and in its largest city Birmingham. Only a few years back, men had America by the throat, and were choking from it its dreams and its goodness, all over the South. And in Harlem today, and in neighborhoods like it throughout northern cities, a mean and vicious system has America by the throat, squeezing from it its vitality, its beauty, and its hopes. A system made up of lousy landlords, and vile merchandisers of narcotics, and noisome politicians, and what else through its dark, putrid labyrinths I don't know.

Throughout America today the need is to care for our human resources. That is a heavy-handed way of saying that we have an obligation to give each man a chance to make the best of himself. We speak these days of the submerged fifth, of the disadvantaged. These are people we are talking about. One of

the sad ironies of our situation is that a large number of them, a majority of them in fact, are among the oldest Americans: Negroes, Appalachian mountain folk, and Indians on reservations. They belong to America if anyone does. Here in the South they are, many of them, our neighbors, and we Southerners have a special responsibility to give them their chance.

In other ways too we here in the South have a sobering responsibility and a large opportunity. Southerners have always been the pace-setters in establishing the race relations policies and practices of this country. This is still true. Today it is to Negro Southerners that the country looks for leadership, leading us toward new racial policies and new practices. Southerners have for nearly 50 years called the tune in Congress. Now it is to the southern vote, including the southern Negro vote, that the country looks for leadership in giving this nation new political vigor.

We hear so much of the "power structure." Sometimes I am puzzled about how we talked with each other before that term was invented. I have never succeeded in understanding it very well. But if it means the people who lead a society in making its decisions, it refers to the Negro citizens of this country, and particularly of the South. From them has come the strength and the influence which, since Phillip Randolph in 1941 called for a march on Washington, has re-directed this country. And from them must come the leadership for the next decade or so, because white Americans have neither the understanding of the problem or the care for it to lead.

Yet nothing could be more disastrous than for Negro Americans to come to believe that they can go it alone. They cannot; where would they go and how? Nor is that man, whether he is Negro or white, a friend of Negro interests who urges reckless attack on the legitimate institutions and procedures of society, in order to protect racial injustice. We should never forget that a democracy is and should be a compound of people's efforts at individual happiness. You can push a democracy only so far. When you go beyond that point, when you challenge the majority's idea of fairness and social morality without having on your side a clearly communicated and substantial grievance, the majority strikes back. The American democracy was pushed too far on the school prayer issue, and ~~we are likely~~ as a result we are threatened with having ~~to have~~ a bothersome Constitutional amendment. It is pushed too far by people lying in front of rush-hour traffic, on a congested bridge or on the road to the New York World's Fair. I do not think the civil rights movement can do anything but harm itself by espousing the doctrine that the end justifies the means. Democracy is pushed too far by demands for bussing children to schools away from their homes and neighborhoods, ~~and~~ when there is no clearly interpreted educational reason for doing so. As long as our aim~~s~~ and our policy is integration, we shall find that American democracy will accept and support it. But integration means the full and final eradication of barriers, political, economic, educational,

and social. It does not mean the giving of power to any group of men to order other people about. That is not the ~~liberty~~ freedom we seek, and American democracy is not likely to accept it.

See p. 9-A insert

We are living in a rapidly changing South -- changing more rapidly than most of us sense. In some states of the South we have made already a historic turn. For many generations the cardinal principle of southern political theory was white supremacy. Whenever any other policy seemed to conflict with white supremacy, that policy had to yield. From the day when those white women in Little Rock (Ark.) and those men and women in Virginia said publicly and repeatedly and strongly that schools for their children meant more to them than segregation, the South began to change. Then for the first time, really, white Southerners began to say that other things were more important than race. And today I believe there lies ahead, in several southern states, the shore already dimly seen. In Kentucky, in North Carolina, in Tennessee, perhaps even in Georgia, there are now state governments which are trying to represent the interest of all their people, and are addressing themselves to the real problems of their states and not to the defense of racial myths and racial selfishness.

If I may say a word in behalf of the South, I believe that we here in the South have fought, these last few years, one of democracy's never ceasing battles; that we have done our part. This we have done through the joint efforts of Negro and

It is more than a matter of tactics to suggest that the civil right movement has an obligation to try to keep the community intact. If I remember the meaning of these military terms we use, "strategy" is the definition of objectives and the planning of the general method of attach on them; "tactics" is the choice of means to make a strategy succeed. When the objective is shifted from specific offenders to the whole community, their is a change in strategy, not tactics. Moreover, the final goal is integration, and that implies a wholeness, a community at peace with itself. Against institution and practices, whether Alabama or New York, which discriminate or deny equal opportunity, any peaceable pressure or assault is, in my judgment, justified. And where the community provides no channel of orderly change, as in the case in most of Mississippi; I do not see how the community can justly complain if Negroes and civil right organisations being pressure on the widest possible front against the whole community. But when such channels do exist and are kept open, it is probably both unwise and socially damaging to seek to punish and cripple the community in order to dramatize issues. I doubt very much that blocking traffic is the way to move ahead on restaurant or shcool desegregation.

white Southerners; but let us be clear about one thing: the leadership came from Negroes and it is to them, despite all their burdens, and despite all their hardships and disadvantages, that we must realistically look for continued leadership.

Moreover, I would say that it is not far-fetched for us to look forward with some realism to a new era of states rights. Nothing which has happened these last few years has had greater meaning for civil rights than has had, and will have, the Supreme Court decision in Baker v. Carr. We now have the chance, so shamelessly kept from us in the past, to bring state governments into the control of the people. There is, therefore, a double urgency for Negroes throughout the South to register and to vote. Because not only do they need to vote in their own behalf, but they need now to fulfill the opportunity, and, therefore the responsibility, of increasingly democratic politics.

When I say that the South is moving more rapidly than most of us realize, I do not mean only, therefore, that we are moving in the direction of civil rights. I mean that we are moving in the direction of integration. And let me say this to you. I believe it is an illusion to look for integrated education, integrated neighborhoods, integrated employment -- though all these things we must have, and let us never again be apologetic about saying so -- unless we have integrated politics. President Kennedy once said that every President of the United States in his turn had to take up the unfinished

business of American democracy. I believe that every generation of American citizens must, in its turn, do likewise. And for this generation the unfinished business, not only of American democracy but of the developing spirit of Western civilization, is preeminently the breakdown and the erasure of the barriers of color which stultify both white and Negro men and women, and which make little people of us all.

If white liberals continue to think of themselves as a small band of defenders of the Holy Grail, they would do well to close up shop. If the Negro leaders of the South continue to think that their job is to make the white leadership do right, they will not be true to their responsibility. They will still be fighting only for civil rights, and not for integration. The Negro leadership has got to become a part of the South's leadership. It has got to politic. It has got to teach its people the duty of voting. It has got to run for office. It has got to ask for and learn how to get white votes.

The American adventure is an old one. It is an adventure in search of a life where each man can be free, can fulfill his own talents, can be responsible to himself. Where we have come now in this adventure is to the place where we must learn that we are one people.

We need leadership in love with the adventure which is America, which has the great soul to search for what my Mississippi friend, Aaron Henry, calls the beloved community which fears only one thing, and that is hatred and

bitterness, and which uses every good and right means today and uses them again tomorrow to make good the promises of America. We need leadership which has the courage to face the new, and the wisdom to try the untried -- for without adventure into the new and untried, America would not be itself.

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GREENSBORO, N. C. 27402

April 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,
5 Forsyth St.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

The article in the Journal of Politics is excellent. I could put to very good use about 10 extra copies if you know how to get them and can spare them. If you can't get this many, I know that the editors of the papers here could use two anyway.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

April 28, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for the copy of the reprint of your article on "The Changing Mind of the South: The Exposed Nerve" which I have received. This article is so good that it is being made required reading in the course in Sociology 541--Socio-cultural Problems of the South.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Dean

CGG:hc

THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Southern Regional Council

I

I PREMISE THAT THERE has been such a thing as a southern folk, clearly if not definably more a single people than any other Americans, composed of two grades of persons, both of whom have been truly part of the same folk, and yet one of whom, the Negro Southerners, because they were ruled by the other did not sense and hallow as did the whites their folk integrity and their distinctness from the rest of the nation. And because white Southerners have consciously known that they were set apart, they have struggled to define themselves, have striven for self-identity, and with every Cash or Percy—or Faulkner—asking "Who am I?" have moved nearer the point which comes in every self-examination, where discovery means either release or reunion.

Who is there who is not tired of this search, who would not rather give it up before he has to choose between release, and rejection, or recoil into the mind of the South, who would rather not stop short in self-discovery and become what history makes of him? And indeed, there has been a re-directing of the South's self-study. The intellectual and artistic concern is changing, has changed, from a deep, self-combative hoeing and chopping of souls and history and eternity, and toward commitment to the active issues of the day. The dark, Faulknerian, problems recede.

The classic interpreters of the South began with the conviction that there was a "South" and a "Southerner," and they hunted for definitions. Because the interpreters were themselves Southerners, dredging their prey up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, their definitions were never abstract, and they never tired of examining countless aspects. Nor did they, however, ever yield the belief that something constant and essential lay under the aspects. The Southerner was to be known as a being, and not an active one at that. Only the public figures of the South defined

themselves in activity, and the interpreters tended to be less interested in them than in regarding the South's election of them as another aspect of the essential being which needed to be pondered. The essential Southerner acted occasionally, savagely and without premeditation, and this proclivity of his was another aspect to be explained. But except for this, the Southerner "was"; he did not, since the Civil War, "do."

Our preoccupation today is with how Southerners do and will act. For this is a time of testing. We are re-learning an old truth, which historians have nearly always known and social scientists have frequently forgotten, that men reveal themselves more accurately through their action than through their established feelings, opinions, and beliefs.

Another change has occurred as well. Cash, writing as late as 1941, was not really much attentive to Negro Southerners, and Percy, writing also in 1941, could say that he was "usually in a condition of amazed exultation over the excellent state of race relations in the South." James Agee, almost the quintessential New Dealer, took only an occasional and not seriously interested glance at the Negro neighbors of his white Alabama sharecroppers. Of the classic writers, only Lillian Smith had the greatness to wrestle with what the others saw, but passed by, and that was the centrality of race to the southern self-consciousness[1]

In fact, not until the sit-in movement began in Greensboro in 1960 did the "mind" of Negroes become of conscious interest to white Southerners, in the sense that an active awareness began that the southern consensus had to include Negro values and desires. Even in the titanic controversies after 1954, the actors—those who were conspicuously making history—were almost always white: Senator Byrd, Governor Faubus, and the other captains of massive resistance. Negroes appeared only as a shadowy mass, from whom now and then emerged an impersonal lawyer or a poker-faced schoolchild walking through white faces lit with expression. The state of North Carolina might well put one of its historical markers at that

[1]W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South.* N. Y., 1941. W. A. Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee.* N. Y., 1941; the quotation is from p. 286 of the 1959 reprinting. James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* N. Y., 1960; the book was written in the late 1930's. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream.* N. Y., 1949 (revised edition 1961).

dime store in Greensboro: here is where, after more than three centuries, the white and the Negro South were finally met.

In result, they have learned to know each other better. One Negro civil rights leader remarked to me that southern racial relations in the past had been like an unfaithful marriage, which could be preserved only by the two parties not speaking the truth to each other. Negro Southerners are today speaking the truth to their white neighbors. If white Southerners can learn to live with this truth, the marriage can be continued, and may even become a fruitful one. Still today, no Southerners are more bred to the essence of the region's distinctive history, manners, and outlook than are the Negroes. If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes, freed of illegitimacy, may give it new life.

For earlier white Southerners, even for those as late as Cash, a decision about racial policies was not socially crucial. Men had different opinions and beliefs, but these were like other personal preferences, or even convictions, that were tolerable by the folk. Southern racial relations were like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain many changes and interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-Southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities—all had come and had modified the old patterns and would surely in time overthrow them. But the endurance—what a Southerner might call the "cussedness"—of the old ways was remarkable.

But now this changes, and I know no better way to illustrate the change at its profoundest — though infrequently perceived — level than by contrasting Faulkner with that present-day southern writer who, in surface aspects, is most like him. The genius of Faulkner was such that he was able to suffuse his characters in life and individuality even though, in fact, they were little more than marionette's. They were held in the hand of God, but that hand which controlled them kept them in ceaseless confrontation with their home, i.e., with southern history, and in it they defined themselves. Miss Flannery O'Connor's characters are also marionettes and also in the grasp of God. They are Southerners too, but this is only an artist's detail. They could be anyone, they are caught directly, as simple individuals, in the human predicament, and they act diretcly to meet it, not, as Faulkner's characters always did, as Southerners, but as mere people.

Fundamentally, this is where Southerners find themselves today, forced to act directly without validating their acts against their history, much of which is sinking fast underneath them. Another southern writer, Allen Tate, in his novel *The Fathers,* depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening today over the South, as men see institutions which they had thought were theirs (e.g., the churches, the town school), relationships which they had thought secure (e.g., mistress and maid), begin to take on new shape and purpose.

All this has meant that, for today's white Southerner, an explicit rationalizing of his views about race has become the most urgent of his intellectual and spiritual tasks, and that he has had to achieve it on his own, or with new referents. He has had to attune himself, harmoniously or discordantly, to the authoritative words and practices of institutions from outside his region, such as the federal government, national church bodies, national media, and even-in fact-Wall Street. Perhaps still a man living in a remote Black Belt county untouched as yet by racial controversy may be as unengaged as nearly all of us were but a few years past. But I suspect that no white man living now in a Danville or an Albany or a Birmingham can support himself either by mores or by Faulknerian brooding. For the strong segregationist, the mores will appear too mild when the protest comes; for nearly all men, the brooding will seem irrelevant.

It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can date his acceptance of racial equality at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in *The God That Failed*[2] tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. Nevertheless, in accepting racial equality, the southern liberal does not typically reject the South. In Turgenev's

[2]Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, N. Y., 1949.

Fathers and Sons, when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked—"you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"—, Barzarov exclaims: "His upbringing: Every man should educate himself. . . . As to the times, why should I depend upon them: Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" To a Southerner, if to no one else, this is questionable doctrine, because inadequate tolerance; and rightly or wrongly, the key word of southern liberalism has been "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has had. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. Few liberals have acted out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not usually refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously and widely mingle socially with their Negro peers. This is not well described as either hypocrisy or timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He has counted himself a Southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He often will, in fact, contend (and not only from polemical motives) that he—and not the defenders of segregation—represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality, against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

On the whole, this attitude of respect toward the community is not alien to a great many of the Negro leaders. And on the whole, this shared attitude presents the only real possibility, for those of us who want one, of preserving the South as a cultural organism, and not merely as a cultivated, but mummified, memory, analogous to

New England. It is not a very strong possibility, though the relative poverty of the region may help along its chances: poverty is a strong folk-tie. I may be wrong and shortly proved so, but I see the white South today, outside the Black Belt but even there in some measure, as disposed, though often reluctantly, to accept more and more racial integration, but wanting also to keep the community much as it has been. I see Negro Southerners wanting equality desperately and angrily, but disposed to keep the community much as it has been, if they are admitted to it.

The South that Cash sought to track down was the white South, and, assuming that Cash found what he sought, it was unprepared for 1954. That South is still here. But because, being what it was and is, it stayed distant from the black South, called itself and itself only "the South," it has become an inert thing, a mere environment. Within this environment and against it, the southern leaders of today —the Negroes—act. It is the antithesis of motion against matter, and unless it can be cured there is not even a meager chance that the South will persevere. The white South is become an object, and only subjects can, even in a Faulknerian sense, endure.

II

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single direction, have moved mountains."[3] In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it *is* an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem,

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, et al., *An American Dilemma,* N. Y., 1944. p. 27.

are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority.[4]

This analysis was undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1945 period; it is no longer so. Beginning about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's, was governed by the objective, *How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population.* The policy was pursued in economic, political, and social relationships, frequently with unsuccess. This fairly unanimously held single policy has, in the years since the 40's, been both losing adherents and singleness of application; the growth of Negro votes combined with pressures from Washington are forcing on our public life policies markedly more progressive than those which still dominate our churches and other more or less privately determined activities. Perhaps only in Mississippi today is there near unanimity about racial policy. But it is not the old policy of maximum satisfaction. Instead, it is, *How to maintain white control of the institutions of society.* At least, Negroes are not regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a higher status.

If initiative has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a new and more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma—intellectual, emotional, political—of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has always been the problem of identity.[5] A man's valuation

[4]Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. li.

[5]There has been a lot of recent writing on this subject, mostly by non-southern interpreters. See the three books of essays by James Baldwin: *Notes of a Native Son.* Boston, 1955; *Nobody Knows My Name.* N. Y., 1961; *The Fire Next Time.* N. Y., 1963. Essays in the first book are of uneven quality and interest, but some of them and all of the two later books are superb and required reading for insight into the Negro revolt. For the latter reason only, so too is Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt.* N. Y., 1962. See also the excellent book by Harold I. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans.* N. Y., 1963. Isaacs has an especially interesting essay in *Encounter,* August, 1963: "Blackness and Whiteness." One scientific inquiry is B. P. Karon, *The Negro Personality.*

of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. Because of history and color, Negroes for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever they inquired of their society, "Who am I?"

With some notable variations, they adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro Southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait through the terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negroes, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in preference for more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgments of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to their question, "Who am I?", was far from clear. The Christianity they had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into their consciousness. Their white neighbors behaved toward them with contradictory manners, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, Negroes were accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those a Negro might regard as friends, and displaced the actual Negro person they knew—or thought they knew.

The stereotypes were and are the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. What is happening today is that Negroes are disowning the stereotypes, the white man's creations, are refusing any longer to acknowledge themselves to *be* what the white man said

N. Y., 1958; its findings and methods aroused some dispute. As a stranger to psychology I hesitate to cite writings in this field but from a dilletantish reading I might mention three pieces which were suggestive to me: Robert Coles, "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" (in Erik H. Erikson, ed., *Youth: Change and Challenge.* N. Y., 1963). Lewis W. Jones, "Negro Youth in the South" (in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children,* Vol. 3, N. Y., 1960); D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* July, 1957.

they were. White Southerners are confronted with a blunt demand from the Negro that he be accepted on his terms: *and this is the crucial problem of race relations today*. For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of them in accord with their own, newly fashioned self-conception.

Negroes found that in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority, White supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[6] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[7] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances caused and kept strong the individual insecurity. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given its specific form and intensity through the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived these ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance require them to admit non-whites with whom they come into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

III

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "four-score and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new na-

[6]A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 3rd edition. N. Y., 1950, p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" illuminates racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 145.

tion conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we look back four score and seven years, we confront a less happy and auspicious event: 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. Hayes became President through the Compromise of 1877, and for the next 70 years or so the white South was left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution—the 14th and 15th—which in the years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

Then, earlier, and now, we have defined "the South" by its differences from the rest.

Southerners and non-Southerners have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. Society belonged—and still largely does—to the white man. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Society placed a high sentimental value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population moved into cities the rural districts kept political power. And North and South, East and West, we all believed that *any* man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, are dissolving. And the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us.

Six landmark dates conveniently illustrate the changes. Although they affect the whole nation they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody—Arthur Koestler, I think—once spoke of the Jews as

humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes one feels that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or at least most apparent, here.

There was 1944, and *Smith v. Allwright,* and the ensuing erosion of the white monopoly of power to make political decisions. There was 1954, and *Brown v. Topeka,* which in its deeper import signified that the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race, and which, in its application since the New Rochelle case,[8] has upset the North as well as the South. There was 1960, and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions. There was 1962, and *Baker v. Carr,* and the consequent remarkably fast crumbling of the rural fortress of political power.

There was 1940, the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. After seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment was up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really rose—to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been little improvement since, and President Kennedy in March 1963, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%; the rate for August 1963 was a seasonal 5.5%. Many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.[9]

Neither the policies of Republican nor Democratic administra-

[8]*Taylor v. New Rochelle,* 195 F. Supp. 231, 294 F. 2d. 36 (1961).

[9]See chapter 4 of the *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1963. The statistics above are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1962, p. 215, except for the 1963 ones, which come from news reports.

tions have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Unemployment is high despite the boosting of the economy with huge expenditures for armaments and for space exploration; without those would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940?

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has happened in the past Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of impersonal history. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to then, American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration drastically cut, industry met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including those of the South. Beyond this last large supply of white manpower, waited in economic succession the Negro. The tragic irony is that when his turn is come, the job market is declining. This is occurring in manufacturing and mining, chiefly, and these are fields which have been a gateway for new entrants into the free competition for economic advancement. No one seriously can continue to believe that America is for everyone now a land of opportunity where *any* man, unaided, can get ahead by dint of his own hard work. Some five to seven per cent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs, even though there is general prosperity in the country, and for the Negro the unemployment rate is about double that for whites.[10]

And, finally, there was 1947, when Mr. Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and later espoused its recommendations, even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the Compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift"—essentially a paternalistic approach—to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute, so that, since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude.[11]

[10]See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963.

[11]The ability of southern Congressmen to act through concepts of the national interest, so long as they felt presently secure in race relations, made pos-

These six landmarks suggest, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in the United States. The price of that will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union—which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership—can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf.

To put it differently, the policies which Mississippi represents would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Mississippi and the Black Belt generally from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become strangers in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

IV

Over the years, Negro Southerners tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented—to their sorrow—with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They tried the Booker T. Washington regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West.

Finally—and with really their only success—they converted the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "direct-action" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet even its appeal has been to values thought to be in or implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question

sible the reforms of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For an interesting case study, see I. A. Newby, "States' Rights and Southern Congressmen During World War I," *Phylon,* Spring 1963.

in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[12]

The Constitution becomes a revolutionary instrument, for Negroes, being political outcasts, have had to combat the government, and not merely the government of the day. Nowhere yet in the old Confederacy does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defences of segregation; or to circumscribe as closely as possible the scope of a judicial decree when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility.

None has done so, because southern political theory has been incapacitating. Although formal democracy has been in short supply in the South, the tone and practice of southern politics has been democratic almost to an extreme—among the whites. Probably no where else in the country have there been closer personal relationships between voters and representatives, at all levels of government. But a democracy which is short on formal controls and efficient methods of obtaining popular consensus, and which puts a high value on informal means of effecting accountability, is going to be a conservative society. And when not all the inhabitants are constituents, the conservatism will be, in fact, defensiveness. Thus both the democratic and the conservative spirits of the South combined to defend the folk, its monopoly of power and its cultural integrity. There is nothing to deliberate about, and to do so is betrayal. There is no relief from this paralysis except through an enlarged Negro vote, and a few municipalities of the South are already tasting this emancipation.

We may well ask again whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution, whose first principle is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy

[12]cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1958.

requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g., a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

Impersonal causes—the boll weevil, farm technology and chemicals, faster-paced industrialization, communications media, and still others—re-arranged the roots of southern life after World War I. But human action did not, until the last decade.

Now Southerners are not only being moved by their environment, but are revising themselves and their manners of living with and getting along with each other. Events and change are pell-mell, and unpredictable. Whatever we say, we must say most tentatively. I note, therefore, that the case has often, even usually, been that white Southerners can and do change their racial mores when inescapably confronted by a community-wracking situation to which they must respond in one way or another. But I note further that this has not been invariably so; witness, e.g., Albany (Ga.). Those places, however, which have refused to yield to the Negro demands, modest as they often have been in the South, have been able to do so only through techniques of suppression which tear at precepts of the Constitution. They have maltreated the right of assembly, denigrated the supremacy of federal law, whored the police powers of the states.

The Negro demands have been within the Constitution. The Negro methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution; only occasionally have they violated the rules of the game. Southern communities have been tested, therefore, not only in their customs and morality, but in their understanding of and affection for the Constitution. Those many which have accommodated, and have stepped into the currents of change, have shown to us that the feelings men have do not necessarily determine their actions or reactions; that when confronted with practical choices, men discover themselves more accurately than they had before. I have to leave to others the scientific analysis,[13] but I believe we

[13]Which is, of course, being supplied. The point of view I have here expressed is consistent with that of Allport and his supporters. See, e.g., Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-National Comparison," *Conflict Resolution*, March 1958; and "Regional

can see the mind of the white South changing through the action of the black South and the accommodating reaction of the white South, and that a new South is shaping itself through history-making, and not through history-consciousness.

Success breeds hard problems, and it seems to me that the Negro movement is courting two very serious ones. There is disquieting evidence that a great many Negroes, naturally imbued with the excitement and the power of having led America's first sustained experiment in government by the street, are oblivious to the fact that their guiding rule and their indispensable ally has been the Constitution. Secondly, the availability of the political process has been so long withheld from them that they may not learn soon to value it.

I see little or no prospect for rational answers to America's or the South's racial woes unless the channels of politics are opened up for their resolution, by Congress and by the states. This means a steady transference of issues from court to legislature. The Constitution has done its work, and the way is cleared to reach decisions through consensus. For the long run, *Baker v. Carr* may be the avenue through which Negroes, under the leadership and representation of new, political types, may bring racial issues finally into political settlement. In the nature of things, the South's practical alternative to government by the street may include the price of a half dozen or more Adam Clayton Powells, but that is democracy's age-old exaction.

In the meantime, we can note that any government has but three possible postures toward the question of racial equality: in favor, opposed, or neutral. The political theory of the South has for more than three centuries been grounded on the principle of white supremacy. It has been the cardinal doctrine. If, then, southern state governments were to follow the lead already given by some municipalities, and move from opposition to neutrality, this would be a truly historic change.

Differences in Anti-Negro Préjudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July 1959, From the former: "The success of the movement in the South does not depend—this hypothesis would contend—on changing the deeply ingrained orientations of prejudice-prone personalities; rather, it rests on the effectiveness with which racial integration now going on in the South can restructure the mores to which so many culturally intolerant southerners conform."

In fact, the border states have already moved beyond neutrality,[14] and have begun incorporating into their public policy commitments favoring equality. And of even greater historic moment, some of the old Confederacy states have begun the withdrawal of state power from the defense of segregation and inequality.

This seems to me the *sine qua non* for the preservation of the South, as a community of persons acknowledging a common heritage. There must be an end to governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It will have to be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power should be independent of the competition of private interests, and, because of its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

V

Let us say only that as long as a large number of people sense an identity among themselves, the South as a specific, self-conscious culture will endure. As was said at the start of this essay, who is there who is not tired of struggles for more definitive answers?[15] Perhaps I could venture that a Southerner is a person who feels, as against all other people, that he is the more moral, using that word in its broadest meaning of being spiritually fit for life as it is. But this would say no more than that the Southerner shares a widespread conceit. Perhaps it would mean more if I said that the Southerner is someone who can recognize that he has lost every argument about good and evil he has ever had—and he's had a lot

[14]Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia have all legislated some minimal standards and mediation procedures for racial relations, and the governor of Kentucky has gone further with a sweeping executive order.

[15]I have been privileged to read a draft of the forthcoming book of James McBride Dabbs, whose *The Southern Heritage* (N. Y., 1958) is the likeliest candidate of recent years to stand beside the classic interpretations of Cash and Lillian Smith. Dabbs has *not* tired of the search.

—yet he *still* feels himself somehow more moral, again in the broadest meaning.

But it is safer to come back to the simple test of identification. The deepest wisdom in human relations is to accept a man as whatever he names himself. Ten years from now, or 20, will people living between the Potomac and the Rio Grande still identify themselves with each other, still feel worthwhileness in calling themselves Southerners?

I don't know. But I think we all do know some things that bear on the answer.

We know, most importantly, that politics is the way a people conducts its affairs, and that politics not only serves a group of people pragmatically but gives it unity, helps make of it a community. When the political processes cannot handle the affairs of the people, and when to settle grievances men have to act outside those processes, the polity is always hurt, sometimes to the point of death. Both Negroes and intense segregationists, including segregationist officials, have felt that they must take their causes outside the normal processes of politics.

The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that, as I have tried to argue, the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that *would* matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a bi-racial community at peace with itself. It can do so, I think, only by integrating Negroes into its political processes.

Southern politics is just now, as usual, full of curious things. Mississippi is experimenting with a Soviet style government, with the Citizens Council paralleling the state machine in emulation of a successful Communist Party. Southern governors have become the *de facto* executive directors of the state chambers of commerce, and spend their time competing with each other as supplicants for new plants. We have talked of state socialism and state capitalism, but what do we call governments whose chief affair it is to entice and propitiate business? And all over the South, battle lines draw close to each other, portentous of an epic contest which may never occur in any explicit, decisive engagement, but which will, one way or another, reach to the innermost desires of the South.

For southern conservatism is blending now with that of the nation at large in spirited defense against the dissolution of the old

unities of American life. Southern liberalism has, and this is its good luck, no choice but to accept the Negro's cause as its own. The pains of the warfare between those who are rebelling against ~~300~~ 30 years of history and those who want to move more rapidly into the future, will probably be most acutely felt in the South; it is the South's ancient calling to deflect pain and guilt from the rest of the nation.

Negroes have hymned the American dream, but only its battle-cries. There are other parts of it and, if we read our history honestly, the Birchites and lesser breeds within the law are responsive to them. A "nice" home; people like ourselves; Jesus, and "our" church; the righteousness of property. America is on its way, not to a confrontation with its dream, but to a study of it, a mining of its content. The cutting edge of one drill is the radical right, and the other is the Negroes. It is in the South that each will probably cut most deeply. We are likely to learn a lot about ourselves, these next few years, as the drills cut away.

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3. Mr. Charles Wittenstein----------American Jewish Congress

4. Mr. Leroy Rawls----------3418 Hilldale Place, Baltimore 15, Maryland

5. Lillian Smith----------Old Scresmer Mt., Clayton, Ga.

6. Mina Shaughnessy----------~~#1 Gracie Terrace, N. Y. 28, N. Y.~~
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Washington, D. C.

8. Gerhard Loewenberg

9. Roy Pierce----------Ann Arbor, Michigan

10. Bill Forster----------11 rue Paul Alexis, Aix-en-Provence, France.

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17. Charles Silberman----------~~Look~~ Fortune Magazine

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26. Curtis South----------Mt. Holyoke College, Mass.

27. Mr. George McMillan --- Box 299, Aiken S. C.

54. Jack Patterson----------Bus. Week-c/o McGraw Hill Book Co.
55. John Popham----------Managering Editor, Chat. Times, Chat., Tennessee
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29. Bob Coler----------Collidge Rd., Concord Mass.
30. Henry Clark----------Union Theol. Seminary
31 Eric Lincoln----------Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.
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33. Fred Powledge----------New York Times, N. Y.
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50. Linda Dunbar----------Woolman Hall, Swarthmore Collegem Pa.
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Ithaca, N. Y.
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Dr. Joseph S. Roucek - - - - - - - - Univ. of Bridgeport 395 Lakeside Dr. Bridgeport, Conn.

Mail to Les Dunbar

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

May 12, 1964

Dear Mac:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of Les Dunbar's article which appeared in the current issue of THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS. You are right in saying that it is an interesting piece. I found it both an informative and provocative article. I hope many will read it.

With appreciation,

Sincerely,

Jonathan

(1963)

File
Live articles

May 26, 1964

Professor Avery Leiserson
Editor
The Journal of Politics
302 Calhoun Hall
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Professor Leiserson:

I received a newsletter from Praeger, and learned that our issue will be brought out as a paperback. I think this is fine.

At some points a few misprints slipped into the text of my article; a couple of which are particularly distorting. I wonder if the following corrections could be sent to Praeger in time to be incorporated in the book?

<u>P. 11, L. 9.</u>
A period instead of a comma after "inferiority," and the word "White."

<u>P. 18, Footnote, L. 1</u>
No accent on the word "prejudice," and, in line 2 of the footnote a period instead of a comma after "1959."

<u>P. 20, L. 1.</u>
"and yet" instead of "yet he."

<u>P. 21, L. 3.</u>
"30" instead of "300."

I suppose it would be best not to up-date the text of any of the articles, but in case you think otherwise and some up-dating will be done, the second clause in footnote #14 could be deleted; the executive order has been put on the shelf.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Done 6/1/64

File articles & speeches

SW ph rec'd

President
Richard Alten
Vice-President
John Charters
Secretary
Adrian Kolton

Faculty Advisors:
Dr. Joseph S. Roucek
Prof. William T. BeSiero

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06602

Pi Gamma Mu
Connecticut Beta Chapter

May 27, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

May I have a copy or a reprint of your excellent article, "The Changing Mind of the South : The Exposed Nerve."

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

Sincerely,

Dr. Joseph S. Roucek

Dr. Joseph S. Roucek
Chairman and Professor
Departments of Sociology
and Political Science

395 Lakeside Drive
Bridgeport, Conn.06606

JSR/mw

RECIPIENTS OF ANNUAL PI GAMMA MU AWARDS

Hon. Prescott Bush
U.S. Senior Senator from Conn.
Rt. Rev. Michael J. Carnicke
Pastor-Holy Name of Jesus-Stratfd
Dr. Francis Dolan
Professor of Biology, Univ.of Bpt.
The late Atty. Harry A. Goldstein
Former Pres.-Bridgeport Bar Assoc.
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and U.S.Ambassador to Spain
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First President-Univ. of Bpt.
Parent Association
Joseph A. Walsh
Superintendent-Bpt. Police Dept.

File
Book articles 1963

June 4, 1964

Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher
College Department
111 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

Your recent Newsletter announced the publication, in paperback, of a special issue of the Journal of Politics titled, The American South in the 1960's, to which I contributed an article. After reading your announcement I wrote to Professor Leiserson on May 26 pointing out several typographical errors which I hoped would be corrected; a copy of my letter is enclosed. Professor Leiserson replied that he had forwarded my letter to you, but that he was afraid it was too late.

I hope it was not too late. In the event that it was, I hope an errata sheet can be inserted. Although the first three corrections indicated in my letter deal with very bothersome errors, the fourth one is especially so. The

numeral "300" instead of "30" makes one of my concluding sentences virtually meaningless. Whether my point in that sentence is well or ill taken, I would at least like to have it understood as I meant it.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1

Copy of Dunbar ltr. to Prof. Lerscrow MLL.
May 26, 1964

EDITOR:
AVERY LEISERSON
Vanderbilt University

MANAGING EDITOR:
MANNING J. DAUER
The University of Florida

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR:
CHARLES D. HOUNSHELL
Emory University

NEWS AND NOTES EDITOR:
GORDON CLEVELAND
University of North Carolina

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Published by
THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
In cooperation with
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Editorial Offices
302 Calhoun Hall
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

May 28, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of May 26. I am forwarding it immediately to the Praeger people, but I am afraid it is too late. The last copy was supposed to go to the printer ten days ago.

With best wishes and regards,

Sincerely yours,

Avery Leiserson

Avery Leiserson
Editor

AL:cws

File

File
Legal articles
Journal of Politics

FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, INC., PUBLISHERS • 111 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • ALGONQUIN 4-4100 • CABLE: PRABOOKS

BOOKS THAT MATTER

June 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 4 regarding your chapter in THE AMERICAN SOUTH IN THE 1960's, which we're reprinting from a special issue of The Journal Of Politics. Professor Leiserson had sent on to me your letter of May 26, and as it happened, while it was quite late, it wasn't too late. The fact was that most of the corrections you listed had already been made. That issue of The Journal of Politics was so riddled with typographical errors that we felt it necessary to read through it carefully and to make sure that we caught them all and fixed them before printing. But we had not realized that 300 should be 30, and it was a good thing that your first letter arrived at a time when it was still possible to eliminate a zero.

I'd just like to add that I found your piece, of all the chapters in the book, the most meaningful and interesting. I only wish that they were all on that level. Still I do think that it's a rather unique collection of studies, and I'm glad that we were able to arrange for its publication.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Dolin

Arnold Dolin
Executive Editor

P.S. I've often heard about you from my cousins, Joe and Lenny Dolinsky, and was delighted when I realized that you were one of the contributors to this issue. Perhaps someday we'll meet.

File
Lost articles: 1964
"Journal of Politics"

June 15, 1964

Mr. Arnold Dolin
Executive Editor
Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.
111 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Dolin:

I received your letter of June 10, and all I can say is thank you.

Joe and Lenny have mentioned you to me many times, but somehow it did not occur to me that you might be working on this book. I do hope we shall meet sometime.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Dolin's (Praeger, Pub)
mailed
6/15/64

mail to

Mr + Mrs Joseph Malinsky
Liberty Street
Waynesboro, Ga.

Files
Lund. Speeches, 1963

June 23, 1964

Professor Harry Kantor
Associate Managing Editor
The Journal of Politics
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Professor Kantor:

Thank you for your letter of June 15 and the enclosure. I marvel at the listening habits of the Los Angelenos, but I am pleased too.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj

EDITOR:
JOHN H. HALLOWELL
Duke University

MANAGING EDITOR:
MANNING J. DAUER
The University of Florida

ASSOCIATE MANAGING EDITOR:
HARRY KANTOR
The University of Florida

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR:
CHARLES D. HOUNSHELL
Emory University

NEWS AND NOTES EDITOR:
JAMES W. PROTHRO
The Florida State University

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Published by
THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
in cooperation with
THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

June 15, 1964

Office of the Managing Editor
Peabody Hall
The University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I thought you would like to know that Radio Station KPFK read your recent article on one of its programs, so am sending you their marked program.

Sincerely,

Harry Kantor

Harry Kantor
Associate Managing Editor

HK/cm

KPFK Folio June 8-21, 1964

12:45 SHOULD BOXING BE BANNED? Art Aragon and three medical men, moderated by Bob Kaufman. Recorded by Rome Ronconi at the Studio City Unitarian–Universalist Church. (Jun 7)

2:00 THE MODERN JAZZ SCENE: Phil Elwood. (Jun 8)

2:30 MORE SPIKE MILLIGAN PRESERVES: The Sentimental Auctioneer. Another recorded session with the star of stage, screen, and Goon Show. (Parlaphone) (Jun 3)

3:00 EDWARD GERMAN'S MERRIE ENGLAND: A new English recording of the operetta, performed by William McAlpine, tenor, June Bronhill, soprano, Monica Sinclair, mezzo, Peter Glossop, baritone, the Rita Williams singers and Michael Collins and his orchestra. (Odeon 1376/7) (10) (Apr 25)

5:15 FOR YOUNG PEOPLE: See page 9.

6:15 SPECIAL REPORT.

6:30 CALENDAR OF EVENTS: Clair Brush.

6:45 To be announced.

7:00 GOLDEN VOICES: To be announced.

7:30 NO MORE REVOLUTIONS: Dr. Hans Morgenthau discusses the difficulties of popular revolutions in technically advanced nations. **(JUN 15).**

8:15 SPOLETO FESTIVAL—I: Beginning a series of nine programs from the 1963 Spoleto Festival, the Woodwind Quintet performs the Quintet No 9 in D major for Woodwinds, Op 68, by Franz Danzi, and Brahms' Quartet No 1 in G minor for Piano, Violin, Viola, and Cello is performed by a group including Los Angeles pianist John Browning. **(JUN 10)**

9:15 ALASTAIR REED: The poet and author of **Password** is interviewed by Larry Birns about his recent two–month tour of the west coast of Latin America. **(JUN 12)**

9:45 THREE BACH SONS: Kurt Redel conducts the Munich Pro Arte Orchestra in J. C.'s Sinfonia in Eb, Op 9 No 2, W.F.'s Sinfonia in d for flute, oboe, and strings, and C.P.E.'s Concerto in d for flute and strings. (Dec 10092) (55) **(JUN 16)**

10:45 NEWS AND COMMENTARY: Edward P. Morgan.

11:00 MEET YOU AT THE STATION: Alan Hjerpe with folk music. **(JUN 17)**

Wednesday, June 10

7:00 A.M. VOCAL CONCERT

HAHN Art Songs
Teyte/sop, Moore/pf (RCA LCT 1133) (8)

GRAUN Aria from Montezuma
Lorengar/sop, Berlin Phil/Benda (Col 91100) (5)

BRITTEN Serenade for Tenor, Horn, Strings
Pears/ten, Brain/hn, New Sym/Goossens (Lon 5358) (25)

MARENZIO Madrigals
Gold Age Singers/Field–Hyde (West 18712) (15)

HANDEL Psalm 109, "Dixit Dominus"
Soloists, Berlin Bach Orch/Wenzel (Cant 72452) (38)

DEBUSSY The Blessed Damozel
de los Angeles/sop, Boston Sym/Munch (RCA 1907) (20)

9:00 To be announced.

9:15 THE CONFESSIONS OF FELIX KRULL —XIII

9:45 SPOLETO FESTIVAL—I. Music by Danzi and Brahms. (Jun 9)

10:45 OVERCOMMERCIALIZATION, PACIFICA, AND PAY TV: FCC Chairman E. William Henry speaking before the National Association of Broadcasters in April. (May 30)

11:15 FOU TS'ONG'S SCHUBERT: Yehudi Menuhin's son–in–law plays the Austrian's Sonatas in Bb, D 960 and D 784. (West 19038) (65) (Jun 6)

12:30 NEW YORK THEATER—III: Art Seidelman interviews Dorothy Olim, producer of several off–Broadway productions.

12:45 LORD OF THE FLIES: An Interpretation. Dr. Kate Macus. (Jun 8)

1:30 HINDEMITH'S FIRST STRING QUARTET: The Stuyvesant String Quartet plays the late composer's three–movement Quartet No 1 in f, Op 10, written in 1919. (Nonesuch H 1006) (24) (Jun 3)

2:00 STATE DEPARTMENT NEWS POLICY: Robert C. Manning, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. (Jun 5)

2:30 EVENINGS ON THE ROOF: Peter Yates. (Jun 7)

3:30 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY: Alec Noye, professor of economics at the University of Glasgow. From the University of Chicago Radio Program Service. (May 31)

4:30 MICHIO MIYAGI PLAYS THE KOTO: The late Japanese composer—Kotoist performs some of his works on a Niviko LP specially imported by KPFK. (Jun 6)

5:15 FOR YOUNG PEOPLE: See page 9.

6:15 THE OTHER SIDE OF THE U.N.: Betty Pilkington.

6:30 CALENDAR OF EVENTS: Clair Brush.

6:45 COMMENTARY: Phil Kerby. **(JUN 11)**

7:00 ALBERT FULLER PLAYS RAMEAU: On a harpsichord made by William Dowd of Boston, Mass., Fuller plays the **Pieces in A** (1706) and the **Suite in E** (1724) on a new Cambridge recording. (Cam 603) (55) **(JUN 18)**

8:00 THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: "If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes . . . may give it new life," writes Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, in this article from the University of Florida **Journal of Politics,** read by David Wolfe. **(JUN 15)**

8:45 PACEM IN TERRIS: A symphony illustrating the historical encyclical "Pacem in Terris" of the late Pope John XXIII by Darius Milhaud, world premiered on the occasion of the inauguration of the auditorium of the Maison De La RTF in Paris on Dec. 20, 1963. The work is performed by the French National Orchestra and the RTF Chorus under the direc–

Lib Files
Lib Articles, 1963
"Journal of Politics"

July 23, 1964

Radio Station KPFA/FM
2207 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

Gentlemen:

Thank you so much for sending Mr. Dunbar a marked copy of your program folio which schedules another reading of his Journal of Politics article for Friday, August 7. We are pleased to know that you think well enough of the piece to re-schedule it. However, several minor errors crept into the printing of the piece, and since it is to be used again it might be well to send you the enclosed corrected copy.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

KPFA/FM, 94.1 mc
studios at
2207 SHATTUCK AVENUE
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Thanks from KPFA for your contribution to the program soon to be broadcast. The date, time and description are on page 10 *of this Folio which is sent to our subscribers.*

9:30 MEMOIRS OF A TURNIP Jonathan Batchelor's series on art and other enigmas continues

10:00 GOLDEN VOICES Anthony Boucher presents the Italian dramatic soprano Celestina Boninsegna (1877-1947) in a number of Verdi roles, and in an aria from "Norma" **(AUGUST 6)**

10:30 BOOKS Kenneth Rexroth (August 2)

11:00 ART OF THE PERFORMER Fred Maroth's late evening concert

THURSDAY, August 6

7:00 CHAMBER CONCERT
STRAVINSKY Dumbarton Oaks Concerto, E♭ (Zurich Orch—de Stoutz) (Vanguard 1086) (14)
MOZART Divertimento No. 17, D major, K. 334 (Vienna Konzerthaus Ens) (West 18555) (50)
HINDEMITH Kammermusik, Op. 24, No. 1 (SF Little Sym—Millar) (Fantasy 5001) (15)
KREUTZER Grand-Septet, E♭ major, Op. 62 (Vienna Septet) (London 420) (34)

9:00 COMMENTARY D. E. Clarke (August 5)

9:15 PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE See page 12

9:45 "THE CONFESSIONS OF FELIX KRULL"—IX (KPFK)

10:15 TEEN AGERS VIEW SCHOOL AND HOME PROBLEMS Adlerian psychologist Paul Brodsky leads a panel of teen agers in discussion (KPFK) (June 21)

11:00 PREVIEW Claire Isaacs (August 5)

11:15 MISCELLANY

11:30 ORCHESTRAL SERIES—II (July 22)
TCHAIKOWSKY Symphony No. 2, C minor, Op. 17 (46)
STRAVINSKY Petrouchka (complete) (34)

1:00 EUGENE LORING SPEAKS ON DANCE Shela Bramer talks with the well-known choreographer ("Kiss Me Kate")

2:00 ORGAN MUSIC BY BOHEMIAN COMPOSERS Organ music by 18th Century Czech composers: Josef Seger, Jan Zach, Karel Kopriva, Jan Vanhal and Frantisek Brizi (Supraphon 6)

2:45 THE THEATER AND ITS CRITICS Harold Clurman, John Simon, Jonathan Miller, and Jerry Tallmer, critics all, in a conversation moderated by Dale Minor (WBAI) (June 17)

3:45 GOLDEN VOICES Anthony Boucher (August 5)

4:15 A TOOTH FOR PAUL REVERE Mike Hodel reads Vincent Benet's story (KPFK) (July 4)

4:45 SERVICE IN THE INTERNATIONAL INTEREST—V Larry Birns interviews Wilmer J. Kitchen, executive secretary of the World University Service (WBAI)

5:15 MISCELLANY

5:30 18TH CENTURY CONCERTI—IV
VIVALDI Concerto for 2 guitars, G major (Presti & Lagoya, Munich Pro Arte—Redel) (Merc 50380) (10)
MOZART Horn Concerto No. 4, E♭ major, K. 495 (Brain, Philharmonia—von Karajan) (Angel 35092) (17)
PERGOLESI Flute Concertino No. 4, F minor (Jaunet, Zurich Orch—de Stoutz) (BG 638) (11)
ROSETTI Concerto for 2 Horns, E♭ major (Soerensens, Copenhagen Sym—Jenkins) (Haydn Soc 9052) (22)

6:30 KPFA NEWS

7:00 COMMENTARY George Johns **(AUGUST 7)**

7:15 SPECIAL REPORT, by KPFA News **(AUGUST 7)**

7:30 RICHTER PLAYS HAYDN AND PROKOFIEV Sviatoslav Richter performs Haydn's Sonata No. 49 in E♭, Op. 66 and Prokofiev's Suggestion Diabolique, Op. 4, No. 4 (Vanguard VRS 1102)

8:00 SEMINAR: THE NEGRO IN AMERICA—III Stanley Elkins, associate professor of history at Smith College and the author of "The First Emancipation," is the speaker

9:30 MUSIC NEWS Will Ogdon talks with San Francisco composers Irvin Brusletten and Robert Erickson. A private recording of Nine Haiku for piano by Mr. Brusletten, performed by David Burge, will be included.

10:00 DANCE NEWS, reported by Shela Bramer

10:15 ADVENTURES ON THREE SEA VOYAGES TO PANAMA, recounted by Vinson Brown (August 4)

10:30 MODERN JAZZ SCENE Philip F. Elwood **(AUG. 7)**

11:00 LORCA LOOKS AT SPAIN Some of Lorca's early poems in translations by Rachel Benson and Robert O'Brien. The readers are Dolores Bagley, Alfonso Rosati, Rachel Benson, and Mr. O'Brien. The program was produced by Mr. O'Brien and Dale Minor. (WBAI)

FRIDAY, August 7

7:00 ORCHESTRAL CONCERT
SCHOENBERG Five Pieces for Orchestra, Op. 16 (Chicago Sym—Kubelik) (Merc 50024) (17)
MAHLER Symphony No. 9, D minor (Columbia Sym--Walter) (Col 276) (80)
WEBERN Six Pieces for Orchestra, Op. 6 (Concertgebouw Orch—Rosbaud) (Radio Nederland) (13)

9:00 COMMENTARY George Johns (August 6)

9:15 PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE See page 12

9:45 "CONFESSIONS OF FELIX KRULL"—X Klaus Pringsheim's reading of the Mann novel (KPFK)

10:15 THE VIEW FROM HARLEM: Schools. A conversation among Ed Carpenter, a Harlem teacher; Dorothy Wilson, a mother; and Nanci Manion, a housewife. (WBAI)

11:00 SPECIAL REPORT (August 6)

11:15 MISCELLANY

11:30 ORCHESTRAL SERIES—III (July 24)
TCHAIKOWSKY Symphony No. 3, D major, Op. 29 (43)
STRAVINSKY Le Sacre du Printemps (32)

1:00 POEMS IN PRINT Sandra Hochman talks with Randall Jarrell about his work and about contemporary poetry in general (WBAI)

1:30 WHERE DOES IT SAY IN FREUD? A short story adapted for radio by its author, Jack Guss, and produced by Michael Dayton (KPFK) (July 11)

2:00 MODERN JAZZ SCENE Philip F. Elwood (Aug. 6)

2:30 THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH "If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes . . . may give it new life," writes Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, in the University of Florida's **Journal of Politics.** The reader is David Wolfe. (KPFK)

3:15 MUSIC NEWS, with Will Ogdon (August 6)

3:45 DANCE NEWS Shela Bramer (August 6)

Southern Political Science Association
Durham, North Carolina
November 13, 1964

SOURCES OF POLITICAL RIGHTS

There are few of us who have serious difficulty in affirming the ultimate right of the individual to obey his own conscience instead of positive law. We are, after all, citizens of the West, and that is to say we are all colonials. We are transplants of Greece in a cultural empire which for a while, but not enduringly, and not fatally, had its period of co-emperors, Greek and Jew, to whom for many centuries now we have, all of us, owed common fealty. As the British North American Act began the transformation of an empire into a commonwealth without destroying allegiance to the crown, though implying the freedom of a South Africa to do so, so the patient working out of natural law theory made a commonwealth of the cultural empire without diminishing the old sovereigns, though implying a freedom of secession for those who choose other sovereigns. Of these we have seen over the centuries a great array, from the dogma that power makes all things licit to the worship or fear of idols such as race. Outside the commonwealth this ultimate individual right, which only lately have we begun to call the right of civil disobedience, is renounced or denied; but within the commonwealth its writ runs to nearly every corner.

Were this individual right our only question, we could do what our ancestors from time to time felt called to do: re-affirm the right in the idiom of our day, with a word of moral caution to the individual and of remonstrance to the governing power. And to do this again in our day is, in fact, needful. Yet we need also recognize the contemporary dimensions of the question, and to acknowledge that these do not, with the clarity and simplicity we might prefer, fit within the natural law tradition.

There are chiefly two issues before us. The first is the question of whether organized, mass disobedience can ever have the same ethical justifications which belong to the individual's conscientious act. The second is whether these ethical justifications extend to disobedience whose primary motive is political rather than moral, and is employed as a means to influence or change policy.

Now at least in part these questions ask the liberal whether he has the courage to be also a democrat; and they ask the conservative whether he has the wit to be also a realist. But courage, though a high virtue, is not always wisdom; and a perception of the reality of grievances and the inadequacy of established remedies does not, at least for the conservative, require that he approve in principle what he adjusts to in fact.

The uncomfortable truth is that the natural law consensus gives us little help in confronting these contemporary questions,

because it itself is only an intellectual bluff. When natural law affirms the right of individual disobedience but only for reasons of conscience and only under extreme provocation, what it has done is to pacify two quite non-rational human compulsions. It has sought to stave off the occasional but always terrible rupture between the individual's necessitous yearning for the society of others and for his own self-respect. The tension between these makes for creakings and fissures along the whole front of social life, and at a far-flung sector of that front, reached by only a few driven men in any generation but in encounters plainly visible to all, the tension pits an individual against that governing power which unifies and gives form to all that he understands his society to be. And for this case in extremis, natural law proclaimed a truce, through what we now call the right of civil disobedience. We can do no better. But we mislead ourselves if we think this old moral decree suffices for more complex problems. It is intellectually barren.

If, however, we see the classic problem of civil disobedience as being but one aspect of a larger and more fundamental issue, the way from it may lead to some help in considering the contemporary question of mass resistance as a political method. The larger issue is, of course, the nature of all political obligation and the legitimate sources of rights.

How to make power legitimate is and has always been the basic concern of political philosophy. The great statements of the problem and its resolution, from Plato to Marx, came at times when

old sanctions of legitimacy were decaying and when urgent dilemmas were being heaped up before individuals. We might, if we wished, record as an empirical datum that whenever the question of civil disobedience arises insistently, new and impressive political philosophies have usually appeared. We would, of course, have to make a quick exception of the United States, because no great statements in political philosophy have ever appeared here, and perhaps none will. Though undoubtedly other explanations exist for the fact that the history of political theory can pretty well ignore American writers, none of whom possibly excepting Walt Whitman have done more than footnote Europeans, surely a big part of the explanation is that our Supreme Court has relieved theorists of their pertinency in the resolution of crises born of value conflict and power re-alignments.

Yet there must be more basic causes to explain why, not only in the United States but elsewhere in the West, the contemporary writers who are deeply challenging our political understanding are literary figures, and not more prosaic philosophers. Now it is of the nature of literary figures to be less concerned to answer old questions than to invent new ones. And thus, though I do not know what we would have done without Kafka, Camus, Pasternak, and a few others, they have not done the philosopher's job for him, which is to discover or reinterpret a legitimate distribution of powers and rights in a political order which men can recognize as their own. And <u>there</u> is the obstacle to

political philosophy in our age. The absurd complexity of the modern political order discourages and defies theoretical comprehension.

To look at a modern, western, industrial, democratic state is to see something of which no classical philosopher ever wrote. If we were to attempt to embrace its most important features in a short statement, we might come up with something like this:

> A rapidly multiplying society in which more and more of the work is done by machines, headed by a government possessed, through its effective control of science, of ever increasing strength, and yet diminishing freedom of action toward other governments, ruling, in close consultation with the managers of industry, ever more closely the multitude of individuals (whose legally recognized rights continually expand, while their power to revolt practically vanishes, although a fluctuating power of determined and sizable minorities to order the government about is often quite great), and for whom there are fewer and fewer customary restraints and moulds although being different from each other becomes ever more rare as their education increases.

This awkwardly worded formulation is undoubtedly imperfect, but so far as it goes and allowing for some aberrations it is suggestive of all the western democracies as they have been since

1918. No classical theorist, not Hobbes nor Marx nor Pareto, ever dreamed of such a contrivance, though Plato might have in his nightmares. Modern theorists are baffled in their efforts to conceptualize such an order, and modern political science consequently marks time, by sensibly whittling at small concepts and, not so sensibly, signifies the unintelligibility of the modern political order by writing unintelligibly about it in the American Political Science Review.

This "thing" which we can so badly conceptualize may, nevertheless, be held in our sight as I attempt to say a word in justification of the right to carry political protest even to the point of civil disobedience.

To begin with, we can summarize and make a bit more explicit what has already been asserted. First, within the commonwealth of natural law, no one seriously disputes the ultimate individual right of conscientious disobedience. Second, no one seriously asserts that the right implies a duty to disobey whenever conscience is affronted; consequently, no one seriously proposes that the decision to disobey may not be heavily tinged with pragmatic considerations without disparaging its conscientious quality. Third, there is to all law a prima facie duty to obey,[1] so that the burden of justifying a disobedient act rests on the individual.

1. For a dissenting view, see Richard A. Wasserstrom, "The Obligation to Obey the Law," 10 UCLA Law Review 780, May 1963.

If these may be impugned as simply the conclusions of common sense, they nevertheless seem unassailable, unless one wishes to enter a conceptual and semantic thicket. Because, as has already been said, the ethical foundation on which the conclusions rest are themselves intellectually unstable, exploration of the thicket is not promising. The natural law foundation contains another, and far more crucial, flaw. For at the point of civil disobedience, as at so many other points, the tradition includes a logically unnecessary and ethically harmful claim which has confused the morality of the West for centuries and still does.

This comes about when the tradition asserts that the right of conscientious disobedience represents obedience to God rather than man; thus, "God justifies." That this borders on blasphemy is a truth which at least two millenia have conspired in suppressing. It is of a piece with the other too numerous manifestations of western civilization's pathetic repudiation of its own responsibility for its moral values. When we take the step of civil disobedience, no presumptuous claim that "God justifies me" must be on our lips; only a plea that He do so. It is not God rather than man that we obey, but God rather than man that we seek to please, and therein lies a tremendous difference. We cannot explore this matter here, other than to note that what one <u>offers</u> to God cannot be logically evaluated.

In mass disobedience, the plea is not to God but to men.

And so we need to see and to say that the problem of civil disobedience, when it is taken beyond the simple case of the conscientious individual, is essentially a political, not an ethical, problem. This is true even though we must immediately add that the act would not be "civil" if carried on by immoral methods.

What, then, do we mean by "civil disobedience"? The definition given by Professor Bedau seems to me a serviceable one. "Anyone commits an act of civil disobedience if and only if he acts illegally,[2] publicly, nonviolently, and conscientiously with the intent to frustrate (one of) the laws, policies, or decisions of his government."[3]

We perhaps should remind ourselves how frequently of late the right of civil disobedience has been asserted or debated, in connection with the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials, Algeria, Congressional investigations, trespass on nuclear weapons installations, and Negro protest. Today the Negro protest movement

2. By which Bedau means, "It is always the sort of thing that can send one to jail."

3. Hugo A. Bedau, "On Civil Disobedience," 58 The Journal of Philosophy 653,661, October 12, 1961. Although I am accepting this definition, and my discussion will stay within its terms, I am not altogether sure that the word "conscientiously" could not be omitted, leaving still a form of political protest which could be defended. Whatever the case regarding this, I do not at all comprehend the statement of Professor Stuart M. Brown, Jr.: "Civil disobedience has a point and a rationale only within a system of law where public protest is legally permissible." 58 The Journal of Philosophy 669,671-2, October 26, 1961.

is at the forefront of our thought, but we shall be able to think about it more soberly if we remember that the spirit of civil disobedience is abroad in the world. William L. Taylor has, in fact, largely denied that the Negro protest movement has embraced civil disobedience. His analysis is unusually instructive.[4]

Taylor's argument is as follows. No law violator who appeals "not simply to moral law, but to positive, articulated law such as the Constitution of the United States" is engaged in civil disobedience. On this ground, action such as sit-ins and the Freedom Rides were not civil disobedience but tests to establish or to require observance of Constitutional rights. Similarly, street marches and picketing are exercises of First Amendment freedoms. The New York rent strikes have been appeals to the legal processes of the state. Violation of court injunctions in the South may, under one Constitutional theory, be aptly called civil disobedience, but Constitutional law in this area is unclear, and while it remains so the violator may properly appeal to higher courts for legal vindication. Triborough Bridge type incidents, where socially disruptive practices are engaged in under no claim of legal immunity, are not civil disobedience under the standards of right conduct set by either Ghandi or Martin Luther King. School boycotts would be civil disobedience if prolonged; as one-day affairs, however,

4. "Some Observations on the Strategies of Protest," paper read before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 16th Annual Conference, March 20, 1964 (mimeographed).

they are "more closely akin to exercises of free speech and assembly than to acts of civil disobedience."

Taylor is undoubtedly correct in his comment about street marches and picketing; the law is clear and well established that these are, if properly conducted, exercises of First Amendment rights. As to New York law regarding the rent strikes, I am not well informed. But otherwise, his analysis seems to me wholly wrong.

The American political order is undergirded by a written, enforceable constitution. To point out that this has resulted in our having courts as well as legislatures as instruments for the changing of law is by now a cliché. And the Negro protest movement has been aimed toward the creation of new law and policies. If the protesters have contested the legality of their punishment by appeal to federal courts, this has meant simply that they have used an available forum to press for the vindication of their moral and political grievances.[5] They have thought of themselves as civilly

5. Bedau had already called Taylor's contention on this point "irrelevant" and Brown had labelled it "false," see articles cited footnote 3, pages 655 and 672.

disobedient, they have violated state and local laws, regulations, and injunctions whose Constitutional validity was generally accepted throughout the nation, and they have been punished. Legal modes of reasoning ought not to obscure what they have done. Mere test cases of the Constitution are not carried out this way.[6] These have been mass protests forcing the hand of government by deliberately creating conditions to which government - local, state, and national - must react in order to preserve public peace. The protests have plainly said that normal procedures for the change of law and policy do not provide a sufficient remedy for grievances, and that disobedience to iniquitous law is required.

Nevertheless, I do not know of any recent discussion of civil disobedience which is of greater value than Taylor's. For if he has misread what the Negro protests are he has seen with rare clarity what they are not. They are not a form of traditional civil disobedience sanctioned by natural law. They are not appeals to God rather than man. They are, on the contrary and most emphatically, appeals to men. They have sought political ends, and must be examined for their legitimacy as a method of effecting political change.

6. "The character of sit-ins as appeals to law rather than acts of civil disobedience is not changed by the fact that large numbers of protesters have been involved. While the ordinary test case may involve a single violation of a law by one person or a small group, there is no reason why a law cannot be tested by larger groups in a more dramatic manner as long as they are willing to incur the additional legal expense." Taylor, op. cit. This seems strained reasoning.

In what I have called the absurd complexity of the modern political order, that legitimacy should be acknowledged, not only for the Negro protest movement specifically but for civil disobedience as a proper form through which demands can be made that would not otherwise be clearly heard. I see no reason why a society which has learned that it can socially and legally tolerate the strike, cannot similarly learn that it can socially tolerate civil disobedience.

Democracy's eternal task is to ascertain its own will. We must not deny to it the discovery of new methods of doing so. Nicola Chiaromonte and Ignazio Silone said a few years ago, "We believe that the right to disobedience exists, and that it is of the essence of democracy."[7] They declared this passionately, as a partisan slogan. I would say it quietly, as a statement of fact. The right exists, and it derives from that need to reach consensus which is essential to democracy.

We must, of course, be mindful of other political values, and particularly of all that we treasure when we speak of the "rule of law." Civil disobedience is undeniably susceptible to abuse, not so much in its own right but through false imitation, such as, for example, the Triborough Bridge incident. As long as we define the civilly disobedient act as being a non-violent act, the threat to the rule of law seems not great.

7. "On Civil Disobedience and the Algerian War," 50 Yale Review 462, March 1961.

It should be plain to all that for the past generation American jurisprudence has been experimentally searching out solutions to ease new tensions between public order and individual or minority dissent. This is a process of trial and error which is giving revised, and we hope pragmatically valid, meaning to the rule of law under conditions of modern democracy. Not all of this experimentation can be expected to work, and the courts sometimes retreat from their handiwork, as they seem to be doing, for example, from the Dennis case. Threats to the rule of law can come from within the law, as well as from without. Whenever the law wavers from its imperial qualities of impartiality, fairness, generality, and usual certainty, its rule grows slack. I personally have misgivings about concessions made to public order not only in cases such as Dennis v. U. S. but in such as Wickard v. Filburn; and about concessions made toward the dissident in the contempt of court cases since Bridges v. California.[8] Anyone may reject these concerns, but no one can overlook the experimentation which is going on or its fallibility. Mass civil disobedience has been and can be an effective catalyst in this experimental process.

I would, in fact, propose that the Negro protest movement has done much to sustain the rule of law in the United States. The great chapter of American history which has been written by the recent struggle for civil right has had to date three fairly distinct periods. The first, which we can conveniently date from the wartime FEPC, extended through Brown v. Topeka in 1954. Immense gains were

8. 341 US 494; 317 US 111; 314 US 252.

made: the white primary ended; numerous state colleges and universities were desegregated; interstate conveyances were desegregated; the Army was integrated; restrictive housing covenants were put beyond the law. All was done strictly in accordance with legal norms, and the South adjusted to change with ease. After Brown v. Topeka, the South's political powers refused any longer to accept further change through legal procedures. This rebellion continued over much of the South until Negroes inaugurated the third period by taking to the streets, forcing on many southern municipalities and some states a sense of responsibility toward legal authority and demanding of the nation at large that it give more than lip service to its own commitment to the Constitution.

"Nor can we regard a republic as disorderly," said that excellent republican Niccolo Machiavelli, "where so many virtues were seen to shine. For good examples are the result of good education, and good education is due to good laws; and good laws in their turn spring from those very agitations which have been so inconsiderately condemned by many. For whoever will carefully examine the result of these agitations will find that they have neither caused exiles nor any violence prejudicial to the general good, and will be convinced even that they have given rise to laws that were to the advantage of public liberty. And if it be said these are strange means, - to hear constantly the cries of the people furious against the Senate, and of a Senate declaiming against the people, to see the populace rush tumultuously through the streets,... I reply, that all these things can alarm only those who read of them and that every free state ought

to afford the people the opportunity of giving vent, so to say, to their ambition; and above all those republics which on important occasions have to avail themselves of this very people. Now such were the means employed at Rome; when the people wanted to obtain a law, they resorted to some of the extremes of which we have just spoken, or they refused to enroll themselves to serve in the wars, so that the Senate was obliged to satisfy them in some measure. The demands of a free people are rarely pernicious to their liberty; they are generally inspired by oppressions, experienced or apprehended."[9] So speaks ancient wisdom.

To summarize, my view is that the right of the conscientious individual to disobey is affirmed by western ethics and need not be further debated, though re-affirmation from time to time is morally and socially healthy. Its intellectual exploration is futile because it rests on non-rational desires, and for that same reason this natural law right cannot be extended to the case of organized, mass, non-violent disobedience as an instrument for changing law or policy. Such disobedience need not be, however, inimical to public order. On the contrary, given the complexity of modern democratic government it is an efficacious, and therefore legitimate, method for ascertaining a democratic consensus.

9. The Discourses, Book I, chapter 4.

"Efficacious, and therefore legitimate". I have not earlier in this paper so explicitly conjoined these two ideas, though the junction of them might have been inferred throughout. Perhaps a word of explanation would be an appropriate conclusion to this inquiry.

The line between civilization and barbarism is easily stepped across, as no one of this generation should need to be reminded. We are entitled to claim as our right whatever may effectively help us from crossing the line. Nor should we shirk from acknowledging that all our rights and all our values come from the need to have and to hold a civilized order and to live a civilized life within it, and from no more transcendent source. In a universe where no absolute can be known, no values certainly defined, and no penetration made beyond except through intuition, all we can do is to act on the authority of our own social intelligence. On society we all depend for moral instruction. Yet society is like the good and gifted teacher who occasionally gets drunk, and needs to be sobered before he can teach; so it falls to those who cannot learn without him to make him sober again. Consequently, we need those sobering remedies, and these are our political rights. They derive from democracy's need to regulate itself, to learn its own will and make it effective. Among them I have no trouble in including a socially tolerated right of mass civil disobedience.

Nor do I have difficulty in proposing that, under the absurd complexity of modern democracies, we open our minds to the

question of whether there cannot be "rights" which are non-legal. We may well continue to say that all acknowledged rights must have constitutional recognition. But the concept of a constitution as a legal order is a modern one, and a political science instructed by Aristotle should not find it strange to entertain the idea of rights pertaining to citizens by virtue of their function within a political system. Professor Spitz has said, "To [the] charge that the conflict is between the individual and all that the sovereign stands for, we must reply: the conflict is also between the sovereign and all that the individual stands for."[10] I would add that mass civil disobedience, when it accords with Professor Bedau's definition, also can champion "all that the individual stands for." The civilly disobedient person is engaged in the real world of individuals and society. If the fiction of sovereignty does not have his solicitous care, neither need we regard it as more than a convenience.

Democracy means not only an openness to innovation of policies but of forms as well, though prudence advocates that the forms change cautiously. Confronted by new forms, such as civil disobedience in its contemporary character, we do well to pause and reflect. The questions we must ask ourselves are whether civil disobedience as practiced by the Negro protest movement is to be condemned; defended by ethical or political traditions; excused

10. David Spitz, "Democracy and the Problem of Civil Disobedience," 43 American Political Science Review 386,399, June 1954.

because of the immensity of the grievance without generally sanctioning the practice; or defended as a valid case of a legitimate method. I have tried to indicate that my answer to the first three questions is "no" and to the fourth is "yes."

Our rights have another and creative purpose. Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of science, freedom of opportunity - these are the means by which we can endeavor to live as rational beings and to carry on the perduring combat against irrationality. The form of rights may evolve and vary, but this is always their one legitimate purpose. These defenses of the civilized man, originating in the ethical needs of a rational creature who must live in a political order, are worth all. No efficacious means in their defense or enlargement is illegitimate.

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Lice Speeches 1964

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To Know What We Do

In the Summer of 1958, I took a Greyhound bus one Saturday afternoon from Atlanta to Augusta. I sat on the aisle, because when I boarded all seats had at least one occupant with, as I was to notice more carefully later, the rear third or so being occupied by Negroes, most of whom were sitting one to a seat. They were, again as I was to note later, by their dress apparently working-class people. The long seat across the back end of the bus was altogether vacant.

When the bus made its first stop in Decatur, a town which is really part of Atlanta, a group of 15 or 20 young white ladies got on, prettily dressed in summer prints and gay hats and white gloves. They were obviously travelling together, perhaps as a garden club. They filled the vacant aisle seats next to the forward seated whites, but there were too few of these , and six or seven of the women hovered near me, for beyond were the Negroes. Because some, at least, of my childhood rearing was effective, I made a conditioned start of rising; I did not, however, because it had happened that just a short while earlier I had reached a policy decision about this matter - viz., that I would not give a lady my seat when, as a quick glance around confirmed, seats were available. Some muttering began among the several seated white men, one of whom sat on the aisle just behind me, a good looking, husky man of about 30 who was,

as overheard conversation was to reveal, a schoolteacher. Finally, he called - loudly and clearly - to the driver, to ask the Negroes (he said, "these people") to double up and to move to the back seat, so as to make room for the young matrons. The call was picked up by a few other white men, and repeated several times, very plainly. The driver, just as repeatedly, expressed his inability to hear or understand what was being shouted at him. The women's champions at last tired of the driver's game, and the women stood. Furtive glances from time to time over my shoulder showed the Negroes sitting impassively and unmoving. No one ever sat on the long, uncomfortable back seat.

A few miles before Athens - i.e., after about 40 miles of travel from Decatur - the schoolteacher rose and gave his seat to one of the women. In Athens we had a rest stop, for continuing passengers, where Negroes went to separate and blatantly inferior lunch and toilet facilities. Enough people ended their journey there so that for the remainder of the trip to Augusta everyone sat, in ways approved and dictated by southern mores.

That Saturday afternoon bus ride bespoke rather accurately the South as it was in 1958 and up to 1960 or 1961, outside of its deeper regions where men then would (as now they still might) do more than mutter and shout. Here was present the long arm of federal law, undoing old patterns and recognizing new rights. And here were Negroes claiming and exercising those rights, yet also deferring to custom by sitting toward the back of the bus, though not doubling up and rejecting completely the long seat.

Two things more about the Negroes was revealing and suggestive of how far and how far only change had occurred before 1960; they were apparently not, as such non-cooperative ones would almost surely have been a few years earlier, professional or moneyed people; and they gave absolutely no impression of even being aware of the white displeasure all around them. Here was the bus driver, Southerner himself, coping with the situation by a typically southern ploy of not being able to hear. Here were the shouting white men who, futilely defending one southern tradition, had already for self-interest yielded an older one, chivalry, and were keeping their seats while women stood. And here was I, the white liberal, guiding my actions by "policy" that overcame but could never (all the way to Athens) pacify the naggings of affronted upbringing.

I suppose that today most, but not all, of the Negroes on a similar trip would seat toward the back; that most, but not every one, of the white ladies would remain standing; that there would be no shouting, because its all too well known about now; and that not all the Negroes would remain impassive. The waiting room at the rest stop would be desegregated, more or less. The chances that even one white man would relinquish his seat are probably smaller: the southern way of life progressively slips from us.

But I feel no security today in compact symbolic or verbal characterizations of the South. The reality is too diffuse,

the mind which has tried at each stage to comprehend is too tired. I do not mean, "my" mind is tired; that may be true, but is unimportant. The tiredness is pervasive and itself a fundamental part of the change, for it signifies a failure of interest, a loss of concern for this thing we call "the South," and for understanding it as a distinct reality, whose reality was, in fact, only that which we gave it in our thought. Now we see only scattered deposits of a moving culture, a string of digits not ready for summing up.

* * * *

Consider what we have done. During the generation since World War II we have devised and held to foreign policies that have, against the odds, avoided nuclear war. We have contributed greatly to the creation of sturdy economies in Western Europe, Israel, and Japan and have helped sustain India and an over-supply of other new states. We have enriched ourselves at the same time. We overcame some ancient scourges, such as polio and syphilis. We wrote some books that will endure and erected some structures that are beautiful. We learned things never before known about physics and biology. We seem to have retained a sufficiency of sanity despite environmental changes so furiously swift that mass neurosis could have been reasonably expected. We checked the blight that between the World Wars ravaged our educational system, and we met at the school doors the hordes of war babies not only with almost enough buildings, books, and teachers but also a new and germinal sincerity and intelligence about education. We put

down two rebellions, not, of course, finally but effectively: one led by Senator McCarthy and one by Senator Goldwater. We were ready for the Negro revolt, and brought America to the border of its historic promised land, where life and ideals can be in pleasurable companionship.

All this one generation of Americans did. If during the next 20 years we who stand now poised between the New Frontier and the Great Society can lay securely the foundations of that Society, we truly shall be heroes. The world will never before have seen our like. I say this with all seriousness.

* * * *

The "Negro revolt." Is it in fact a revolution? According to Robert M. MacIver, "revolution implies a deep division within the state," and leads to "the temporary destruction of the state, the substitution of dividing force for common will. After it is over, the state has to be re-built." Robert Michels, making little of the attribute of force, held nevertheless that revolution implies "a fundamental change of a legal order, no matter what means are employed to consummate it." C. J. Friedrick, noting the variety of revolutions as well as their basic classification into limited and unlimited ones, includes among the variety the successful attack on a fundamental part of the constitution by a group loyal to the rest of the constitution, consummated without seizing complete power.

Political science has a considerable literature on the subject, though not as large as one might expect. We do not need to examine more of it in order to isolate what is for our interests the important question. For all theories of revolution hold, I believe, that a fundamental change in the constitution must be involved. Does the "Negro revolt" imply, will it cause, such?

The answer depends, I believe, on whether we focus the question on a region or on the nation. If the southern region alone can be considered, we are undoubtedly engaged in a revolution. The political order is being opened, against its will and strong opposition, to the penetration of a large class of formerly disfranchised people. Shifts of power are occurring. The fundamental principle of every southern political and legal order - white supremacy - is being overthrown.

Now all this could be said as well about the nation, which as a whole is being required to admit Negroes into its political consensus, and which is being required to spit out its own unspoken conviction of white supremacy. But for the nation as a whole, the change is of greatly lesser degree, and in large measure consists of actualizing long proclaimed ideals. It seems to me misleading to regard it as a revolution, though I do not strongly object if someone does. Revolution or not, the change being brought about by the "Negro revolt" in our nation is profound. So profound that, if one subscribes to the maxim that every revolution has its Thermidor, one would just as soon not think of it as a revolution.

1964 brought to us so many books describing this profundity that I need not expand on that. It is enough to say here that for 300 and more years Negroes have been in some measure the outcasts of American society and in remaining measure the essential sub-flooring of society. From neither role can they be integrated into - or integrate themselves into - full and free participation in the social order without profound adjustments of it.

Can those adjustments be made, with all the consequent friction, error, ill-will, and failures of nerve, without disorganizing our ability to govern and lead ourselves into the Great Society?

At least this much is clear. Without integration, we could not, by definition, have the Great Society. Moreover, one doubts that without the "Negro revolt" we would have either the idealism or the felt necessity to embark on it.

* * * *

Mankind has in our time a marvellous, amazing power to re-order its existence. We can and we do re-cast our social orders by will and plan. We know how. Does not every church-man need to question his relevance? Hearts and minds, we have seen, will be instructed by the re-ordering of the objective rules and conditions of social life; we do not need to wait on them to lead. Can we not, for example, re-make the culture of the South without waiting for the church bodies to reform their beliefs and teachings?

Can we, in fact, afford the luxury of concern for the white church? Granted that its membership embraces nearly all those who must be changed, can we not reach these far more surely through their other, less insulated, associations?

We find our catharsis in action, our release from fear of ourselves and our neighbor and of the strange. Religious man seeks salvation but man seeks only the salvage of his personality, and he finds that in being a contributing part of social action. This a concern for the welfare of the white church must not be allowed to impede.

And yet, with and because of all our marvellous power to direct our own lives, <u>if we but once could know what we do</u>! If we but once could achieve consciousness!

Modern men do not need the church to make them better. Nor, God help us, do we need the social or even the moral leadership of the church.

More importantly, we no longer need philosophy, theology, and poetry to make us better. (An earlier church than ours knew that it was the appointed guardian of all three of these.) In former days we did, perhaps. No longer. We can do well enough with our science and our prodigious collective memory of experience.

But where can we find awareness of what we are about, of what we are called to do with our great power, if not in philosophy and art? And who will lead the generality of men to these if the church withers on?

* * * *

Downtown Atlanta is in the midst of a building boom. It has been so ugly that one would believe that nothing done to it would not be an improvement. This would be, however, to reckon without human ingenuity. To put up a new office building, we unerringly chose to tear down the old Paramount, surely one of the few handsome movie houses anywhere, leaving untouched the common-place cinema next door. To enlarge a bank, we went into a block where architectural horror literally surrounded one of Atlanta's rare distinctions - the old Arcade - and with precision selected the Arcade to make way for the new.

The ways of men and their societies are less obvious in their rise and fall than buildings. We re-build now the cultural ways, the neighborly ways, of the South and, indeed, the nation. What will we tear down, in the midst of so much dross, in the process? We must never underestimate our human power to snatch death from life.

That, I have understood, is the everlasting teaching of all philosophy and art - and of all theology.

* * * *

What is it that can go wrong?

Some dangers can be surmised. One that can be predicted is the progressive narrowing of the public sector of life. We see the abandonment of municipal swimming pools and the conversion of restaurants and hotels into so-called private clubs. Of far greater importance, we see the retreat from public schools (aided in the South by state tuition grants for private school attendance).

The churches insulate themselves in the economic and social homogeneity of their respective neighborhoods. The unstated major ambition of the typical white male is that his wife and children shall not study or play or worship with, and only seldom see, anyone of lesser wealth, and no Negro.

Here if anywhere, in combat with this self-righteous spirit of self-protection through social isolation, the social ministry of the church is both needed and suited to the need; for most of these "killers of the dream" are its approved members.

What are other likely losses? For brevity, I suggest only two. A first is that as desegregation spreads and quickens, as sophistication grows among Negroes, the two great institutions which started it all and gave it muscle and vision may be rejected: the Negro church and the Negro college. We shall in all likelihood be too impatient for progress to take time to search them for the mysterious and life giving power they nourished and made a gift of to the rest of us.

A second is that North and South, Negro voters may come to predominate in the cities, and our politics be characterized by urban-suburban strife which will make the cure of the growth problems of metropolises terribly difficult.

Store

* * * *

'UNTOUCHABLES' ATTACKED

Sholapur, India, April 4 (Reuters) - A crowd of 700 persons attacked a group of "untouchables" in Nironi village in north Mysore and set fire to their huts, killing three persons, including one woman, it was learned today.

dispersed

The police dispersed the rioters, killing one and wounding two.

- New York Times, April 5, 1963

SAVAGERY MARKS TRIBAL WARFARE IN RWANDA

WATUSI, ONCE FEUDAL LORDS, FLEE TO NEIGHBORING LANDS - BAHUTU KILL THOUSANDS

REGIME SAID TO PERMIT RAIDS AS REPRISALS FOR TERRORISM BY MONARCHIST GUERRILLAS

By Robert Conley
Special to the New York Times

Kigali, Rwanda, Feb. 8 - The savagery that has swept through this mountainous African land numbs the mind.

By authoritative accounts, at least 10,000 Watusi men, ~~and~~ women and children perished in the recent massacres here.

The Watusi, who often reach seven feet in height, were Rwanda's feudal overlords for more than four centuries. Now they are fleeing the Bahutu, a tribe of shorter people who used to be their vassals.

begin

About 22,000 more Watusi are reported to have fled to neighboring Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi and the Congo.

The Watusi have been beaten, clubbed and hacked to death to an extent that one investigator said approached genocide, the intentional eradication of a race.

others

Some are said to have been beheaded, and other burned alive. Bodies appear to have been thrown by the hundreds into Rwanda's rivers, which are thick with crocodiles.

One missionary reported having seen 48 bodies pass under a bridge in 10 minutes on the Biruruma River . . . . . .

The Rwanda radio, in its first mention of the massacre the other day, officially put the death toll at 750. Otherwise the Rwanda Government has said nothing.

According to several highly placed sources, the Rwandan Government did little to prevent the massacres. At one point, the Government instructed the Bahutu to take whatever action they thought necessary against the Watusi.

The massacres were in retaliation for raids by Watusi guerrillas . . . .

Violence started with Rwanda's medieval revolution in November, 1959. Bahutu serfs, representing 53 per cent of Rwanda's population, overthrew the traditional monarchy of the Watusi minority, numbering about 400,000.

At least 6,000 Watusi were killed in the revolution and its violent aftermath, and 145,000 more fled the country.

With the new massacres, the Watusi death toll since 1959 is believed to stand at a minimum of 16,000 dead, and 157,000 more are in refuge in the neighboring countries . . Only 227,000 Watusi are thought to be left in Rwanda . . . .

In the massacres the Bahutu appear to have used mostly clubs and sticks so they would not draw blood. "We are not guilty if there is no blood," one said . . . .

In an intensive four-day tour of Rwanda this week, not a single body was seen. An unearthly calm covers the country. Vultures circle continually overhead, but not a single Bahutu will admit that killing has occurred.

"There is no record, no trace, no nothing," said one European working in the country. "Africa has swallowed them up."

- New York Times, February 9, 1964

DEEPENS

HATRED DEEPENS BETWEEN BRITISH GUIANA'S INDIANS AND NEGROES

By Thomas Buckley
Special to the New York Times

Georgetown, British Guiana, May 28 - Bloody violence in the last three months has all but wiped out any good feeling between Negroes and East Indians in this British colony.

Many of them have lived side by side in peace for years.

In villages where Negroes are dominant, scores of houses belonging to Indians have been destroyed by fire. The same thing has happened to the homes of Negro families where Indians are in the majority . . . .

-New York Times, May 31, 1964

STRIFE IN GUIANA

When slavery was abolished in 1834, the rulers of British Guiana, desparately short of labor for their sugar plantations, brought in indentured workers from the East Indies. Last week descendants of the freed African slaves and the East Indian laborers were locked in a bitter racial and political conflict which threatened to delay further the granting of independence to the British colony on the northern coast of South America . . . .

Last Sunday, two days after a state of emergency had been declared, British troops were flown into British Guiana, depleting still further Britain's already thin line of army reserves. But the interracial terror continued. On Tuesday, 1,300 East Indian refugees arrived in the capital, Georgetown, driven from their homes in a nearby mining town by Negro rioters. In the countryside, where East Indians predominate, the homes of Negroes were being burned down.

Editorial, New York Times, May 31, 1964

10 DEAD, 400 INJURED IN SUDAN RACE RIOTS

By Hedrick Smith
Special to the New York Times

Cairo, Dec. 7 - At least 10 people were officially reported killed and 400 injured in racial rioting between Africans and Arabs in Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, last night and today . . . .

According to reliable reports reaching here, the crowds chanted such slogans as "Down with Arab slavery!" and "Down with

Arab merchants!" The reports said control of the crowd was suddenly lost by the leaders, who had managed to hold it in check in the absence of Government security guards at the airport.

According to witnesses reached by phone in Khartoum, this is what happened:

The crowd of Africans rampaged through the airport, breaking windows and overturning furniture. Then the Africans rushed through the streets toward downtown Khartoum, smashing and burning cars and attacking Arab pedestrians. About 50 cars were smashed.

When word of the African attacks reached the city, Arab northerners were said to have organized into fighting groups and to have counterattacked.

It was the third time in two months that violence had broken out in Khartoum.

- New York Times, December 8, 1964

KHARTOUM'S NEGROES CONFINED FOR SAFETY

Khartoum, the Sudan, Dec. 8 (AP) - Thousands of Sudanese Negroes were placed in Omdurman football stadium and a makeshift camp in the heart of this city today to shield them from Arab violence.

Army units joined in a rescue operation requested by leaders of the Negro community after racial violence in which 38 persons are believed to have been killed and more than 500, including five Americans, injured. None of the Americans was seriously hurt. . . . Ok

Negro leaders who are demanding the separation of the three predominantly African southern provinces from the Arab-dominated country, said racial hatred was the sole cause of violence that swept the capital Sunday night and continued for two days.

A delegation of black Sudanese prepared to fly south to hold peace meetings in Malakal, Juba and Wau before news of the violence reached the four million southern Negroes and provoked another rampage aganist the Arabs.

Stop

- New York Times, December 9, 1964

To break off the examples at this point is not fair and just, unless it may be instructive. Fairness would require the citing of the savagery of Afrikaaner against Bantu, of Portugese against Angolan Africans, of English against West Indian emigrants, of German against Jew. Justice would require that sad landmarks of American history be uncovered: Springfield, East St. Louis, Atlanta, Chicago, and other scenes of depraved riotous assault.

But it is in those lands where no Westerner is involved, and no West-East or North-South tension is present, that we can see to our shame how appallingly awful is the human sin of racism. Dreadful indeed is the spirit of fraternity, for it poisons the mind of the brother to all beyond his tribe!

Thomas Hill Green argued that here and only here, really, had mankind achieved any moral progress since the days of classical Greece. We recognize, and act upon, he said, no deeper moral obligation to our neighbor; we do recognize more people as neighbors.

In our day, this expansion of the area of human fellowship has become a practical, a political, even a diplomatic necessity. In our day, morality does not summons politics; politics summons it.

* * * *

In a world sick everywhere with racism, the dimensions of our own seem puny by comparison, a Bull Connor and a Hoss Manucy seem but grants.

What, then, is our urgency? Less the cause than the vision, less the wrong than the hope.

The urgency is so painful because here - here and now, by us and because of us - we can master, in our corner of the world, one of the flaws of human history. We have the opportunity.

We - Negro and white. The urgency is so painful because a tenth of us or so - Negro and white - have wagered our careers - i.e., our callings as men - on the outcome. The urgency is so painful because a tenth of us will have wasted the lives and talents given us if the opportunity is not grasped. And could the future live with that defeat?

* * * *

To act consciously to re-direct history is to expose one's self to the danger of encountering God. That is risky business; it would be nice if the church were there at one's side.

* * * *

Spare us all, spare Africa and Asia - spare even the South - from missionaries. The missionary spirit is the shame

of Christanity. Where has it ever brought peace? The missionary comes to make me better. I flee from him, as from an assailant on a dark street. He comes in different clever guises. He wishes to make me (or the African or the Mississippi red-neck) over in the image of his more favored self. He is my opponent because he announces his own superiorty, and is the curse of my religion and of my cultural heritage.

I think the man called of God comes to be with one in his deadly encounter. I think we white and Negro people of the United States will need him acutely. We shall need him as we need life. For to live is to be conscious, to know the alternating swing of the self from joy to shame, from love to pain, from power to futility, to know that this is as it must be. But this any psychic quack can inform us. We need the man of God to tell us that the human self is ~~to~~ great that it counts for nothing in itself, because it is of use to God. Especially <u>if we do</u> build the Great Society shall we need to know this, because if we do that job of building we shall ~~take to~~ ourselves much pride and glory.

One Summer's day in 1958, a bus load of people gyrated about Georgia, held on the turning - spit of a governmental decree. <u>Those same people</u>, none other, will build the new culture of America. The simple truth they need above all to learn is who, this time, is their taskmaster.

If they learn it, they will need succor in <u>their</u> deadly encounter. We are, after all, going to have to live with the consequences of our actions, of our bold assault on history, of our re-making of it to our own needs. In our own handiwork, we must find our life.

Law file - Articles, 1964
Ann. Academy of Pol. & Soc. Science

An article for the January 1965 issue of
Annals of the American Academy of
Political and Social Science

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

The Southern Regional Council, 20 years old in 1964 and successor organization to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation begun in 1919, has been an indigenous strand of southern history. In some measure, which others must estimate, it has also helped shape that history. Contrary to the view widely held, a concern for racial justice and democracy has always been an element of the southern tradition, and even when ineffective and hard pressed was never altogether extinguished among the region's whites. The Council has embodied and increased this element, deriving strength and opportunities from its growth, shortcomings from its vicissitudes.

The Council was formed during the War years, at one of those occasional moments in the region's history when there was a widespread opening of the mind of the white South to a disposition toward, and even a hope for, change. Indeed, without this happy climate the Council would not, perhaps could not, have been established. But a large part of the Council's difficulties since had their origin in the same happy fact. For the Council was intended by its founders to be a body of commanding regional stature and authority; indeed, the prominence of a large number of the white persons who signed the "Atlanta statement" of 1943 promised that it would be. This founding assumption withered quickly, however, as the liberal moment passed and prestigious names deserted the infant they had helped birth, and as over the South Negroes turned to the more immediately productive leadership of the NAACP lawyers to advance their cause. When the Council in 1951 took an explicit and public stand against segregation, many (but not all!) remaining whites of power quietly departed. In the last few years, there has been a return, not of the same persons of course but of new men of prominence, and the white side of Council membership again approximates in distinction the Negro membership.

If it may seem passing strange for an employee of the Council to write in these detached terms of it, the explanation is at once both simple and basic. For the Council, as was said before, is a part of the South's history, and one

must look at it not only with love but with realism. The Council never had nor has a realistic chance to be anything more than the South at its best. It can never exceed (though of course it can fall short of) its environment of men and ideals and intelligence.

The intellectual midwife of the Southern Regional Council was Howard W. Odum, who saw in its creation the possibility of an immense catalyst furthering his dream of regional development. True to Odum's view that the racial relations of the South could not be changed and perfected by a frontal assault, but only by encountering and solving them in the context of the other political, social, educational, and economic problems of the region, the Council set out in its early days with all these interests. Very soon, however, its program focused on race, and has stayed there. Odum's great strategy was artificial; race so undercuts and overhangs every southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations. Somewhat paradoxically, Odum's strategy may now, 20 years later, be the road for continued usefulness of the Council.

Again, this is said with the detachment that sees the Council not merely as an organization to which one has grown deeply attached and identified, but as the representative of liberalism in the southern region. The civil rights movement will have overcome the old race relations of the South for but unsatisfying results if the same energy and intelligence are not soon addressed to making the political, social, and economic life of the region (and the nation) adequately responsive to the needs of the newly emancipated people; this is to say that emphasis must shift from the cultivation of human relations to the cultivation of human resources.

Even in the boldness of its first days, the Council proposed as its methods research, information, and interracial dialogue. Essentially, these are still the methods. Especially since 1951, when the Council publicized its stand against segregation, its research and information work has been faced with an interesting challenge. Thoroughly committed to one side of the era's most bitter controversy, the Council has nevertheless claimed objectivity and factual accuracy for its research publications and information services. Combining partisan commitment and objectivity is sufficiently rare as to be a delight for those who attempt it, and the steady growth of attention to the Council's publications and the rather

dizzying increase of demand on its information services suggest that the attempt has not failed.

Early publications of the Council had an impressive circulation. Among them, such pamphlets as The South: America's Opportunity Number One (1945), Rupert B. Vance, Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation, with an introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia (1946), and Dorothy Dickens, Wanted: A Healthy South (1946) reveal something of the initial thrust of the Council. Among the many publications of this pre-1954 period another which had wide attention and direct influence on southern practices was Race in the News (1950). The Council has always had a basic interest in limitations on suffrage, and has reported and commented frequently; two pamphlets in particular, released in 1957 and 1959 and both by Margaret Price, had substantial impact on the legislative history of the civil rights acts. The Federal Executive and Civil Rights (1961) received similar careful attention by the in-coming Kennedy administration. George McMillan's, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement (1960) has been widely used in southern police training. Vivian W. Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes (1963), and Robert Coles The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study (1963) offered light and bearing on basic issues. Many of the Council's recent publications have sought to interpret confused events to a perplexed but deeply concerned nation: an example of these was Howard Zinn's, Albany: A Study in National Responsibility (1962). With caution, SRC has ventured into the book field: to date, there have been Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Indiana University Press, 1961); Muse, Ten Years of Prelude (Viking, 1964); and James McBride Dabbs, Who Speaks For the South? (Funk & Wagnalls, 1964). Through the years, a monthly magazine, New South, has come out.

In 1954, the Council ceased being a membership organization in the usual sense. Originally, it had absorbed and maintained several state groups created under the guidance of its predecessor, the old Commission. Now it was to decentralize, establishing in the various southern states Councils on Human Relations, to which all membership was transferred and which, about 1957, became legally autonomous bodies. The Southern Regional Council is now a co-optative body of about 100 members. Between it and the state Councils on Human Relations the relationship that has developed is somewhat like that between parents and their adult children: as intimate as

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desired, but not binding. The state councils are an expression of the "grass roots" philosophy of one of my predecessors, the late and much beloved Dr. George S. Mitchell. They, and their many locals, give strength, outreach, and a capacity for local attentiveness and action. It is within them that the old, and still firmly held, belief in the essentiality of inter-racial contact and dialogue and cooperative action on real problems is today largely expressed.

The present structure has had the unintended beneficial consequence too that, freed from the exigencies of a mass membership, SRC has during these years of tension been able to move, usually quietly but generally freely and effectively (one believes), in field work of many kinds. There have also been unending consultations with people well outside the orbit of the civil rights movement; during these years, the much lamented breakdown of communication between the races has not been nearly so real as that between the white South and the rest of the nation, and SRC has been one of the few open transmission lines.

A not so beneficial consequence has been that the new structure almost inevitably yielded, as a by-product, a heavily staff-oriented operation for SRC. This has enabled SRC to develop an unusual degree of flexibility of program and versatile staff skills; but surely long run interests, not only of the organization but of the liberalism which it expresses for the South, require that the SRC lay membership ("the board") resume active policy direction. Or, to put it differently, in the days of "massive resistance", when only defense strategies were possible, they were probably best left to the professionals; in the fluid and progressive present, lay leadership all over the South must assert itself in behalf of the new opportunities.

This is not to say that the "board" is idle. Its members comprise a very large chunk of the progressive leadership of the South, active in all fields of struggle and reform. But for the most part the conspicuous leadership they supply is outside the program activities of the Council itself. They greatly strengthen that program, however, and not only by the weight of their names. At least as important is the base they give to SRC's strategic contacts and influences throughout the region, and the deeper dimensions they give to the staff's understanding of events and policies by their frequent informal reports.

There seems to be a growing intellectual awareness throughout the nation that some measure of conflict, even a large one at times, is indispensable to social reform. Yet concurrently, we have the emergence and growth of the new profession of "intergroup relations," which has always, even though sometimes unacknowledged, the aim of minimizing if not preventing conflict, and of containing it whenever loosed. Another paradox is that the most radical wing of the civil rights movement has a thorough intellectual devotion(almost obsession) to a fuzzy "power structure" theory of social control and change, surely almost the purest of conservative theories.

Undoubtedly a good bit of SRC's work, both in the field and at the writing desk, in the decade since 1954 has sought ti minimize conflict and to reach the "power structure." More in keeping with the founding vision of SRC has been the program which since early 1962 has been its largest; that is, the administration of the Voter Education Project. Here is a combined effort by all the principal civil right groups and many local Negro organizations to increase voter registration dramatically and, in decisive places, decisively. The Project, which will close its field work in late 1964, promises to telescope into a couple of years the voting growth which by normal trends would have taken a decade or more. Voting is no panacea and registration even less so; but without them there is no progress.at all.

From the Project, SRC will draw and publish research findings, directed at the question of the effectiveness of organized activity to counter-balance depressing socio-economic conditions. But for the present, the Project can illustrate another facet of the SRC program. Only because SRC is a non-competitive and generally trusted agency has it been able to administer the Voter Education Project. In other wrys too numerous to list, a great deal of SRC's activities involve cooperation with other agencies.

As the Voter Education Project is loyal to SRC's founding hopes, so too is the state Council on Human Relations movement. The ties between the state groups and SRC are today drawing steadily closer, and nearly everywhere the state groups and their local chapters are stronger than they have ever been. How they may prosper in the future depends chiefly on two questions. Can they shift from being defensive bands, waging a brave fight against hostile racists,

to the role of creative artisans, contributing to an intelligent and humane cultivation of all the human resources of the region? Will white and Negro liberals of the South continue to find a bi-racial association a valued instrument for achieving their interests?

SRC's own future depends also on these same questions. We shall have the rule of civil rights in the South, but only the bold would today predict whether we shall also have an integrated social order. We stand a better chance of building one if Negroes and whites continue to believe that it is worthwhile to join and work with each other, with a candor which embraces their separate identities and their common interests. The Council has taken pride in being a useful organization, free of restraining strategies and versatile enough to meet many issues. For the future, how the Council may evolve depends, as it always has, on the configuration of southern society.

Leslie W. Dunbar
September 25, 1964

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By Leslie W. Dunbar

Abstract: The Southern Regional Council evolved from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation formed in 1919. Shaped by and shaping southern history, it has reflected whatever has been best in southern ideals, taking its present structure in war-year (1944) optimism and declaring against segregation in 1951. Odum's founding vision sought to solve the South's racial problems through a commanding regional body's oblique attack on underlying stresses -- economic, social, political -- but events early forced the Council to focus on race solely. Disruption of traditional racial patterns by the civil rights movement may now allow a shift in emphasis from human relations to human resources. Commitment combined with objectivity has been the hallmark of publications and information services. The Council comprises a co-optative board of 100 which directs policy and a staff. Autonomous but in close liaison are state Councils on Human Relations which have general membership. Because the Council is non-competitive and has enjoyed trust, it frequently administers program through and with other agencies. Flexible and unencumbered by restraining policies, the Council looks to embody a future South of constructive dialogue and cultivation of resources.

Leslie W. Dunbar presentation before opening session of National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice meeting - Hilton Inn, Atlanta, Ga., July 29, 1965.

I am asked by your program committee to speak to you on the "Changing South." Change is a fact of all life, and we accept it as such. If we remark on it at all, it is only because, being passengers on the train of change, it is necessary that we know, or try to know, where we are headed. America changes, the world changes, civilization changes -- and yet here we are, talking again about the changing South, against the unstated assumption that change is foreign to the South. How many speeches and articles have you heard and read over the years on the topic of the changing South, or the New South, and have they not usually betrayed some doubt that the old will yield to the new?

Well, change is a fact in the South and has always been, from the day after the day settlers first landed in Virginia. In the life time of many of us here, the South has changed dramatically. It was changed by World War I, by the boll weevil, by the New Deal, by World War II. James Reston wrote not long ago that the enormous expenditure we are investing in space exploration was not likely to change the moon, but it would change the South. That's really a very big thought, and a true one. It may be an expensive method, but those millions of dollars going into space installations in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, not to mention Texas, bringing with them numerous cadres of scientists, engineers, managers, will radically affect southern life.

The South has always been changing. The big news of our time, bigger even than the space program, is that for the first time in our history the South is being changed not by outside forces acting on us, but by human leadership from within.

I refer, of course, primarily to the Negro Southerners who are leading this region and this nation to a new democracy. I suspect historians of the future may well conclude that given the circumstances of southern life our grandfathers and our fathers, being human, could not realistically have been expected to give justice to their Negro neighbors. I suspect the future historians will conclude that there had to be an organized Negro demand for their rights before those rights would be acknowledged and respected. We tend to treat people as they expect to be treated. The big change of our time is that Negro Americans will no longer and do no longer have low expectations.

By mentioning the space program I alluded to one of the fundamental forces furthering and directing southern change in our time: the nexus of forces we call industrialization and urbanization. By speaking of Negro leadership I was pointing to an even more fundamental force, and that is the power of the human aspiration for freedom. This has produced also another great momentum. The two largest reforms of our generation are the civil rights movement and the drive for fair and equal legislative representation. Both came out of the South. In the days of Jefferson and Madison, the

great liberal ideas shaping our Constitution came from the South. In our day, the movements that are perfecting that Constitution come also from the South. Mal-apportioned legislatures and scandalously injust Congressional districts were a national disgrace; but it was white southern plaintiffs, represented by white southern lawyers, appearing before federal judges who were themselves white Southerners, who forged the legal victories that are bringing fairness and justice and a chance for rational decision-making to our politics. Civil rights and re-apportionment -- these are the unique and matching political and ethical achievements of our day. This is change of the South, by human beings, in the interest of human beings.

The changing South. Changing from what? From magnolias? From Poverty? From a land of neighborly, relaxed people? From oppression and discrimination and segregation and brutality? From a seedbed of responsible statesmen? From a land of demagogues? From deep religiosity? From the naueous claptrap of tent-show preachers? From the special profundity of a Faulkner or a Flannery O'Connor or a James McBride Dabbs? From the sterility and mediocrity of our universities?

Some kinds of change we can document and measure. They are important. For example,

~~Migration~~ (data)
(educational correlation)

~~Income~~

~~Education~~

Migration

Out - and in - both high

net out - low (for Negroes, higher)

education

lose white young, gain white over 35

lose Negro

Income

1964 - Florida $2,280 per cap

- U. S. $2,550

1930 - Florida $ 464

- U. S. $ 624

1964 differential - $ 270

1930 - $ 160

1930 - $1.00 - $1.35

1964 - $1.00 - $1.12

Education

	1940		1960	
	Fla.	Miss.	Fla.	Miss.
W	9.3	8.9	11.6	11.0
N	5.2	4.7	7.0	6.0
T	8.6	7.2	10.9	8.9

All of these data add up to two conclusions, and both are important. First, significant economic and educational gaps still exist between the South and the rest of the nation. Second, the South is become an integral -- and integrated -- part of the national economy and culture.

Perhaps the clearest indication of an end to narrow sectionalism is found in the selection of university presidents. Within the past five years each of the five major private universities in the South has appointed a new President: Rice a distinguished chemist (the youngest member of the National Academy of Sciences at the time of his election) from Berkeley; Emory a botanist who was previously Provost at Cornell University; Tulane a scientist from the University of Illinois; Duke a humanist from Lawrence College; Vanderbilt a political scientist from Chapel Hill -- the only Southerner among the five -- who was also being sought by a major Northern university. Each has brought national prestige to his institution, and has set a new pattern which the public universities might well emulate.

* * * * * * * * *

/T/he region cannot as yet boast of a single outstanding institution on the national scene. It has a fair share of good universities, but perhaps more than its share of poor ones.

(Both quotations from Allan M. Cartter in Southern Economic Journal, July 1965.)

/W/e could carve out a region that would consist of the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, Kansas, Arizona, and New Mexico and in this region we would find very few institutions like Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, or Virginia.

(Howard G. Schaller, op. cit.)

Other changes too we can document.

Politics

good
bad

Civil rights

Yet this documented change does not answer the questions really pressing us, and which will be answered only by how well we live within the new order of things. I suggest that what really interests us, or ought to interest us, are matters that lie beyond how much income or schooling or political power we have, and even beyond how secure are our civil rights.

What we need to know is whether, in the New South, and in the new America of the Great Society, men will treat each other as ends, not means, will be valued by each other and by the larger society as beings of treasured worth, each a unique and marvellous creation. We need to know whether, in the New South, and the New America, science and art will be free. We need to know whether men will be great-hearted enough to care about the mystery of life and to quest lovingly for its divine roots. We need to know whether the personal

relationships of friend with friend, a man with a woman, of parent and child, will be honored and nourished. We need, in short, to know whether the New South and the new America will be civilized.

You are the Catholic Church. By the burdens and privileges of age you, perhaps, have the greatest reponsibility, for you have been trying to civilize the western world ever since the dark ages of barbarism. These things that truly matter are for you to defend and advance.

Because you are the Catholic Church, you also have the wisdom, accumulated through long and often dreary centuries, to know that while men are busy overcoming old problems they pile up new ones. Think on the automobile graveyard and the aluminum can; they make a stern symbol. The nation seems suddenly to have become aware that automobile junk yards along our highways are ugly, and we want to clean them up. That is good. But at the same time, come the aluminum cans, holding our beer and soft drink. We'll scatter them everywhere -- and they won't rust away. Years from now, they'll still glisten in our parks, litter our roadsides, clog up our lakes and streams.

Thousands of them, and ever more thousands. Fifty years from now, little children will cut their feet on the non-rusting, sharp little tab that you pull off and throw away today from the can of beverage that you slake your thirst with.

We are in the process of obliterating the junk yards of segregation, but the hard-to-get-rid-of aluminum cans of

prejudice and social insulation are descending on us. We shall have to get busy with them.

Housing

Education

Atlanta Schools:

1961

48,963 in all-Negro

1964

55,265 in all-Negro

1,140 desegregated

1961 white - 59,319

1964 white - 59,311

Miami

1964 - 36,000 in all-Negro

- 5-6,000 more than 1959

5,000 approximately desegregated

Employment

Crime

Home life

One of the really grand instruments of progress in civil rights has been the press and the other media -- TV and radio. They are not being helpful today, however. The media did a necessary thing for this country, in the ten years between 1954 - 1964. They made us confront the violence and brutality that existed in the South, made us ashamed and horrified. The media is now a broken record, with a fixation on the junk yards of violence. It is keeping our attention and its own riveted on violence, so that we are hardly even begun to focus attention on today's and tomorrow's problems.

Do not, please, misunderstand me. I am calling neither on the press nor the country to ignore and overlook violence that springs from racial hate and oppression. This has to be eradicated. I am, on the other hand, trying to say that the question facing this region is no longer whether the civil rights of Negroes will be recognized, because it is now certain that, though rough days are still ahead, they will be. The question we have to answer now, answer by our deeds, is what difference it will make, what in the way of a better life we will have achieved by all this struggle. And though there is much to cause us worry, and some of it I have already referred to, I prefer to end this talk by noting signs that are genuinely hopeful.

Bogalusa is a nightmare, but in the summer of 1965 a bigger story is Operation Headstart, and whether it's being done well. Governor Wallace of Alabama is a wicked man, but he has less power and influence in his own state than the nameless officials sitting behind desks at the U. S. Office of Education, processing school desegregation plans. Baker County (Ga.) is a foul and stinking sore on the Christian community, and so are the dozens of counties like it throughout the South's Black Belt; but if Governor Sanders has neglected then his responsibility to defend the public peace and the rights of the people, he along with other recent southern governors, such as Sanford of N. C., have led their states impressively toward having the kind of public education that promises to pacify the Baker counties.

The Ku Klux Klan is a growing danger, but is doing less today to direct southern change than are the magnificent projects of Negro self-help springing up everywhere, such as the Continuing Academic-Cultural Enrichment Program in St. Petersburg, the Southern Consumers Co-Op around Lafayette (La.), the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, and the Vine City Project here in Atlanta.

The Negro leadership that has re-made the South's spirit still surges. Negroes have looked after the white folks of the South for generations, and now they have finally brought us to adult-hood. Negro and white alike, over the South today men are confronting their problems. I believe that the South, which out of the agony of its spirit gave this country great literature in the 30's and 40's and 50's, will now, out of the release of its spirit, give an equally great example of political and social leadership.

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THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
Review
of
Race & Culture

A Reprint

From:

Vol.... No....

19....

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Reflection on the Latest Reform of the South*

I NEED NOT SPEAK in justification of your concern, as sociologists, with the sit-ins. Nor will I attempt to portray the demonstrations and their effects on Southern society with broad strokes of interpretation. As some of you are aware, I hope, the Southern Regional Council has more than once ventured to put the movement into perspective and I have, frankly, little if anything to contribute further to that end. In our first report, on February 25, we said:

> The deeper meaning of the "sit-in" demonstrations is to show that segregation cannot be maintained in the South, short of continuous coercion and the intolerable social order which would result.

I still think that statement is correct. The sit-ins showed how near we had come to the fork where a wrong turning could lead to terroristic policies, akin to those in South Africa; and they said to the American people, more clearly than had been said before, that the only acceptable alternate road is a short path toward desegregation.

Committed still to this broad generalization, what I shall do here is to string together a series of observations which I submit in the hope they may have some value to the social scientists who will someday write the definitive studies of the reform of the South.

1. Almost from the beginning the sit-ins have been referred to as a "movement." That both participants and observers felt this way about them is noteworthy, because the name "movement" does not catch on unless people sense that it does apply. No one ever speaks of the "school desegregation movement." One accomplishment, then, of the sit-ins was to achieve, almost from the start, recognition.

The textbooks undoubtedly contain definitions of social movements. One could suppose that a movement is distinct from other social events in at least three ways: (1) it is broadly based; (2) its adherents are committed to a specific set of principles; (3) the participants are willing to expend a great deal of personal effort. On the third point the sit-ins surely qualify.

As to the first point, it is interesting to ask when this affair which four youngsters in Greensboro started became a broadly based movement. If we ask that question, some places and dates become especially

*This is a revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, August 27, 1960, in New York. Revision, however, antedated the Freedom Ride. That phenomenon poses issues too complicated to be tackled at the galley stage of an article; consequently, the Ride is not discussed here at all. Some readers may be interested in the Southern Regional Council's Special Report, *The Freedom Ride* (May, 1961); or in my article "The Freedom Ride," *New South*, July/August, 1961.

interesting: High Point, North Carolina, where on February 11, 1960, occurred the first sit-ins not led by college students; Rock Hill, South Carolina, where on February 12 there was the first demonstration in a Deep South state; Montgomery, Alabama, where on February 25 sit-ins erupted in an area of notorious tension, proclaiming that the movement was to go, so to speak, right to the lair of the opposition; Petersburg, Virginia, where on February 27 the first sit-in occurring elsewhere than at a lunch counter (it was at the public library) afforded a clearer understanding of the serious intent of the demonstrations. By the end of the first month, the sit-ins had made firm their roots in popular support.

Equally important, as evidence of the validity of the movement, has been its resurgence in the early months of 1961, after the nadir of the second half of 1960.[1] In the early days, there was a bath of publicity, which by now (March, 1961) has receded. A new demonstration gets only a brief mention in the press; arrests, if there are any, are reported on back pages; if those arrested refuse bail and crowd the jails, this attracts lessened public attention, on the old journalistic premise that expected behavior is not news. The downplay has also been, in part, the result of a deliberate management decision to mute the controversy. Yet controversy and protest continue strong, and the students have compensated for the decline in public interest by fanning their own concern with newsletters and a student newspaper.

2. As to principles, I would say that there has been remarkable consistency on two points: (a) segregation is a social and moral evil which can no longer be acquiesced in; (b) non-violence is the technique best suited for waging this particular fight. To the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and some other leaders, non-violence is far more than a technique, but they have had difficulty as yet in getting their ideas understood; their labors to spread the philosophical commitment do, however, continue. For the mass of participants and adherents of the movement, non-violence is a method both morally attractive and recommended by self-interest and prudence. Moreover, there are many cultural and traditional factors which deter Negroes from attempting organized violence, even violent retaliation, against white men.

3. The movement began in the Piedmont. The first six cities affected were in the Piedmont, as were eight of the first ten. This is probably where social scientists would have predicted the origin, had they been prescient enough to anticipate what would happen. And yet I cannot down the feeling that the Piedmontese origin was largely accidental, that the crucial factor was not geography but the presence of a group of Negro colleges situated close to each other, and that the movement could as well have begun at any one of three or four other locations. As a matter of fact, there may be something in the observation that when the move-

[1] Except around Jackson, Tennessee; somehow public attention never riveted on the Lane College students despite the strength and courage of their protest.

ment spread to the Richmond-Norfolk, the Nashville, and the Atlanta areas — each a center of Negro colleges — the nature of it changed somewhat in each place from the lunch-counter-sit-in-plus-negotiation pattern of the Piedmont.

4. The movement underscores again the almost total failure of traditional race relations to encompass educated Negroes. Southern states have, of course, always been stingy, and still, are in providing higher education for Negroes. The meager provision has been prudent in terms of the traditional race relations which had room for, indeed needed, a handful of "leaders of their race," but cannot accommodate large numbers of educated Negro men and women. Those large numbers, the products of colleges supported by the states, by churches, and by private philanthropy, now exist and are growing, and are radically subversive of Southern racial practices.

5. This is a movement of underprivileged persons, in the correct meaning of that much misused term. The Negro demonstrators have been, typically, people with advantages, but with less of them than some other groups in their society. These Negroes are not a downtrodden, destitute mass. Their advantages include an educated leadership; a power to invoke national public opinion in their support; economic strength sufficient to carry off effective boycotts; apparently ample money resources within the Negro community to pay bail and legal costs; the services of skilled lawyers; and a system of constitutional law which protects and defines their rights and limits the power of Southern states to inhibit their actions.

6. The social scientist of the future who will write the definitive study of the movement will most certainly want to view it against a background of regional economic change, of Southern industrialization and urban growth, and he may likely conclude that the movement has some of its deepest roots in that fabric of social change and reorganization. I would like to urge one point. It has often seemed to me that a curious contradiction creeps into the scholarly analyses which, for at least two generations, have dissected the South. On the one hand, there is an awareness of the distinctness of the South's culture, and this has led to concrete descriptions which have been tremendously valuable. But on the other hand, the scholarly assumption seems to be that the South of the future — the industrialized South — will be just like every other industrial region, and that, therefore, certain textbook concepts about industrialism and urbanism can be readily applied as predictors of the Southern change. Now, I think this doesn't follow, and I think the record bears me out. The contemporary South is, after all, by any world-wide or historical criterion a well-developed industrial, urban region. And it has beyond doubt borrowed many of the characteristics of other industrial, urban societies. But it still remains culturally distinguishable, and will, I

suspect, continue to relinquish but slowly its own ways. So I hope the social scientist of the future will not uncritically move into place his concepts of urban and industrial social patterns when he comes to explaining the origins and the fortunes of the sit-in movement. I hope instead that he will look for the peculiar features, not only of the traditional South, but of the changing South. Let me offer you one example. In cities North, West, and South there is a movement away from the central city to the suburbs. This frequently means a city electorate more and more influenced by low income, minority groups. The peculiarly Southern feature, however, is that these low income groups include a growing proportion of white immigrants from the countryside, who bring to the cities their rural attitudes and their strong attachment to racial prejudice. The result may be — and I repeat, may be — that Southern cities will not over the next decade or so be liberalizing centers, but will turn in various ways toward sharper opposition to social change. This is more likely to happen, if at all, in a few cities rather than generally, and Birmingham and Montgomery as examples of harsh race relations, and Dallas and Houston as examples of anti-libertarian zeal, ought to be sufficient demonstration that cities can generate a specially intense sort of reactionary spirit. But, at the very best, factional or party politics in many of our cities will tend to become increasingly permeated by the conflict of attitudes regarding race.

7. The prediction may be hazarded that the social scientist of the future will find that the effective cause of the spread of the 1960 sit-ins was a profound impatience over the rate of change, and that the single largest factor in that was disillusion and disgust over the progress of school desegregation. Agreement with this observation has led a number of voices to proclaim that Negroes are shifting their main hopes from the courtroom to direct action, and that henceforth undaunted youths and not graying lawyers will lead. How people interpret to themselves what they are doing is always important, though not always of first importance; events often follow their own logic and not the motivations of their participants, a fact which historians understand better than do social scientists as a whole. At any rate, I shall not presume to explain what the temperament and outlook of the student demonstrators are; others have already done that in quantity, and I doubt that anything I could say would relieve the present confusion. One thing, though, would seem clear: on any rational comprehension, impatience would be directed not at the method of legal attack on segregation but at the white powerholders who have evaded the law. Instead of saying, as so many have, that the sit-ins represent a new strategy, would it not be more reasonable to regard them as opening up a new front? Instead of announcing that the sit-ins mean a downgrading of the courtroom struggle, would it not be more reasonable to recognize that litigation is not an effective

means for desegregating lunch counters, and that sit-ins are not an effective means for desegregating schools?

8. On the other hand, we do the cause of racial equality no good if we are too timid to discuss its potential problems. One of these is the possibility of organizational rivalry — the ancient curse of liberal movements. Up to the present, the campaign for Negro rights has had a certain simplicity. The principal arena was the courtroom, the immediate objectives were chosen by the lawyers, and the argument always was an appeal to the Constitution. This was a very simple program, and there was little in it to cause factional jealousies or divisions beyond occasional grumbling over this or that legal maneuver. I do not, of course, mean to say that work for racial equality was confined to the courtroom; I only point out what is the fact, that the legal fight was the spearhead and acknowledged as such. Now the sit-ins have thrown a tremendous effort into an extra-legal movement. The field is open for honest disagreement over objectives, methods, and leaders. To maintain their old unity will be a real test for the liberal forces who have supported the NAACP.

9. I suspect that even those of us actively engaged in race relations work do not always sense what a tremendous and complex problem it is. I believe it will become more so as throughout the country and the world the primary task of racial reform changes from equalization to cultural assimilation. The Negro communities of the South are not today well equipped with the social organization seemingly required by modern society. This is true of urban as well as rural Negroes. There is fertile soil here for new organizations — new instruments of leadership — and for the continuous adaptation of old organizations to new problems.

10. The Tallahassee study by Lewis M. Killian and Charles U. Smith, modest though it was, is most provocative.[2] They found that not one of the six persons regarded by whites and Negroes as the Negro leaders of Tallahassee before the bus boycott was ranked by either whites or Negroes among the first five post-boycott leaders; and that not one of the five post-boycott leaders was ranked among the first ten in pre-boycott days. This is the old story, familiar to all students of social change, that new objectives claim new leaders. It is hard to believe that the Tallahassee development is fully typical, but something like it, if less drastic and abrupt, seems to be occurring over the South.

11. Yet as Killian and Smith also imply, protest is one thing and reform is another. There is some evidence in the stories of how a number of Southern cities have desegregated lunch counters to suggest that the older Negro leadership and the protest leaders can and do fruitfully complement each other, though coordination and mutual trust have sometimes been hard come by. My guess would be that this is the true interpretation. Negro leadership in the South is being broadened by an

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2 "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," *Social Forces*, March, 1960.

infusion of new elites. In the meaning of Pareto and Mosca, the established leadership generally is giving evidence not of its demise but of its health, as shown by its ability to open its ranks to new talents.

12. There has been a great deal of talk about the "new Negro." I hope there will not be a great lot more, and that social scientists will not succumb to the term and try to elevate it into a concept. It is, or so it would seem to me, after all rather condescending to herald the young man or woman acting responsibly in defense of his or her own dignity as a "new Negro." It is patronizing of him and belittling of the labor and ideals of the older Negroes. What should one expect? Should social scientists or liberals be as surprised as is the tradition-minded South to observe educated people asking to be treated as such? I must confess to a certain amount of intellectual squeamishness about the present preoccupation in scholarly as well as journalistic circles with interpreting the Negro personality. That last phrase I used advisedly, because I want to make emphatic my belief that there is usefulness in scientific analysis of Negro behavior and motivation. What seems to me objectionable is the non-scientific, dilettantish examination of the Negro as if he were some curiosity, which is only a variation of the way the traditional South discusses him. We can't all be scientists, but we all can know when to keep our mouths shut. If I need to make my point any clearer, I would say that the effect of most of the pseudo-philosophizing about the "new Negro" is, to put it bluntly, the creation of new stereotypes.

13. Social movements tend to require symbols. In a most tentative way, one can by now believe that the Montgomery bus boycott and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. have made on the Negro populace of the South deep symbolic impressions.

14. The focus of the sit-ins on lunch counters has been frequently treated as a mere tactic or as the occasion for facetious punditry. The treatment often has been to belittle the immediate objective — the cup of coffee, the hot dog, the doughnut — and to say that it represents only a convenient issue. Of course there are wider aims inherent in the movement. But the casual cup of coffee is important in itself. It is one of the myriad amenities taken for granted by white persons and denied the Negro. It is one of the multitude of minor slights and deprivations which Negroes feel, one should imagine, as intensely as they do the great denials. On the day I write this I had for lunch cheese blintzes and sour cream; I may be wrong, but I doubt that there is a place in Atlanta or the whole state of Georgia where a Negro could buy blintzes. This is not a trivial matter when we see it as a rightful part of an issue which looms clearly in front of our society. Whenever we have discussed equality, we have usually tended to think of the equality of public facilities and public rights. But there is also the question of the freedom of every individual to enjoy all the pleasures and the concerns of his culture. The state

anti-discrimination commissions are an approach to this problem; but there are good grounds for doubting that, racial biases aside, Southern political theory will embrace such a solution. Is there any other? Is it at all possible that something we are witnessing now in the South is and will increasingly become an alternative to the anti-discrimination agency? Reflect on the devices which are being employed: protest demonstrations; negotiations between white businessmen and Negro representatives; the creation of official and semi-official race relations committees; mediation by local, state, and national administrators. Could these same devices be effectively used in the South over the whole gamut of problems which in the North and West are dealt with by anti-discrimination agencies? If so, would they represent an inferior method? Are the regular procedures of the commissions necessarily to be preferred to the public excitement produced by the protests? Or does a democratic society derive a beneficial tonic from the direct confrontation of people and issues, as long as violence is avoided?

15. The sit-ins challenged the South a second time to form new policies to meet a new demand. When the Supreme Court in 1954 and 1955 required school desegregation, the South responded with massive resistance. When the students this year demanded equality at the lunch counters, the South has responded considerably better. Many stores in an impressive number of cities outside the Deep South have desegregated. This has been satisfying not only to the Negro youth who have had the sweet experience of success; for white Southerners of good will there also has been the rare satisfaction of seeing themselves "handle" a racial controversy and bring it to an agreeable solution without outside intervention. Of particular interest[3] has been the ingenuousness of the students and the determined role-playing of the merchants. The students' innocent and vague perception of the durability and inertia of custom, and of the maze which surrounds the levers of decision making, has been a constant strength and an occasional handicap. They have ventured where older heads would not have, and in the outcome proved again that youth is not always inferior to age in practical wisdom. On the other hand, there has been in some places an evident interval of discouragement, when students found their moral appeal and the economic pressures which they mobilized to be not enough to effect a quick victory.

The merchants and the business communities generally have almost invariably responded to sit-ins by a disclaimer of responsibility. They too have been ingenuous. For they have not seen their role as civic captains to embrace leadership of social practices; this is not the role they

[3] Over and beyond, i.e., the amazing intricacy of the process as it unravels in a large city: as one watches, one's feelings vacillate between impatience—"why won't they do this simple thing?"—and an apprehension that this is the way the game of decision making has to be played out. A chronicle of the play in one or several cities—say Atlanta, Richmond, Houston, Dallas, or Nashville—ought to be an illuminating chapter in the study of social control, and one hopes that a talented social scientist will someday write it.

have assigned themselves, and they have shied mightily from assuming it. I suspect that at least a significant part of their reluctance has had nothing to do with race relations or fear of economic reprisals if they desegregate; mixed with these has been a sincere distaste to act, *qua* businessmen, in this or any other field of social practice in a way that makes them conspicuous and which forces on them the exercise of a power which they would prefer to think they don't have.

16. Could the movement have been crushed had local and state authorities chosen to overwhelm it with force? What would have been the effect on it had mobs, without official sanction, rioted in more places than they did? Can non-violent protest attain a practical objective where the rights of demonstrators are not protected by impartial law enforcement? In only one city (Nashville) where violence and official repression greeted the protests was there a settlement during the first six months. Interesting too is the apparent fact that the bombing of Mr. Z. A. Looby's home was the catalyst which shocked business and political heads of Nashville into a disposition to reach a settlement. In later months, desegregation has been achieved in Chattanooga and Portsmouth, in both of which there had been considerable disorder; in neither place, however, had the city's law enforcement power been directed against the Negroes.

17. As is appropriate for a movement rooted in a demand for justice, its participants have had to confront and resolve various ethical issues inherent in their own activity. One example is the question of fairness in the singling out of certain types of establishments, or of singling out for special pressure a particular chain, or a particular store. Another example is the question of fairness in picketing or boycotting the Northern stores of a chain in order to induce it to change its Southern practices. Another, and most important of all, is the issue of the legitimate uses of civil disobedience. Both the morally jaundiced and the morally self-confident may regard such questions as dilatory; I think they are not. There is no easy answer to them. What is important is the faithfulness of the participants to their own ethical standards, and their constancy in carrying on a dialogue with themselves about the quality of the means which they employ. Whether this is done may well determine the durability of the movement.

18. The issues brought to head by the movement have ramified in a number of directions, and this too is typical of all really important social events. Already, for example, we have had sharply presented questions of academic freedom, of the Christian tension between obligation to conscience and law, of the degree of control of colleges over their students; questions of law enforcement methods and principles; questions of the obligations incurred by states and localities in accepting federal financial aid. The movement has made tracks through many fields other than its own battlefield of segregation.

19. The prediction was sometimes made that the sit-ins would arouse Negro Southerners to make a more determined effort to apply for admission of their children to desegregated schools. This has not yet happened, except perhaps in Nashville.

20. There has been of late years intensive concern with matters such as conformity, weakness of national purpose, political apathy, and anomie. If values and purposes are in decline, one explanation might be the disappearance of tensions and conflicts within our society. Despite the ferocity of our time, we live, in a sense, in a marking-time age. Our finest political energies have in the past been given to horizontal struggles within our own civilized order, contests wherein parts of our societies have engaged each other. The extinction of slavery, the humbling of the nobility, the correction of an over-powerful church, the shattering of royal absolutism, the repudiation of plutocracy and the extension of economic benefits — to such ends have the vitality and the talents of our ancestors and some of us been directed. Now there remain but scraps of unfinished business from these historic great causes, random skirmishes yet to be fought. A good part of current despair and cynicism, perhaps most of it, can be traced to the absence of battles that are really challenging to mind and spirit. In the United States we had a last burst of enthusiasm during the New Deal period of the 1930's. The citadels of economic privilege fell surprisingly easily, and the enthusiasm died almost before it was snuffed out by the exigencies of war; when our postwar President tried to revive it, we found that people were not really interested any longer. For a great cause has to have more to recommend it than simply the satisfaction of an appetite for more goods by those who already have considerable; it has to have at its center a protest at injustices deeply felt. We mark time now, waiting for new issues to arise and claim our allegiance. The old horizontal struggles within our societies have been replaced by vertical contests of West versus East, of constitutionalism versus dictatorship, of freedom versus communism. For Western peoples, these state-led struggles do not elicit the same spirit.

But an exception is the American Negro. He has his battle and it claims his energies. In a parasitic but not therefore unmanly way others of us derive purpose from joining his cause. In the process, we come to see that the Negro revolt against injustice is a movement which can operate, and to some extent is operating, as a cleansing agent for many institutions and values of American life.

Presented: Mar. 17, Daytona Beach, Fla.
"Open Forum"

THE SOUTH AT POLITICAL CROSSROADS

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Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "fourscore and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If we, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, look back four score and seven years, we confront a far less happy and auspicious event. Our gaze would be on 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. The contest was to be settled in favor of Hayes. He became the nation's President after deals were made and compromises reached that have affected American life to this day. One of those deals, and a basic one, was that federal troops would be at last withdrawn from the South, and Reconstruction ended. For the next 70 years or so, the white South would be left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had, thus, freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution -- the 14th and 15th -- which for the next 70

years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desparate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

And we are still, the South. We are still the one region of the country which looks upon itself as distinct, as different, as a sort of sub-nation within the republic. We have defined "The South" in terms of its differences from the rest. Neither we nor our northern and western friends have given as much thought or interest to those qualities and forces which unite us.

We have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. It was -- and still largely is -- a white man's society. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Our society has been moreover, one which places a very high value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population has moved into cities, the rural districts have kept political power. And North, and South, East and West, we all believed

that <u>any</u> man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, have been the stuff of which were made old <u>Saturday Evening Post</u> covers, or the primers we had when we were in the first grade. What we have called the "American dream" has been a priceless fabric of political ideals and humane values. But when we have contemplated the "dream" we have tended, I think, to see it as the blessing and special heritage of strong, Anglo-Saxon men and women, living close to earth and neighbors, getting ahead in life through the benefits of their own work and the benevolence of a just Protestant God.

I am not drawing here a profile of America intended to be unpleasant. To many of us, it is still an appealing picture, because few indeed are the persons who can forget what they early came to believe was cleanest and most honorable and most good.

1876 was a turning point for the South. I believe that we are now at another, though not so sharp, and one which we shall not pass for perhaps several years yet.

I believe, further, that this crossroads where we now are is crucial beyond parallel because what is at issue here is not only our differences from the rest of the nation, but these qualities and forces which have in the past united us. I shall

try to make this as clear as I can during the next pages, but let me first state my proposition simply. It is this: the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from our traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us. I believe we are overcoming this crisis with some success. All the more is it urgent that we know what it is, and where we are heading.

I would like to call your attention to five landmark dates. They illustrate changes which are occurring in American society. Although these changes affect the whole nation, they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody -- Arthur Koestler, I think -- once spoke of the Jews as humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes I feel that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or, at least, most apparent, here.

First of the landmarks is 1944, and the Supreme Court decision in the case of Smith v. Allwright. This was the decision which outlawed the white primary in the South and which, thereby, ended the last legal bar to Negro voting. Change has not been rapid. There was a spurt of registration which lasted until 1952 when the Negro vote in the eleven states of the South reached about 1,200,000. Since then there has been only a slow increase. The Negro vote in the South today is

probably less than 1,500,000, which is only about one-fourth of the eligible number. The vote will grow, however, and is already a potent factor in the politics of a number of southern cities, and has recently become of state-wide importance in a couple southern states. Nationally, and especially since the presidential election of 1948, the power of Negro voting has grown and may well have been the decisive factor in the outcome of the last presidential election.

From 1944, therefore, we can date a profound development. White men no longer have a monopoly of the power to make political decisions. The monopoly is broken, and we shall see, for some years, a continuous spread of political influence across the country to nonwhites.

The second landmark is 1954, and the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Topeka. Again, progress has been slow and, I think, cruelly and stupidly slow. More than eight years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision there are only about 12,200 Negro children in schools with whites in the old South. This figure doesn't mean much, however, because about 6,700 of these are Texas children, and most of those are living in west Texas -- which is hardly "South." If you subtract these, you have left only 5,500 or so Negro children now attending school with whites all over the South. Even this figure doesn't mean much. For example, in Tennessee there are

1,800-odd Negroes attending schools with white children; however, nearly one-third of these are in one school in Nashville with one white child and one Chinese child. The same inflation of figures occurs in Florida.

Nevertheless, school desegregation is moving, and will undoubtedly pick up momentum. Most interestingly, the controversy has moved to the North and West where in any number of cities and towns Negroes are pressing for school integration. This is an interesting example of what I said earlier. The school desegregation controversy has not concentrated solely on a difference between the South and the rest of the nation. It has, instead, exposed the fact that although the South has done it one way, and the North has done it another way, both have been united in the practical segregation of Negroes.

I think we need to recognize that the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 meant, for the long run, more than the desegregation of public schools. Its deeper meaning was that henceforth the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race. Those of us who are white have tended, I am afraid, to think of civic institutions as belonging to us. It is "our" schools, "our" church (not God's, but "ours"), "our" parks, "our" neighborhood swimming pool, "our" theatres. We have even thought of

it as "our" government, and well we might, because the very term "republic," Cicero taught us, means the public's property. Now we must be learning that the "public" includes all of us, white and nonwhite, and that all together own and are to enjoy the republic and what it has created.

The third landmark date is 1960 and the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States. For the first time, someone other than a Protestant received the nation's highest office. The symbolic importance of this election was, in its way, comparable to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. The election confirmed the fact that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the highest decisions for this country.

The controversy now raging about the Supreme Court regarding religion in the schools has a similar meaning. It happens that I have, personally, some doubts about the wisdom of the federal courts stepping into this field. But I think we Protestants must candidly recognize that the religious exercises that have been held in the public schools of this nation over many generations have, for the most part, been Protestant exercises. We must also recognize that this is not a Protestant country in present fact, and that if we seek to have persons who are of other faiths or of no faith at all conform to our sense of worshipful proprieties, we are acting

the part of oppressors.

The fourth landmark is 1962, and again a decision of the Supreme Court, this one in the case of Baker v. Carr. In that case, the Supreme Court ruled that when the apportionment of legislative seats in a state is grossly unfair, the federal courts can give relief. I don't believe we have yet begun to realize the enormous importance of this decision. In contrast to the slow pace of desegregation, we have seen already Alabama, Florida, and Georgia move toward more democratic representation. Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia all have the issue before them.

Throughout our history, but most especially during the last few decades, rural people have had an unfairly large measure of political power. State legislatures all over the country have been biased in favor of rural districts. So, too, is Congress. Long after economic power moved from agriculture, and long after the majority of our people moved to the cities, the rural sections retained what has almost amounted to political dominance. In the South, it has been dominance. The politics of most southern states is still today, and it has been since the early 19th century, controlled by the Black Belt -- that region where once cotton was king. Predictions are always risky, but I think it is probable that during the next few years there will be a profound transformation in American politics, and that urban thinking and urban men will play a much bigger part.

My fifth and final landmark is 1940. This was the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. In 1940, after seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment shot up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really shot up - to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been very little improvement since, and President Kennedy, just a week ago, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%. I might add that many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.

Now I am not an economist, but there are some facts so obvious that we do not have to be economists to recognize them. Neither the policies of Republic nor Democratic administrations have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Our unemployment is high despite the fact that our government is boosting the economy with huge expenditures for armaments

and for space exploration; without those expenditures would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940? A basic complication certainly must be the spread of automation and technological improvement throughout American agriculture and industry, displacing human beings by machines and electronic devices.

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has so often happened in the past, Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of history itself. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to that time American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration nearly cut off since the first World War, industry has met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including the farms of the South. There are still on the farms and in the small towns of the South white women and men who are available for industrial employment; but the bottom of the barrel is in sight. The only remaining large supply of under-used labor and skills in the United States is our Negro population, and the tragic irony is that at this time when Negroes, always the last hired, are finally next in line, the job market is declining.

I do not see how anyone can, in the face of these facts and figures, continue to believe that America is for everyone a land of opportunity where <u>any</u> man can get ahead by dint of

his own hard work. If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that from some six to seven percent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs; and that this is the predicament of these persons and their families even though there is general prosperity in the country.

These five landmarks mean, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in these United States. The price of that democracy will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union -- which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership -- can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf, if we allow the division to continue.

To put it differently, the policies which Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina still are advocating would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and other like-minded areas from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become aliens in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

There is no need for me to repeat the old familiar tale of the South's economic and educational shortcomings. They are too well known. The most worrisome aspect is that the South's position is not clearly improving. Two critical measurements are, for example, personal income and years of school completed. In 1950, the median number of years of school completed by Americans over 24 years of age was 9.3; by 1960, this had advanced to 10.6, a gain of 1.3 grade. In the South during the 1950's we made a tremendous effort to improve education. Yet only one southern state -- Virginia -- had a larger gain than the national (8.5 - 10.9). In 1950, two southern states -- Florida and Texas -- were above the national median; in 1960, there was only Florida. We had, in short, fallen farther behind.

Similarly with income. Per capita income in the United States in 1950 was $1,491; in 1960 it was $2,223, an increase of 49%. The percentage increase in southern states was generally greater than this, but the dollar gap widened -- and people spend dollars, not percentage points. To illustrate, in 1950 the highest per capita income in the South was in Texas: $1,339, or $152 less per person than the national average. In 1960, Florida had become the southern leader, with a per capita income of $1,988; but this was $235 less than the national average.

Now there is nothing particularly wrong about being below average. After all, whenever you have averages someone has to be below -- and I would, personally, just as soon live in a region where the pace is a bit more leisurely. What would be disastrous, however, would be for the South to isolate itself from national movements with the inevitable result that it would fall farther and farther behind. I have already mentioned that I think that this was real danger with which we were threatened, when all over this region state governments and state politicians preached the gospel of massive resistance. That is still gospel in large areas of the South, and for the people of those areas the prospects are, it seems to me, gloomy indeed.

But I would like to add also another thought. The South has generally, during the last couple decades, moved more and faster than it ever has before toward economic integration with the rest of the country. Politically, we have moved farther apart, and this is true still even in areas such as Florida, which no longer adheresto the pure doctrine of massive resistance. I think we have tended to forget that only a few years back southern Congressmen worked not only <u>in</u>, but <u>with</u> the national Democratic Party. For example, Senator Byrnes of South Carolina was one of President Roosevelt's principal Congressional captains, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was a

faithful supporter of the New Deal, Alabama's Hill and Sparkman were noted for their economic liberalism, and Florida sent Claude Pepper to the Senate.

I want it clearly understood that I am not implying praise for these men because they were liberals. In fact, whether the South is liberal or conservative, Democratic or Republican, does not seem to me to be the main question. The really critical question is, "Will we end or continue our political isolation?" And I think this is the crossroads where we are now.

One fork in the road which faces us leads toward perpetuating, here in the South, a politics which is not really anything except a politics of opposition, based on a crude and defeatist belief that the South must defend itself against the invader -- even if the invader be the spirit of democracy, and even if the invader be the religious spirit of brotherhood. The other fork of the road leads us toward union with the political and intellectual life of the country as a whole.

Southern oppositionism, in its modern form, dates back, I think, to 1947 when President Truman appointed his civil rights committee, and subsequently espoused its recommendations. From this time on, Democratic politicians from the South have retreated from the Democratic Party, and step by step have come

to oppose virtually everything for which the national Democratic Party stands. At the very time that the South was moving economically toward the rest of the nation, the South politically has been pulling away.

There are some developments in the South today which make me very pessimistic as to where we shall come out. There are some other developments which warrant optimism. I want to conclude by mentioning, briefly, what these are.

On the pessimistic side, whether we are Republicans or Democrats, I think we need to be thoughtfully concerned about the deterioration of southern statesmanship. One of the Congressmen from Georgia a few weeks ago announced his opposition to President Kennedy's tax reduction proposals. That was all right. What was not all right was the reason he gave. He said that everything in his experience, as a small-town businessman, taught him that we should not cut taxes at this time. I submit to you that we cannot delude ourselves into believing that the experience of a small-town businessman is the criterion by which grand issues of the national economy can be tested. And, as I suggested earlier, the South used to know better. We did, after all, send to Washington men such as Glass of Virginia, and Bankhead of Alabama who, for all their ingrained conservatism, knew that the public's business was a job for statesmen. Yet it

Begin

seems to me that today all over the South we are forcing on our politicians the sort of instinctive defense of the most simple ideas of a non-existent and never-was laissez-faire capitalism which, in an earlier generation, was associated with Congressmen from the mid-West, and not from the politically sophisticated South.

Secondly, I think we have to be concerned, though perhaps not as much as a few years back, by the social nervousness which gripped the South after 1954. The South, let me remind you, was the one region of the country which never took Senator McCarthy very seriously. Shortly after the rest of the country got over its McCarthyite binge, we started. The uneasiness which came from the racial crisis infected us generally, and we have had our period of investigating committees, hunts for Communism, purging of textbooks, and other such activities. I believe that as the racial controversy quiets, this social nervousness will also end, but we still have it with us.

A third cause of concern is more troublesome. One of the authentic southern traditions was a deep concern with the foreign relations of the United States, and a regional commitment to the idea that the United States must play a wise and leading role in international affairs. One particular aspect of this tradition was that we were, as a region, dedicated almost religiously to the idea of low tariffs and virtually free trade. I think we need to be profoundly worried over the fast withdrawal

of southern politicians, and other civic leaders, toward isolationism and away from the principles of free trade.

But there are currents of optimism too. First, there is the improved racial climate. I would have said "greatly improved" racial climate, except that I would not want anyone to infer that we have more than just begun to overcome this most ancient of the South's problems. In fact, we need to prepare ourselves for greater and more intense pressure from Negro Southerners for full civic rights -- and we should welcome it. As with any group of deprived people, every gain enlarges the desire for more gain, and increases impatience.

But the greatest asset the South has today is, I think, that we are making progress on this question.

Secondly, I think we shall derive great benefit in the South from re-apportionment. Our most critical problems in the next decades will be urban. We shall be far better able to cope with them when urban thinking is fairly represented in our legislatures and in our Congressional delegations.

And finally, on the side of optimism is the emergence of a realistic two-party system in some of our states, with the prospect that a two-party system may spread to other states in the near future. It seems to me that the Republican Party is, in the South, growing in the right way; i.e., by draining conservatives from the Democratic Party. Analysis of the growth

of the Republican Party in Texas since 1956 clearly shows that its growth has been due to conservative Democrats deciding that their best interests lay in casting their lot with the Republican Party. I suspect that much the same is happening here in Florida, aided, of course, by the migration to Florida of many people who have brought their Republic politics with them. The Republican Party is growing in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and in various cities of other states such as Atlanta and Shreveport.

I am extremely doubtful that a one-party South could make the right turn at the crossroads of which I spoke before. A one-party South will be an oppositionist South. I believe that the growth of a two-party system, with southern Democrats truly allied to the national Democratic Party, and southern Republicans truly allied to the national Republican Party, is the best means for ending southern isolation.

And I would add that I believe that the only feasible way that we in the South can preserve what is good of southern traditions and southern manners, is to stop defending what is bad in southern traditions, and to give up oppositionism, and to cast our lot with the nation.

- END -

LWD - Excellent Act

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RACIAL STATUS AND THE MODIFICATION
OF THE SOUTHERN POWER SYSTEM

Dr. Reed asked me to offer, for your consideration and criticism, some comments, both retrospective and prospective, on race relations in the South. The subject is, most surely, not a new one. The temptation, therefore, is strong for one called upon to speak to such an ancient issue to search desperately for an original thought. What can he possibly say, that you haven't heard before? This sort of predicament has the potential of making fools of us all. Because it is I, and not you, however who occupies this unenviable platform, I enjoy rather clearly the best odds of being convicted of foolishness before the morning is over.

In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it is an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. I sometimes suspect that an understanding of it can more truly be obtained through intuitive feeling than through science. Let me ask you this question, which has sometimes bothered me. We all acknowledge the greatness of the Myrdal study. Yet how useful do you, in all honesty, find it as an aid to your own thinking? Have your own thoughts and insights been nourished by it as much as they have been, for example, by W. J. Cash's The Mind of the South, a book written out of intimate identification with southern culture, and which used research only to illustrate ideas flowing from Cash's personal involvement in that culture. In whatever measure you do make active use of Myrdal, not for facts but for ideas and insights, is it the long analytical and empirical portion of the study, or the relatively short and intuitive introductory section, that you turn to most often?

This is said not to disparage your function as social scientists, nor the

contribution you can make to that better knowledge of race relations which will be a foundation for wiser policies. Indeed, I could not belittle you without belittling myself, for I am of the same profession. My meaning, such as it is, is only this: that social scientists are better advised in this field to take their cue from the scientific method of the psychoanalyst rather than from the botanist, or mathematician, or chemist. We shall not discharge or fulfill our responsibilities by collecting and classifying data, or by abstracting our problem from the imprecisions of concrete reality, or by observing rigorously controlled experiments. We shall succeed best in learning and teaching something meaningful about race relations if we allow the problem to describe itself, dredging it up through our memories and revealing it to ourselves as a Protean image, immersed in the moving currents of our own values, attitudes and aspirations.

In a most tentative way, this is what I shall attempt this morning. But then, if I am correct, everything about the southern problem of race relations is tentative. There is nothing in its form which is fixed and unchanging, no more than there is in any organic thing. What we deal with each day is another and different one of its infinite aspects. I want, therefore, to try to capture something of its nature by looking at the aspect of it which is suggested by my title. Of course I would not have devised such a ponderous title - "Racial Status and the Modification of the Southern Power System" - for any audience except one composed of brethren in the social sciences. But you are by now used to clumsy formulations like this, which try to summarize in the title all that the talk or essay is about. My thesis this morning is that the status of the southern Negroes cannot be changed without radically altering the power structure of southern society; and that ~~in~~ what we are witnessing is the determined defense by ~~the~~ some present holders of power against change which threatens them. ~~that~~, in fact, equality might is incompatible with the self-interest of some, but fortunately not all, of the holders of power in southern society.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's was governed by the objective, How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population. The objective that determines the policies of the white leadership is now charged, just as it was during Reconstruction, and just as then it was not revised by the wishes of the white leaders, but by men and forces which exceeded their control. The aim is not now to obtain satisfaction, of any degree. Instead, it is, How to maintain white control of the institution of southern society? To put it differently, Negroes are not now regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a change of status.

The old policy - of using Negroes for the maximum satisfaction of white leaders - found application in all the institutions and practices of southern society. In economic life, it led to the gradual definition of "Negro jobs" and white jobs, and from it evolved a myriad of principles governing the economic relations between individual members of the two races. In politics, policy dictated that Negro voting and office holding should be suppressed. This continued to be the practice long after Reconstruction was ended, and represented more than a fear that Negroes might again challenge white control. For what happened was that southern politicians adapted themselves and the organizations which they led to a well-understood pattern of competition for votes and of distribution of the spoils of office. The pattern became familiar, something the politicians took for granted and planned their careers around. Were the Negroes to vote the pattern would change, new tactics and appeals would have to be learned - in short a whole new ball game with new rules for winning would be set up. Furthermore, southern politicians were able to enjoy for decades the greatest bliss of the politician, i. e. the freedom to evade issues. He had only to yell "nigger" more loudly than his opponent, and in

the ensuing excitement his constituents forgot about taxes, schools, roads, foreign policy and all the other concerns of government. As James McBride Dabbs has put it,

> "The race issue is central to their (southern politician) existence, for it keeps the South solid and they are the politicians of the Solid South. If it should be resolved, the political forces of the South would realign themselves with the political forces of the nation, eyes alert to economic and other interests. Low income groups, white and Negro, would tend to align themselves with similar groups elsewhere, high income groups to do likewise. This would destroy the livelihood of the typical Southern politician. He would have to become nationally cognizant and intelligent, and he might starve before he could do so. ...He may have forgotten most of his race prejudice, but he knows very well, deep down, which side his political bread is buttered on." The Southern Heritage, p. 115-6

Finally, the policy of maximum satisfaction was applied to all social relations. This meant, in part, that Negroes were to be used as servants or attendants for the flattery of white esteem or the easing of white people's domestic labors. It meant that they were to serve as the objects for white charity and philanthropy, and that the whites would satisfy their moral urgings by "doing for" their Negroes. (Parenthetically, let me state that I would not make this last comment before a lay audience. The supply of human kindness is not so great that any of its manifestation can be rejected. I am sure that you will realize that I am not denying the reality or sincerity of the many fine and decent relationships which grew up between southern whites and Negroes. I am only saying what I think is true, that these relationships were (1) a source of satisfaction to the whites; (2) were not believed to threaten white social superiority.)

It is of course true that there were at all times, from 1890 to the 1940's, as there were before the Civil War, southern white men and women who protested against a racial relations policy designed to use one race for the satisfaction of another. For the contemporary representatives of these southern dissenters, 1954 was a crucial year; that year marks a dividing line which runs deep into men's

emotions. Before 1954, a southern liberal was a white man who wanted better treatment for the Negroes; after 1954, he was a man who supported the Negroes attack on segregation. Some liberals were lost along the way.

The frontal assault on segregation implies a thorough opposition to the southern power system and is recognized as such by the power holders. Consider the following:

Politics

Negro voting
- upset pattern
- Negro-labor - small farmer
- office holding
- urban enhancement

Response: removal of choice (white bloc)
- intimidation

Social Relations

insecurity of whites

defense of schools and other community institutions

Politically and socially, the admission of Negroes to full civic status is a threat to the existing leadership of the South. Is it a threat to the existing economic leadership? I do not believe that it is, and in that fact - if it is true - lies the great, decisive influence which can end or soften southern resistance to Negro rights. The fact is, I think, that the southern economy is gradually but rapidly freeing itself of its old dependence on a bountiful supply of cheap Negro labor and that as a result the economic leadership of the region no longer has an interest in perpetuating segregation or any form of ethnic discrimination. In so far as the economic leaders are themselves entangled with the political leadership, ~~in~~ in so far as they join in the defense of social institutions, they will share in the resistance. But their minds are divided, and the economic interest speaks ever more loudly and insistently. Place yourself in the

position of a southern industrialist or financier, and try to look at the present situation as he must:

Industry and social order

Negroes needed as manpower?
Farm?
Plant?

Purchasing power - spur to industrialization
Per capita income 1956

U.S. -	$1,940.
Fla. -	1,762.
Texas-	1,686.
Va. -	1,647.
La. -	1,444.
Ga. -	1,400.
Miss.-	964.

Negro family income, Fulton and DeKalb Counties
1949 - 20.5% over $3,000.
1956 - 46.5% over 3,000.
1956 - 2305 families over $7,000.

median up from $2,046 - $2,869., a 40% increase
(white increase, 35.8%)

If you were an industrialist or financier who was able to take a longer view, you would also be thinking such thoughts as these:

Manpower
Education
Supply (only Florida and Texas net migration gain 1950-54)
(Census Bureau estimates 1970 population: only Florida (sure), Texas, Louisiana (probable) to equal national increase. Arkansas and Oklahoma (sure), Mississippi (possible) losers.)

Va. N.C. S.C. (possible)

To sum up:

1. Negro equality of rights threatens the southern political leadership and will therefore continue to be fought bitterly. I think there is no likelihood that southern political leaders will anytime soon drop their warfare against the Negroes; they may, however, invent more sophisticated and palatable tactics.

2. Negro equality of rights threatens white enjoyment on their own terms of the social institutions such as the schools and will therefore continue to be resisted. Because these institutions are the subjects of law and not the makers of laws, the rights of Negroes to their enjoyment will probably be secured. A likely, unhappy result may well be the withdrawal of affluent whites to residential areas which are safely all-white, and to private institutions (e.g. schools), leaving the central city and the public schools entirely to the lower income whites and the Negroes. A more rigedly demarcated class structure could well be the price paid for the ending of racial discrimination by law. I am not willing to make this a prediction. I think it is, however, a possibility too real to be overlooked. Human beings have deep, strong aversions to democracy. When democracy gains in one sector, a compensating loss often occurs in another. The democratization of race relations may result in the transfer to other activities of the desire for exclusiveness and invidious distinctions.

3. Negro equality of rights does not threaten southern economic leadership; in fact, there are definite advantages to southern industrialists in a mutually ~~satisfying~~ tolerable solution of the southern problem of race relations. I believe this economic interest is sufficiently clear-cut so that there do not lie ahead years of unremitting struggle.

What does this mean for the future of race relations. My guess is that it means that the economic leadership will not much longer tolerate the present climate of resistance and defiance, and that business leaders will succeed in bringing it to an end. This will not mean an end to prejudice, nor will it mean

a real integration of Negroes into the white communities. The acknowledged interests of the economic leaders do not yet extend that far. It will, however, mean an uneasy peace, and that, I think, is the prospect for southern race relations during the next decade or so. I wish that I could be more optimistic, and could believe that even greater victories lay near at hand. But an uneasy peace does permit the growing strength of Negro voters, with all that implies for the alteration of political power in the South; it does also permit the better and freer education of Negro youth (and perhaps white youth too), and all that that implies for the fuller opportunity of Negro men and women to be decisive agents in shaping the future of southern society.

L. W. Dunbar

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

> Anneal: to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition)

Now the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was acutest here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed

de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them resevoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular--Kentucky--has a ~~basic~~ general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. ~~But in~~ In fact, the South has never been all

of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in southern self-consciousness; mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes, but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. ~~What~~ The which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After

the Civil War, white southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions--all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal--the shortest--length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor--this flat belt ~~has~~ gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from ~~its~~ the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced ~~has~~ ~~and~~ still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesman. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, ~~who~~ which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do, ~~and~~ the other sections of the

South--the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations--have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an elitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but several generations of them have by now held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man, and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War, and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance

toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at ~~least~~ worst, a venial wrong; ~~and~~ mistake which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegregated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past nor to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal

courts.* By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 ~~have~~ has has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of Brown v. Topeka, declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, ~~and~~ New Orleans, and Montgomery, ~~probably lie~~ ahead. But the South--the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition--will lose again. And that South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South ~~has~~ have been

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* ~~Simply~~ Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.

America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were enough Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

It is said to the white South "do this now, & do it of your own design, ~~without compulsion~~, because we are all one community for which you are, at the moment, the caretakers." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crécy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. And so, within a year, about 100 cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope--for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for re-kindling hopes. The white southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope--that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold R. Isaacs* suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet

* "Five Writers and their African Ancestors," Phylon, Fall, Winter 1960

The Freedom Ride has been a more controlled & less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-in. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement & intuition, & perhaps too much a gigant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights & privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective & there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment, i.e. the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction & struggle have not as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings & desires & beliefs, & the white South has been hearing & has been learning.

historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been usually opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers --and that includes most of them--move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first 15 cities in numbers of Negroes, only three--Houston, Dallas,

and New Orleans--are southern, and they rank 7, 14, and 15 respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both northern and southern. In ratio of Negro to white the southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South--Atlanta--is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54% Negro; Atlanta's is 38%. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and ~~the northern state of~~ Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Negroes who live in the South declined from 81% in 1910, to 60% in 1950, to 52% in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10-11% of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century--after about 1820--the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy, so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in northern and western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch-plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with

them many non-southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. ~~This~~ The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and ~~are~~ comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

~~But~~ Yet there is more to the southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed almost ~~And~~ no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, resppnsible press has never had finer examplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them, who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> ...mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives ....
> ...

The southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the

* A small but very necessary "almost": there is always the Faulkner exception. Rather more to the point, there are Percival Everett and some of the others.

Contributor to The Lasting South, ~~literature~~ ed.

L. F.D. Rubin, Jr., and J.J. Kilpatrick (~~Chicago~~ Regnery, Chicago, 1957).

South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess/In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and oft meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry has made things to happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois's electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in

employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being rigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts; those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy.*

The bastion of southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines committee chairmanships, southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil rights laws in 80 years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before--from 1861-77--took an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of southern resistance is measured by the mere 800 Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme

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* No southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. ~~Wilson was born and reared in the South, but made his career in the North.~~ No southerner has served since Johnson, ~~1865-69,~~ and he, ~~Lincoln's successor,~~ was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.

Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But 800 is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia will desegregate some schools in the city of Atlanta this ~~coming~~ September (1961), and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three, and Louisiana ~~and Georgia and Louisiana; agreement has been reached to~~ desegregate them soon in Atlanta, and then there will be only the four hard-core states.

Change here?

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear, and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South heritage is with us now.

only Copy

(Rob)

DRAFT

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

(1) The power to decide the course of strategy is diffuse. Congress, President, Department of Justice, NAACP, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Martin King, SNCC, CORE, the National Urban League to some extent, a myriad of local groups, VEP, foundations. Perhaps a writer such as Baldwin should be included. Perhaps SRC has power sufficient to seed strategic ideas. Most southern governments have withdrawn from exercise of initiative: now merely defensive; need to get them to return to decision-making, but on other side.

(2) Even though decision-making so diffuse, valuable to seek an over-all understanding, in order to define particular function.

(3) Chief problem fields seem to be, in order of immediacy,: erasure of racial barriers; use of human resources; education and training; housing; the family.

(a) Solutions cannot be compartmentalized. On the other hand, progress in erasing barriers has to proceed ahead of others

(b) Moreover, problems of family life, which in many ways are the most basic of all, probably cannot be substantially solved until large progress made on all others

(c) Helpful to discuss problem fields in reverse order of immediacy.

(4) The longer I work and study in race relations, the more convinced I become that the root hardship is the weakening of Negro family life. The worst crime committed by the white South during both slave times and the years since has been to discourage by nearly every conceivable means Negro family stability.

(a) It seems to be the predestined role of the bourgeosie of all societies to be lampooned and criticized. And certainly the Negro bourgeosie needs to support strongly the civil rights campaign -- if for no reason other than self interest. Nevertheless, the only real measure of achievement of the campaign is how many people are enabled to live middle-calss lives; as a matter of fact, this goal is implicit in the purposes of all the civil rights groups, including CORE and SNCC.

(1) Over the next few years, one of the really interesting and important national developments will likely be within the Negro leadership, in the form of debate and tension between those (symbolized by the NAACP and NUL) working for integration without other

economic or political ends; and those (symbolized by Bayard Rustin and some of the SNCC spokesmen) who see a need for identifying the Negro cause with that of other far-reaching changes. Though the latter would undoubtedly deny it, the end sought either way is to be bourgeoir.

(b) Problems of family stability cannot be solved until and as progress is made in the other areas. But there is a reciprocal relationship here too, and progress in the other areas is and will be dependent on a steady growth of the strength of family units.

(c) Family programs of the NUL and local Urban Leagues are, therefore, helpful even if only ameliorative; and those of other social welfare agencies too. They would be far more helpful if they included instruction in birth control. There is an urgent need for more counselling, by either public or private agencies, to the families newly arrived in the cities from rural areas.

(5) I am a pessimist about how successful non-economic measures can be in abolishing ghettoes; and until the ghettoes are broken, the whole chain of problems, which include Negro family life and

inferior schools, will be with us. I think these measures should be used, and vigorously, but I don't expect from them great results. By non-economic pressures I mean governmental regulations, church teaching, exhortations, etc., etc.

(a) The great contribution of governments (and it would be a large one) can be in the area of, generically, planning. Governments all the way down the line should be asking themselves -- or, realistically, should be made to ask themselves -- every time a decision is to be made on highway locations, urban renewal projects, school site selection, annexations, sewer or street or water main location, park construction, etc: "Will this tighten or loosen the patterns of housing segregation?" Civil rights advocates would accomplish more by dogging these questions than by promoting anti-discrimination laws. (There are, on the other hand, some conceivable situations in which other factors would outweigh: e.g., I think it conceivable that, all factors considered, the one best location for a particular new school might be in the heart of a raciallh homogenous area. But the question should each time be raised and faced.)

more here

(1) Who can do this? Local Urban Leagues where they exist and, hopefully, local Councils on Human Relations. But this task shows clearly what is one of the crucial requirements of better race relations, and that is a growingly strong network of local organizations.

(2) There are undoubtedly at least some opportunities here for the Legal Defense Fund to work.

(b) But, basically, the answer to housing discrimination is more housing. To abolish the ghetto you must have housing integration; to have integration you must stop white flight; to stop white flight you must have a short supply of Negro buyers; and to have that, you must have, if not fully a buyer's market, at least a market in which the buyer has multiple attractive choices.

(1) From this point of view, I would say that an example of a truly big contribution lately to civil rights promises to be the Church Homes apartments, sponsored by the Wheat Street Baptist Church with guidance from the Atlanta Urban League.

priority market

(2) Why can't philanthropy open up more funds for Negro housing, under auspices of Negro organizations?

(6) I shall not in this paragraph refer to the effecting of compliance with Brown v. Topeka, but with the submerged part of the iceberg: de facto segregation and the enormous disparities of educational opportunities within our population. Very clearly, or so it seems to me, these represent the biggest single tractable problem in our race relations, and the one most demanding of huge governmental programs and constant attention.

(a) I think it is wrong to separate the two questions. De facto segregation and under-education should be merged into a single problem, of how best to educate the children. Concentrating simply or primarily on de facto segregation leads into such cul-de-sacs as New York and Chicago are experiencing now, where demands are being made that perhaps cannot be met without assuming that racial balance is a value superior to any other educational value.

(b) If we merge the questions, I think we would conclude that we cannot educate the children well in a racially restrictive school system. But we would not be putting the cart before the horse, and substituting an ideological goal (integration) for the real goal, which is the best development of the child.

(c) Nor is there anything inherently inferior in a ~~shad~~ Negro college, or a predominantly Negro one. Some few of the Negro institutions are at the threshhold of being first-rate liberal arts schools, and are deserving of as devoted and un-self conscious development as, say, Brandeis, or Sewanee, or Notre Dame, or Vassar.

(d) On the other hand, to help perpetuate many of the Negro colleges is as ~~foolish~~ foolish as, say, helping to perpetuate some of the sectarian white colleges scattered profusely over the country.

(e) In the whole area of education, it seems to me, there are three paramount and equal needs:

(1) Ideas -- where is the independent body of thought to guide the school boards, the NAACP, and the public in such hassles as Harlem and Chicago? Who has done any thinking comparable to Conant, about the rural schools, particularly those of the Black Belt? What philosophers are evaluating Higher Horizons or Grey Areas, or the plans of the North Carolina Fund? Who is thinking about how you educate migrant laborers'

children? etc. SRC can and will contribute something here, and so can organizations such as Potomac or ADL. But there should be extensive work at the colleges, particularly the Negro colleges.

(2) The inculcation of adequate standards -- let me say only that in my experience the under-education of southern youth -- Negroes, but whites too -- is not as serious a problem as the falsity of these standards. The under-education can be cured, but it takes dynamite, if that will do it, to jerk the minds onto a new level of valuation of work. Foundatinns, it seems to me, have a very special responsibility here. They should not grant a dollar toward Negro or any southern ~~organization~~ education program which would contribute to the security of present low standards; and they should imaginatively seek for ways to infuse the best standards throughout Negro and southern, generally, education.

Overstated

(3) Money

(7) A basic difference between a primitive and a so-called develped society is that in the former the economy is fitted to the human

resources while in the latter human beings adept or try to adapt to the economy. One might hope for a happy medium, but, unless we get some new cultural attitudes and some new philosophy infused into our society we need to concentrate hard on how we can make our economy use in satisfying ways all our people. With immeasurable irony, our present economy has least use for two of our oldest groups of inhabitants: (a) Appalachian mountain folk; (b) Negroes. The problems are vast and hard, and include the maintenance of an expansive economy, including a job market big enough and qualitatively good enough to provide happily for the work force; sophisticated job and career training plans that are large and that accord with an ever changing job market; education that suits people for enjoyable and self-sustaining leisure. All this, as well as the removal of artifical barriers -- such as discrimination -- to the free flow of talents and skills to their own level.

(a) This suggests certain conclusions. It is not in the interest of Negroes for them to subscribe to a single political platform: civil rights. Negroes have a greater stake than anybody in economic growth, and it is bad politics for them to get in the position of being appeasable by civil rights concessions.

(b) The doorways to the job market -- vocational training schools, apprenticeship programs, employment agencies (public and private),

professional schools, etc. -- are of crucial importance to Negroes. Vested interests around the doorways are, therefore, ultimate enemy. To keep the doorway clear is a job to which many -- NUL, NAACP, Negro newspapers, direct action groups, CHR's, SRC -- can contribute.

(c) Better and more thorough counselling in the schools serving lower income groups is of key importance. This is a field ripe for (1) philanthropy (2) and pressure by civil rights groups for larger governmental outlays for counselling.

(d) Lower income children have got to stay in school to some terminal point -- which means that the schools have got to be made fit to stay in.

(8) Finally erasure of racial barriers: civil rights.

(a) School integration

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (?) is not going to be of much help, and we do need Congressional action. We need ideas for Congress, and efforts such as the Notre Dame Conference to supply them. Lobbying by NAACP should be expanded. The VEP is helping to

alter climate in southern constituencies; it is of key importance to get some southern Congressmen on our side, and to keep others on defensive.

But we need helpful action as well -- or even more -- by state legislatures, state departments of education, and local school boards and administration. We must outgrow the idea that these are necessarily to be written off as agents of positive leadership. SRC (and others) should be trying to define and get publicly accepted their responsibilities, and the Negro groups, the CHR's, and the intergroup relations agencies generally should be pressing them to assume leadership.

Finally, there is a terrific job of legal mopping-up to do. Legal Defense Fund will need to be active for years, and ways should be found to get more southern lawyers -- especially Negro lawyers -- interested; there are nearly 2,000 school districts in the South which are legal sitting ducks, and where only plaintiffs and trial lawyers are needed to effect starts.

(b) Politics

In general, voter registration and voting must be pushed through VEP and -- hopefully -- through the carry-over of

VEP stimulated activity in the post 1964 period.

Beyond this, encouragement should be given to the development of Negro political leadership. Increasing the supply of Negro lawyers has, accordingly, a double purpose, given America's traditional tending to draw politicians from the ranks of lawyers. The SNCC workers -- who have tasted not only leadership, but some of its temptations -- represent a national concern, in that it is to everybody's interest to get them "integrated" into the regular channels of advancement and political preferment.

The traditional emphases in the curricula of Negro colleges -- teacher education, sociology -- must be altered in the direction of subjects such as economics and political science which have greater training value for politics and public administration.

Negroes should participate much more than they do in non-race groups, such as League of Women Voters, the political parties, ADA, YAF, etc.

(c) Employment

Much of what is said under 8a regarding school integration applies here, though the

Act of 1964 may be of substantial help.

We need:

(a) Continuous studies, with ~~figures~~ frequent public releases, of the administration and results of federal and state anti-discrimination programs.

(b) To get far more deeply embedded than we have the public understanding that discrimination is harmful to the whole economy.

(c) To be on guard that federal and state anti-discrimination commissions are not, in the traditional manner of regulatory bodies, captured by and put to serve those they regulate. The President's Committee is beginning already to look this way.

(d) A great deal more and more effective use of consultants, seeking to persuade, advise, and assist employers. Private agencies have tried this and been ineffective (including the Urban Leagues?); but how could they have done much better than they have? The most effective consultants would be representative of state ~~and~~ or local governments.

(e) Continued use of tactics such as Operation Breadbasket which drive home what is the true fact: initiative and responsibility must come from employer.

(f) Far, far more thorough and skilled job counselling in the schools.

We do not need:

(a) Quotas or preferential plans. (1) More than anyone else, Negroes have an interest in economic growth and productivity; (2) Would boomerangein ill will; (3) When you try to outsmart the system (which is different from trying to reform it), the system, or those who benefit from it, will outsmart you, because they can.

(d) Public and Private Institutions

(e) Market Place

Assuming the Act of 1964 includes the public accommodations section, the South will be faced again with a great challenge to obey federal law.

(a) Pressure for local ordinances should continue unabated, in order to get local enforcement machinery in play.

(b) Effort should be made in every southern state and leading city to get civic leaders committed to some such position as:

"This is now the law, and the South must not again undertake the turmoil

of resisting. To challenge the law in the courts is proper. But in the meantime, and until and unless it is voided or changed, obey. And neither state nor local governments should in any way seek to frustrate the Congressional command or add to the citizen's (proprietor's) difficulties in obeying."

(c) Efforts should be made throughout the South to get church bodies, women's groups, etc. to announce early positive support.

(f) Marriage.

Il Ponte
(only copy - MB)

LWD
Personal -
Manuscripts

March 23, 1961

Mrs. Elizabeth Mann Borgese
San Domenico
Florence, Italy

Dear Mrs. Borgese:

At the instructions of Mr. Benedict, I am mailing my manuscript directly to you. I hope you will find it satisfactory and will feel free to edit as you may think desirable.

If you wish to identify me in the magazine, in addition to my present title I am executive director elect of the Council, and by the time this gets in print will be simply "executive director."

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: manuscript

April 17, 1961

Mr. Stephen Benedict
330 East 71st Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Benedict:

Because of your earlier expression of interest, I thought I had better refer the enclosed letter to you for advice.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
thermafax, Christianity & Crisis letter

April 6, 1961

Mr. Stephen Benedict
330 East 71st Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Benedict:

Your comments about my essay are most gratifying; I wish they were better deserved. Contingent upon Mrs. Borgese's consent, you of course have my permission--and Godspeed--to show it to any other magazine you think it might be suitable for.

I have heard from Mrs. Borgese, and she kindly indicated satisfaction with the article.

Thank you also, and most sincerely, for your congratulations regarding my new job. I suppose that one of the requirements of it will be that I rather more frequently visit New York, and perhaps on some occasion I may be able to find you in.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

330 EAST 71st STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Many thanks for sending me the copy of your piece which I have just read. I think it is just swell. It seems to me to strike exactly the right balance between hope and severity. It is just right in tone for the audience for which it is written, but would be just as good, it seems to me, for Americans to read as well.

In this connection, would you have any objections if, on a very preliminary basis, I were to show it to several people here in New York looking toward the possibility of its publication - perhaps with a very little revision - in one of several national magazines for which I think it would be exceedingly appropriate. I can imagine it being of interest to Harpers, The Atlantic, The Saturday Review, The Reporter, Life, Look, and the New York Times Magazine, to name a few. I think the real problem in the end would be to select the one that would provide the best forum in terms of readership and dignity. I have written Mrs. Borgese telling her the same thing and asking her if she and the editors of Il Ponte would have any objections to publication of the piece in English. Naturally I would not make anything resembling a commitment without first discussing it with you and after having received an okay from Mrs. Borgese. I do really think that it is one of the wisest pieces on the South that I have read and that it would be a shame for it not to be made available to the American audience.

I did not mention before the question of fee to you because I knew that Mrs. Borgese was scraping around among Italian sources for the necessary funds to carry out the Il Ponte project. I don't know just what she has finally come up with but I am certain she will be in touch with you directly. I suspect it will be fairly nominal but the spirit in which you accepted and carried through the invitation to do the piece makes me confident that you understand the situation.

My very best congratulations to you on your new assignment and again my most sincere thanks for helping out as you did. I believe it will perform a real service.

Sincerely,

Stephen Benedict

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 3, 1961

Miss Elisabeth Mann Borgese
Via Vecchia Fiesolana
San Domenico
Florence, Italy

Dear Miss Borgese:

Thank you for your letter of May 24 and the generous enclosure. I received the magazine, and a most handsome book it is. I shall certainly keep in mind your suggestion to let you know if I in the future have anything on the racial problem suitable for an Italian audience.

I believe Mr. Benedict has secured your permission for the article to be published in this country in English. The Virginia Quarterly Review wishes to do it. From my point of view this is a second ideal outlet.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

ELISABETH MANN BORGESE

VIA VECCHIA FIESOLANA
SAN DOMENICO (FIRENZE)

May 24, 1961.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I am enclosing a check for $ 100.- covering the fee for your article for our special issue of Il Ponte.

Your copy of the magazine was mailed the first of this month, and you should have received it by now.

We hope you enjoyed it. We certainly are deeply grateful for your precious collaboration. If, in the future, you have anything on the racial problem that you think suitable for an Italian audience, please let us know.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Elisabeth Mann Borgese.

U.S.A. - 1961

Project for a Special Issue of the Italian Monthly IL PONTE, Dedicated to an Analysis of the Cultural, Social, and Political Situation of the United States as it is Emerging from the Elections.

I. The Magazine

Il Ponte is an independent cultural-political monthly. It was founded by the late Piero Calamandrei immediately after the Liberation in 1945 and has been published for sixteen consecutive years.

I. The Scope

The name itself ("The Bridge") is indicative of the magazine's aims and purposes:

It was to bridge the gap between prefascist liberalism and postfascist society: between an older generation of survivers and the young. IL PONTE consistently presents both generations in its pages.

It was to bridge, furthermore, the contrast between liberalism, an unflinching respect for the individual, and socialism, with its claims for social justice and advancement for all. Trying to arrive at a new synthesis of individualism and socialism, IL PONTE follows in the footsteps of the Rossellis' Giustizia e Libertà. IL PONTE's contributors range all the way from the liberal Catholics (C.A; Jemolo, Geno Pampaloni) to the Nenni Socialists, with the Radicals and Social Democrats in between.

It was to bridge, thirdly, the gap between politics on the one hand and the arts and letters on the other, aiming at a Whole Man, a New Humanist, for whom arts, letters, morals, politics, are but different forms of expression of one unique human essence. Thus every issue of IL PONTE includes literary criticism, short stories, poems, historical, philosophical, and sociological essays, and political comment and speculation.

It was to bridge, finally, the gaps of ignorance and misunderstanding separating one country from another, and to uphold the ideals of One Europe and, eventually, of One world. To implement this effort, IL PONTE has published a series of special issues dedicated to foreign countries: including Great Britain, the Saandinavian countries, Hungary, China, Israel, Spain, and others. The material for these

special issues was written almost entirely by natives of these respective countries (exiles, in the case of Hungary and Spain). The editors of IL PONTE supervised the translations and added editorial comment. The special issue on the United States will follow this general pattern.

2. Production

IL PONTE is published by the Florentine publishing firm "La Nuova Italia," which otherwise specializes in the publication of books in the fields of philosophy and philosophy of education. "La Nuova Italia" are the publishers of the Italian edition of John Dewey. The editors of IL PONTE are Dr. Enzo Enriques Agnoletti and Dr. Corrado Tumiati.

IL PONTE has a circulation of 5,000 copies, 4,000 of which go to paying subscribers while the remaining 1,000 are sold in book stores. The number of subscribers -- students, teachers, professional men, libraries, and clubs -- is steadily going up. The income from subscriptions and sales is sufficient to keep the journal going. IL PONTE is the only magazine of its kind in Italy that thus has succeeded in maintaining complete independence.

Each issue consists of 120-160 pages, featuring about fifteen articles ranging from 1,000 to 7,000 words each.

IL PONTE: April, 1961

U.S. Foreign Policy	Adlai E. Stevenson
The National Purpose	James Moceri
The New President: His Personality and Tasks	Stephen Benedict
The Economic Situation	James P. Warburg
The American Crisis	David Riesman
The Morals of Extermination	Lewis Mumford
(Civil Rights and the Kennedy Administration)	Harris Wofford
The Decline of McCarthyism	H. Hubert Wilson
A New Liberalism	Erich Kahler
The Prospects of a Free Society	Robert M. Hutchins
Education	L. Lafore
Science	Harrison Brown
Labor Unions: their role in the social, economic, and political life of the nation	Edward Corsi
"Interviste di lavoro"	Furio Colombo
Catholicism in the U.S.	Mauro Calamandrei
The American Family	Anna Kross
Review article on recent trends in literature	R.W.B. Lewis
Poetry	Henry Rego
Review article on recent books in social and political sciences	Arnold Rogow

Cover by Ben Shahn

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Thank you very much for your article, which has just arrived. I have read it through once; it is beautifully written and the material, it seems to me, is quite interesting. I have passed it to the translator. If any editing should be required, we will do it on the translation. But I expect it is quite all right the way it is.

Your check should reach you sometime prior to the publication of the issue, which means, within April.

Thanking you again,

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Hamp Borgese.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Pending

Air Mail - Special Delivery
October 2, 1961

Miss Charlotte Kohler, Editor
The Virginia Quarterly Review
One West Range
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Miss Kohler:

Thank you for your letter of September 26 and the generous enclosure. I received today my copy of the autumn issue.

I wonder if it is possible for me to purchase reprints of my article, and, if so, what the price would be?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A National Journal of Literature & Discussion

ONE WEST RANGE · CHARLOTTESVILLE · VIRGINIA

September 26, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our printer tells us that the Autumn issue has been mailed out and your author's copy should reach you in a few days now.

It was necessary for us to put your footnotes into the body of the text since we do not use footnotes. I inserted the one on page eight, as you wished.

This note comes to you with our check for sixty-five dollars and our thanks for giving us the pleasure of publishing "The Annealing of the South." We all think it an excellent article indeed.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte Kohler

Charlotte Kohler
Editor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
CK:m

August 15, 1961

Miss Charlotte Kohler
Editor
The Virginia Quarterly Review
One West Range
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Miss Kohler:

Enclosed are the galley proofs of my article. The type looks very fine indeed.

We have made corrections of a few small typos. Other than this, I have no changes, though I would like to raise a question about footnotes. Those which appeared on pages 5 and 11 of the manuscript have been inserted in the text in parentheses. This is all right if you prefer them that way. The footnotes which appeared on pages 8 and 9 of the manuscript have been left out entirely. The one on page 9 was a rather gratuitous comment, and if you deleted it purposely, I have no strong objection, though it is a qualification that makes a statement in my text rather more accurate. The footnote on page 8, however, would seem to me to be needed.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW
A National Journal of Literature & Discussion
ONE WEST RANGE · CHARLOTTESVILLE · VIRGINIA

August 10, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Here is the proof of your article which has just come up from the printer. Will you correct it and let us have it back as quickly as you can? Many thanks.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte Kohler

Charlotte Kohler
Editor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
CK:m

July 5, 1961

Miss Charlotte Kohler
Editor
The Virginia Quarterly Review
One West Range
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Miss Kohler:

Thank you for your letter of June 28. I think it would be well for me to take another look at the article during the next fortnight and perhaps send you one or two changes. Southern life these days, unlike the past, is highly fluid and the chance to vary the nuances of one's thinking is always enticing.

To respond, I think sufficiently, to your query about biography, I have been Executive Director of the Council since April, Director of Research from February 1959 until then. From 1955-59 I taught at Mt. Holyoke College and from 1948-51 at Emory University: principally political philosophy. I was employed with the Atomic Energy Commission at its Savannah River Plant from 1951-54. 1954-55, I was a Guggenheim Fellow. I have contributed to a number of journals including, incidentally, two pieces for the Virginia Law Review. My Ph.D. is from Cornell University (political science, 1948).

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A National Journal of Literature & Discussion

ONE WEST RANGE · CHARLOTTESVILLE · VIRGINIA

June 28, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We were all greatly pleased when Stephen Benedict sent down to us your article, "The Annealing of the South." We have read it with a great deal of interest and we should like to publish it, probably in our Autumn number.

In Mr. Benedict's letter of June 7 he mentioned that you had said you would be happy to take another look at it and make some revisions in the light of intervening months. If there are any changes that you would like to make will you let us have them by or before the middle of July?

I am not returning your manuscript since I am sure that you have copies on hand. Of course, it will be possible too to make last minute changes in proof — which should go forward to you about the first of August.

Will you please send us, either with any changes that you want to make, or separately, some account of yourself and your work for our use in the Green Room, where we introduce our contributors? It will be a very real pleasure to number you among them.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte Kohler

Charlotte Kohler
Editor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
CK:m

REPRINTED FROM

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A NATIONAL JOURNAL OF LITERATURE & DISCUSSION

VOLUME 37 AUTUMN 1961 NUMBER 4

The Annealing of the South

By

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Anneal: to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (*Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition.*)

NOW the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was most acute here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by Southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because Southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them reservoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society

loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where Southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular—Kentucky—has a general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the Southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. In fact, the South has never been all of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, Southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in Southern self-consciousness: mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the Southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes; but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. That which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After the Civil War, white Southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions—all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal—the shortest—length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor—this flat belt gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesmen. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do; the other sections of the South—the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations—have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because Southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an élitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but by now several generations of them have held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white Southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man; and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed Southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that Southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War,

and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white Southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white Southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at worst, a venial wrong: yet one which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white Southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegrated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white Southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past or to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro Southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal courts. (Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.) By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Topeka,* declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, New Orleans, and Montgomery, probably lie ahead. But the South—the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition—will lose again. And *that* South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South have been America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people, who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades, suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were *enough* Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among Southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white Southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crecy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. It said to the white South, "Do this now, and do it of your own design, because we are all one community, for which you are, at the moment, the caretaker." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded. And so, within a year, about one hundred cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope—for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for rekindling hopes. The white Southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope—that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The Freedom Ride has been a more contrived and less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-ins. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement and intuition, and perhaps too much a vagrant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights and privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective, and there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment: i.e., the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction and struggle have not, as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro Southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings and desires and beliefs and the white South has been hearing, and has been learning.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold

R. Isaac in Phylon last year, "Five Writers and Their African Ancestors," suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro Southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed this section to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been, usually, opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers—and that includes most of them—move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high, but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first fifteen cities, in numbers of Negroes, only three—Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans—are Southern, and they rank seventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both Northern and Southern. In ratio of Negro to white the Southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South—Atlanta—is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54 per cent Negro; Atlanta's is 38 per cent. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Ne-

groes who live in the South declined from 81 per cent in 1910, to 60 per cent in 1950, to 52 per cent in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10 to 11 per cent of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the Southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century—after about 1820—the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in Northern and Western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with them many non-Southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

Yet there is more to the Southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed, almost no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, responsible press has never had finer exemplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the Southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on Southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted Southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> . . . mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives. . . .

The Southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess / In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and often meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive Southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry *has* made things happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in Southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-Southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois' electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than Southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being vigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts: those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy. (No Southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. No Southerner has served since Johnson, and he was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.)

The bastion of Southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines com-

mittee chairmanships, Southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil-rights laws in eighty years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before—from 1861 to 1877—had taken an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of Southern resistance is measured by the mere eight hundred Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But eight hundred is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia desegrates some schools in the city of Atlanta this September, and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three and Louisiana.

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been, like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe that the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South's heroic age is with us now.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1240P EST FEB 21 62 AB191 PD208

W BUB006 GOVT PD BU WASHINGTON DC 21 1217P EST

LESLIE DUNBAR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

INVITE YOUR TESTIMONY AS WITNESS IN PUBLIC HEARINGS ON MORNING OF MARCH 6 BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE STUDYING DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION. UNDERSTAND HAROLD FLEMING SPOKE TO YOU OF THESE HEARINGS. WE WISH YOUR TESTIMONY AS VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO OUR PUBLIC RECORD. IF IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU, PLEASE NOTIFY US OF A REPRESENTATIVE. LETTER OF DETAIL FOLLOWS. PLEASE GET IN TOUCH WITH DEBORAH PARTRIDGE WOLFE, EDUCATION CHIEF, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

DOMINICK V DANIELS CHAIRMAN AD HOC SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTEGRATION.

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NEAL SMITH, IOWA
CHARLES S. JOELSON, N.J.
JULIA BUTLER HANSEN, WASH.

LOUISE MAXIENNE DARGANS,
CHIEF CLERK

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

Committee on Education and Labor

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Congress of the United States

Washington 25, D.C.

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EDUCATION CHIEF
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CHIEF COUNSEL FOR LABOR-MANAGEMENT
LIVINGSTON L. WINGATE,
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL FOR LABOR-MANAGEMENT

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 4527

February 21, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Chairman Adam C. Powell has established an ad hoc subcommittee on integration in federally assisted education of which I am serving as chairman. The subcommittee will study the progress of desegregation of public schools and the expenditure of federal funds for education in order to ascertain the amounts and percentages of federal funds being expended in segregated schools. The subcommittee will complete its work with a progress report of activities in compliance with the Supreme Court decision of 1954 to be ready for the eighth anniversary of that decision on May 17. I am enclosing a memorandum used by Chairman Powell to announce formation of the subcommittee. It will indicate the scope of the study.

Public hearings will open on February 27 and continue on subsequent dates to be determined. We believe that your organization has made significant contributions to this area of civil rights, and are therefore most interested to hear any testimony you might care to present to our investigation.

We urge you to accept March 6 for presenting your testimony as proposed in telegram. You can get in touch with Dr. Deborah P. Wolfe, Education Chief of the Committee on Education and Labor, who is acting as study director, for further details.

Sincerely yours,

Dominick V. Daniels

DOMINICK V. DANIELS
Chairman
Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration

Enclosures (3)

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

DVD:cg

MJ - file

Air Mail Special February 26, 1962

Miss Deborah Partridge Wolfe
Education Chief
Committee on Education and Labor
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Wolfe:

By telegram and letter of February 21, Congressman Dominick V. Daniels invited my testimony on the morning of March 6 before the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration.

I accept the invitation. My schedule is such, however, that there is a slight possibility of my having to send a representative, as Congressman Daniels was kind enough to suggest in his telegram that I could. Either I or a representative will be on hand the morning of March 6. If you could send me further details before then as to specific time, I would be grateful.

My statement will not be long and I shall mail twenty (20) copies to you to arrive by March 5.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL PRESIDENT

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WOLFE, EDUCATION CHIEF, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
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CHIEF CLERK

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

Committee on Education and Labor

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Washington 25, D.C.

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LIVINGSTON L. WINGATE,
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL FOR LABOR-MANAGEMENT

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 4527

February 21, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

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We urge you to accept March 5 for presenting your testimony as proposed in telegram. You can get in touch with Dr. Deborah P. Wolfe, Education Chief of the Committee on Education and Labor, who is acting as study director, for further details.

Sincerely yours,

DOMINICK V. DANIELS
Chairman
Ad hoc Subcommittee on Integration

Enclosures (3)

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

STANDARDS FOR WITNESSES

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration

1. Testimony will be taken, as far as possible, on higher education first, with secondary education and elementary education to follow. Witnesses will be scheduled with this in mind, as far as practicable.

2. A written statement shall be submitted to the subcommittee in 75 copies, at least 20 of which should be mailed to reach the committee office the day before the witness appears, so that pertinent questions may be prepared.

3. The witness may have 10 to 15 minutes to make his oral presentation. He may either read from his prepared text or submit it for the record and request permission to use his allotted time to amplify his material or to present additional related material. Findings of any studies on which the witness may rest his testimony should be submitted in detail unless they are otherwise published.

4. The witness is available for questioning by Members after his presentation, confining his answers to the substance of the question asked, which will be based on the statement made.

5. The witness' time on the stand will be at the discretion of the subcommittee chairman.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MEMBERS:
DOMINICK V. DANIELS, N.J.
CHAIRMAN
EDITH GREEN, OREG.
JAMES ROOSEVELT, CALIF.
HERBERT ZELENKO, N.Y.
JOHN H. DENT, PA.
RALPH J. SCOTT, N.C.
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PETER A. GARLAND, MAINE
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, OHIO

Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

DEBORAH WOLFE
DIRECTOR

JAMES BRANIGAN
COUNSEL

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 5257

February 27 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you or your repesentative can appear on March 6. We would appreciate having the name of your substitute as soon as possible, if this becomes necessary. Also, we should like to have fifty (50) copies of your statement so the press can pick up the story. brief

The hearings on March 6 will be held in the Caucus Room, 362 Old House Office Building, at 10:00 a.m. In addition to your testimony, we expect to hear Dr. Guy Johnson of the University of North Carolina and Mr. Aaron Brown of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

I believe we sent you other details relating to your appearance. We cannot be more specific in terms of subject matter at this point, since our investigative hearings are in part to see what we can develop.

We look forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely yours,

Deborah P Wolfe

DEBORAH P. WOLFE
Director

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DPW:mp

Mailed to Neil Inglee 5/7/62

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL – PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

281 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

NOTICE

RETAIN THE ATTACHED COPY OF THIS REPORT FOR YOUR RECORDS.

EXPENSE REPORT*

For: _____ (PURPOSE) _____ (PERIOD)

NAME LESLIE W. DUNBAR (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ADDRESS 5 FORSYTH ST, ATLANTA (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

	Date	From	
ADVANCES RECEIVED:			$
Total Advances:			$

EXPENSES:-*

Transportation:	From	To	
Railroad tickets			$
Pullman			
Airplane	Atlanta	Chattanooga return	23.88
Automobile			
(miles @ ¢ per mile)			
Hotel (days @ $ per day, per attached bill(s)			
Meals			
Telegrams and telephones			
Taxicabs			
Tips			
Other expenses (explain): Please make check payable to Eastern Regional Council			
TOTAL EXPENDITURES			

BALANCE: Due National Council (check enclosed) $

Due undersigned (please remit to above address) $ 23.88

(Signed) Leslie W. Dunbar

(Date) May 7, 1962

Approved by _____ Date _____

Charge Account # _____

*Note – Hotel bills, railroad ticket stubs, etc., should be submitted with this report.

FORM 6 5M-5-58

DIOCESE OF SOUTHWESTERN VIRGINIA
THE RT. REV. WILLIAM H. MARMION, D. D.
EVANS DIOCESAN HOUSE
1000 FIRST STREET, S. W.
BOX 2068
ROANOKE, VA.

file

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

May 11, 1962

file

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

This is just a note to thank you for your splendid address at the Monteagle conference May 4-6. Although I had to leave the conference before it was over, I understand that most of the delegates considered it a very helpful conference. We all hope sincerely that beside its bearing other fruit, there will be more such conferences in the future.

Thanking you again, not only for myself, but on behalf of the rest of the conferees, I am,

Sincerely,

William H. Marmion

William H. Marmion

WHM:jv

June 11, 1962

Miss Deborah Partridge Wolfe
Education Chief
Committee on Education and Labor
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Wolfe:

We have recently received a copy of the Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Integration and would like to request a second copy. Would you be good enough to send us another copy?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

September 7, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Re: SCCHR Annual Meeting

The Executive Committee will meet shortly and set the date of the 1962 annual meeting, presumably some time during the first week in November. I am writing to inquire as to your availability to work with us in this meeting.

*The enclosure concerning the unresolved problem of community organization and action will be self-explanatory. We need your assistance in formulating the problem and in leading the discussion as we seek solutions to it. We plan to set up a committee composed of representatives of some, or possibly all, of our local groups to do some preliminary thinking in this area.

The material on local councils which your letter in June indicated you would be sending out in August after your return, should provide an excellent springboard for our study committee. We hope you will send it to us at your earliest convenience, even tho it may not be in its final form.

Just as the SRC research program is studying the effectiveness of various types of organization, study and action programs at the local level-- what say you?

Cordially,

Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah
CC- Dr. Leslie Dunbar✓
*Copy of this enclosure will be mailed under separate cover next week

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

September 7, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

Re: SCCHR Meeting 9/29/62

I am delighted at the good news given me by Libby Ledeen that you will be available for the important meeting being planned by SCCHR for Saturday, Sept. 29. We appreciate your willingness to be with us in spite of your difficult schedule.

Libby reports that you raised the question as to when your address would be scheduled. We hope very much that the meeting may be opened by you at 10:30 AM in what we will consider the background or keynote address.

We have just phoned Delta Airline and find that they have a plane which would leave Washington Friday evening, Sept. 28 at 6:20 PM and arrive in Columbia at 9 PM. A faster but earlier plane leaves Washington at 4:05 PM and arrives in Columbia at 6:35 PM. We sincerely hope that it may be possible for you to use one of these planes, so that you can serve as a springboard into the program on Saturday morning, Sept. 28.

Won't you confirm your time of arrival, phoning this office on Monday, Sept.10? Libby Ledeen expects to be in the office from 10 AM to 12 noon and 2 to 3:30 PM. Also let us know if you would like a hotel reservation for Friday night, so that we may make it for you? We want to mail the programs to those who are invited, on Tuesday, Sept. 11th, if possible.

As to the content of your address, we hope that you will update and adapt the excellent analysis you gave at Fisk University. If possible, we should like you to elaborate more fully on the following five points which were made by you:

1. Define
2. Defend
3. Oragnize
4. Educate
5. Act

I am making an enclosure which will state something of the unresolved problem toward a solution of which we hope your presentation will contribute.

Promotional materials for the Sept. 29th will be mailed to you after you confirm your time of arrival.

Appreciatively,

Alice N. Spearman
Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah
C.C. Paul Rilling

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

September 7, 1962

Confidential

Background

SCCHR staff has been continuously aware of the dilemma created by the emotional unreadiness of "White leadership" to define and clarify goals and objectives and to defend stated positions publicly. (Possible exception to the latter was a mild statement on the sit-ins issued by the SCCHR Board of Directors in March, 1960.) The dilemma is rooted in the fact that the relatively few white persons in S.C. whose ideas and information are such as to classify them as "liberals" or "progressives" are in the main, do described accurately, only on an intellectual basis and are usually so emotionally frustrated and fearful that it is seldom possible to involve them in bi-racial action at any level. Organization has been slow and difficult and SCCHR educational programs and services have been used primarily by Negroes with "whites" providing liaison, informational and/or leadership roles.

Although militant Negro leaders have always been on the Board of SCCHR and the predecessor organizations and apparently worked happily with SCCHR staff, they have voiced discontent and some dissatisfaction as reflected in such questions as: what does the Council stand for? why won't "whites" take a stand? why does the Council not make itself more widely known through the news media and its own publicity? etc., etc.

Furthermore, in some instances, militant Negro leaders have been quite inflexible, unimaginative and naive in approaches made and methods used, and in programs suggested or engaged in. They have all too frequently created a climate in which Negro conservatives and others either economically and/or psychologically dependent could not move.

Inner-group conflicts, individual and organizational, have further thwarted efforts at cooperation and "fruitful interaction."

Because of the official position of resistance of the State of South Carolina, and the resulting climate of public opinion, a nebulous, low-pressure, long-range program has been about all that has seemed possible by SCCHR. Such "defining, defending, organizing, educating, and acting" as has been done has been done primarily by the staff in a working relationship with Negro leaders and organizations.

At the same time the staff has attempted to maintain a continuing though vague relationship with "white" leaders and organizations.

For the SCCHR Board of Directors to have attempted earlier to have "defined, defended---" would have broken up the organization, we believe. Negroes would have been so disillusioned as to have forsaken the Council on the one hand, or "whites" unwilling to take a position would have dropped out rather than do so.

Time, and many factors and forces are rapidly changing the situation. SRC staff is aware of many of these on the international, national and regional lev-

els; and to some degree on the State level in S.C. The running out of time in South Carolina desegregation court cases; the student movement; the growing acceptance of the inevitable; the regognition of possible economic losses and slowed tempo of social change; the increase of Negro suffrage; disgust and the just-plain-tiredness with reactionary policies so lacking in integrity and positive motivation-- just to mention some of the negative factors in S.C. On the positive side is the excited commitment to industrialization and economic improvement and hopefully a mild reawakening to the State's potentialities and growing sense of shame for the social, educational and political backwardness accompanied by interest in and increasing sense of social responsibility.

Perhaps the most immediately significant event has been the "voluntary" and to-date-successful desegregation of lunch counters on Columbia's Main street and at suburban shopping centers.

Proposal

"NOW IS THE TIME", we believe, to capitalize on the positive trends and projects in specific terms the need for keen analysis, finding at what level concensus is possible within the Board of Directors and program leaders as to goals, organization for achieving them, program methods and content including action as well as "study, discussion and fellowship."

Request

A keynote address by Dr. Leslie Dunbar to set the stage for specific program information, ideas and suggestions to be presented by four SCCHR program committees, as follows:

I. Education
II. Economics and Employment
III. Citizenship
IV. Community Affairs

DETAILED PROGRAM TO BE AVAILABLE SOON

September 16, 1962

Mr. Morris H. Rubin
Editor
The Progressive
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Morris:

Thank you for your letter of July 16. I wish I could write something; I simply cannot dredge up either the inspiration or the time to do a piece up to your standards. I am, however, enclosing two speeches which I have made this Summer. As a magazine reader, I have always been a bit stand-offish about reprints of speeches, but if you feel different, or--more importantly--feel differently about these particular speeches, you are welcome to either one. But I know that I can trust you to evaluate their usefulness entirely dispassionately.

A former contributor of yours is joining us next month as our new research director; Staige Blackford, who wrote a piece for you last Fall. He has been recently assistant director of the Louisiana State University Press and I first became aware of him by reading his piece in your magazine.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures:
An Overview of the Present Situation
Commencement Address at Tuskegee

Founded 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MADISON 3, WISCONSIN • ALPINE 5-6543

MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

July 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter of July 5. I know it will be immensely helpful in steering me as I complete final arrangements for our special issue commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. I intend to act affirmatively on a number of your suggestions. Should you come up with any more, I hope you will shoot them along.

Is there something that you would especially like to do for this issue? I would very much like to have you participate if you are in the mood and have the time. Let me know about this when you get a moment, won't you?

I enjoyed greatly meeting you at our house that night and hope our paths will cross again one day soon.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

MHR/bh

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. • Published by The Progressive, Inc., A Non-Profit Foundation

Dunbar
speaking
engagements

September 21, 1962

Mrs. Alice Spearman
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

I'll be arriving Friday on Piedmont #61 from Washington, getting into Columbia at 9:06 p.m. Don't bother to meet me, but it would be nice if you could have a room reserved some place for me. I can call you when I get in to find out where. I plan to leave Saturday on the 6:50 p.m. plane. If the meeting is over earlier, I may try to get on a Delta flight which leaves for Atlanta at 4:35 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

PR - tell her I would come

MA - file

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street - Columbia, S.C.

August 26, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

SCCHR is planning to combine its annual program workshop with the semi-annual meeting of the board of directors this year, and is scheduling an all-day meeting on Saturday, September 29. We are hoping that you can open the sessions with a keynote address, similar in content to that presented by you to the Fisk Race Relations Institute. Do write and tell us that you will be available for this meeting. We are eager to have you.

We have held numerous workshops at the state level in specific areas of concern, with varying degrees of success. In the main, we feel that they have met real needs. Unfortunately, members who have participated in these workshops are more aware of our program activities, and consequently better informed about conditions in the State, than are many of our board members. We shall focus primarily on the big task of updating and more fully involving members of our board of directors-- a perennial need in most organizations. When we have your acceptance, we shall write you more fully.

NS

Mrs. Eloise Twombly, one of our Aiken members, is serving on the program committee of the Unitarian Fellowship in Aiken. She has written asking me to assist her in securing speakers on 1), areas of concern of the Council and 2), specifically on activities of SCCHR. She has raised the question as to your availability to speak on the first subject and wrote with enthusiasm about your residency in Aiken and the fine contribution you made there.

I shall reply to Mrs. Twombly's letter on this mail and raise the same question with both of you; namely, that of whether or not Sunday, September 30 may be a mutually convenient time. We shall be happy to have you as our house guest on Saturday evening and accompany you to Aiken, if you can be available for the 29th and 30th-- providing the 30th is still an open date with the Aiken Unitarian Fellowship.

Farewell Fellowship

A prompt reply will be greatly appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Alice N. Spearman
Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah

CALLS AND INQUIRIES FOR LWD, WEEK OF 9-24-62

9-24

Neil Maxwell, Wall Street Journal
referred him to Wiley Branton for information he wished.

9-26

Mr. Currier, of New York
gave name of NY hotel to his secretary

Rep. Powell, Washington
gave name of hotel to secretary and added that you would be in Washington Friday and might be contacted through Potomac.

Bill Peters, CBS, called and decided to talk to me. Said he just wanted to be sure you and the others here (especially Wiley Branton) knew about the program which ran ~~xxxxxx~~ that night on Mississippi.

9-27

Bob Baker, now in Miss.; Paul Anthony handled.

Many other reporters called, most talking with Paul. Baker had a photographer and a private plane, in order to skip around where action was. Wall Street Journal had <u>four</u>. Claude Sitton was there too.

10-1

Oliver Holmes, Ga. Council, called and said they wanted you as speaker for the annual meeting to be held here in Atlanta at Phyllis Wheatley YWCA Oct. 27. Meeting begins at noon, ends at 4:00 p.m. He wants to know if you can accept.

December 10, 1962

Mr. Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary
Catholic Interracial Council
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to reply to your letter of December 6, 1962, requesting his expenses for the trip to New York October 28, 1962, to receive the Hoey Award on behalf of Mr. Benjamin Muse: I am listing Mr. Dunbar's expenses below:

Round trip tourist	$109.23
Hotel	19.50
Meals	7.00
Taxis	7.20
Total Expenses	$142.93

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs

Catholic Interracial Council
of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK
RE. 2-5417

December 6, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In patching up after our Hoey Award event, I find that apparently you did not give us any record of expenses that you incurred in coming to New York. Please do so since we would be most happy to defray the cost of your visit here to receive the Award on behalf of Benjamin Muse.

Sincerely,

Dennis Clark RP

Dennis Clark
Executive Secretary

DC:RD

round trip air tourist - Atl - NY
hotel - 19.50
meals - 7.00
~~taxi - 1.00~~
taxi - 1.35 + 1.75 + 1.00 + 1.75 + 1.35

via air mail

May 20, 1963

Mr. M. Mindlin
Forum Service
Summit House
1-2 Langham Place
London, W.1, England

Dear Mr. Mindlin:

Much as I would like to write again for the Forum Service, I am afraid that this time I must beg off. My reasons are two. One is that I am unusually busy, and already have, in addition to my duties, two rather substantial writing assignments to complete this summer. The second reason is rather mose pertinent. I have not, to be candid, as yet quite got my own thoughts straightened out about Birmingham and what it means.

I would, therefore, very strongly recommend to you as an alternative, Professor Howard Zinn, Department of History, Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia. Howard is not only a good writer and a talented reporter, as I believe the enclosed pamphlet he did for us will show, but he also has a strong interest in the African-Asian audience which you serve, by virtue of the fact that he is director of a non-Western studies program at the Atlanta University Center. I believe he would be willing to do this for you.

With best wishes, and try me again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosure - Zinn/s, ALBANY

FORUM SERVICE

Background Features, Information and Analysis

SUMMIT HOUSE, 1-2 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

Editorial Director: Melvin J. Lasky

Managing Editor: M. Mindlin

Cables: FORMSERV
Tel.: LANgham 6807

May 8, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia, U.S.A.

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I wonder if you would be prepared to write an article for us again, this time about the Alabama disturbances. As you probably remember, our features are widely used in the Afro-Asian world, so I would appreciate it if you could keep this in mind and, while being as critical of the Birmingham authorities as you wish, please stress the positive aspects of the movement.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Mindlin

M. Mindlin

the negro college committee on adult education

4819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois WAgner 4-0200

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, Chairman

PETER E. SIEGLE, Secretary

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1963

May 21, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

At the request of C. H. Parrish, I enclose one copy of Freda Goldman's editing of the Fisk conference proceedings of last year, and a copy of the invitation letter and list for the Atlanta conference.

I look forward to seeing you in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Peter E. Siegle

Peter E. Siegle
Secretary

PES:bwm
Enclosures

Filed in Research - 6/20/63
"Educational Imperative: The Negro in the Changing South"

H. A. BOWEN
Supervisor of Negro Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

B. R. BRAZEAL, Dean
Morehouse College

G. W. C. BROWN, Supervisor
Evening College and Adult Services
Norfolk Division
Virginia State College

R. P. DANIEL, President
Virginia State College

ALEXANDER A. LIVERIGHT, Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

SAMUEL M. NABRIT, President
Texas Southern University

C. H. PARRISH, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville

ANDREW P. TORRENCE, Head
Department of Agricultural Education
Tuskegee Institute, Consultant

the negro college committee on adult education

4819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois WAgner 4-0200

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, Chairman

PETER E. SIEGLE, Secretary

May 3, 1963

It gives me great pleasure, as Secretary of the Negro College Committee on Adult Education, to invite you to participate in the Institute on Negro Leadership in the Changing South, June 8-15, 1963 at the Interdenominational Theological Center at Atlanta.

This Institute is the second of a series under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the Committee, designed to help faculty members of Negro colleges and leaders in the Negro community gain a fresh perspective on the changing nature of the South and the role of education in meeting the needs which these changes are bringing about.

This year's Institute was developed on the recommendation of faculty members who participated at the Fisk Institute in June, 1962, where it was agreed that college teachers and community leaders ought to have the opportunity to study together the major problems of the changing South in order to help each other plan and execute the programs which the situation demands. Accordingly the Committee is seeking to provide a background against which Institute participants can effectively cooperate with and advise those who will have the responsibility of making the best possible educational programs available to adults in the South, hopefully under the leadership of the colleges.

You have been recommended as a participant because of your known leadership position in the community. You will be joined by leaders in virtually all the major urban centers of the South as well as members of the faculties of several colleges located in or near these urban centers. We hope that by studying together under the direction of a distinguished permanent faculty, headed by Dr. C. H. Parrish and Dr. Daniel Thompson, and an equally distinguished group of guest lecturers, we will find the directions for further educational work which appears necessary.

The expectation is that all participants will come with a commitment to remain throughout the full period of the Institute. Arrangements will be made to house and feed you at the ITC from Saturday evening, June 8, to Saturday, June 15. Room and board will be paid for out of the Carnegie grant as will transportation for one car from each community. The list of invitees from your community can be found on the invitation list enclosed.

We would appreciate it if you could respond with the enclosed card within the week, indicating acceptance of the invitation and estimated time of arrival in Atlanta. We would assume that those of you who are coming from the same area might want to get in touch with each other for the purpose of arranging transportation.

We look forward to an affirmative reply, and will be sending along materials and additional information for study and consideration thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

Peter E. Siegle
Secretary

PES:bwm
Enclosures

Institute on Negro College Leadership in the Changing South

Interdenominational Theological Center
Atlanta, Georgia
June 8-15, 1963

Invitation List
by States

Alabama

Birmingham

Mr. Emory O. Jackson
Dr. G. W. Pitts (Miles Memorial College)

Montgomery

Mr. Rufus Lewis
Rev. S. S. Seay

Tuskegee

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. A. P. Torrence

Florida

Tallahassee: Mr. Harvey L. Wilson
~~Tallahassee~~ Mr. Edwin F. Norwood
Mr. William D. Sweet (Jacksonville)
Mr. James L. Cherry (Miami)

Georgia

Atlanta

Mr. Warren Cochran
Mr. W. A. Fowlkes
Mrs. Grace Townes Hamilton
Mr. Jesse Hill
Mr. Robert Thompson
Rev. Samuel Williamson
Mrs. Lois Moreland
Mr. A. Jessie

Fort Valley

Mr. C. H. Morse (Fort Valley State College)

Kentucky

Louisville

Mrs. Louise Reynolds

Louisiana

New Orleans

Mr. J. A. Blaine Dejoie, Jr.
Mr. Ernest N. Morial
Mr. Giles Hubert (Dillard University)

Grambling

Mr. E. F. Purvis

North Carolina

Charlotte

To be announced

Durham

Mr. Walter O. Daye
Mr. R. Kelly Bryant
Mr. Walter Brown (North Carolina College)

Greensboro

Mrs. Waldo Falkener

Winston-Salem

Mr. Samuel D. Harvey
Mr. W. Archie Blount (Winston-Salem Teachers College)

Tennessee

Memphis

Dr. Hollis Price (LeMoyne College)
Mr. J. A. McDaniel

Nashville

Mr. Wilson Welch (Fisk University)

Texas

Dallas

Mr. A. Maceo Smith
Dr. M. K. Curry (Bishop College)

Houston

Mrs. Charles E. White
Mr. A. M. Wickliff
Mrs. Wilhelmina Perry (Texas Southern University)

Virginia

Hampton

To be announced

Norfolk

Mr. Arthur J. Freeman
Mr. J. Hugo Madison
Mr. H. D. Carpenter (Virginia State, Norfolk)

Virginia (Cont.)

Richmond

Mrs. Janet Ballard
Mrs. Elizabeth J. Johnson (Virginia Union)

West Virginia

Mr. C. H. Jackson

5/3/63

the negro college committee on adult education

4819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois WAgner 4-0200

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, Chairman

PETER E. SIEGLE, Secretary

File: Staff - Lind
1963 Speaking engagements

June 19, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Your penetrating analysis of power relationships helped clarify much during the remainder of our Institute.

It was a great pleasure to learn from you.

There will be an honorarium forthcoming from Fisk which should be larger, but that is life.

Honorarium received 6/63 $100.00

Sincerely,

Peter E. Siegle
Secretary

PES:bwm

H. A. BOWEN
Supervisor of Negro Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

B. R. BRAZEAL, Dean
Morehouse College

G. W. C. BROWN, Supervisor
Evening College and Adult Services
Norfolk Division
Virginia State College

R. P. DANIEL, President
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Texas Southern University

C. H. PARRISH, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville

ANDREW P. TORRENCE, Head
Department of Agricultural Education
Tuskegee Institute, Consultant

the negro college committee on adult education

4819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois WAgner 4-0200

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, Chairman

PETER E. SIEGLE, Secretary

WB ✓
JL ✓
MJ-file

May 2, 1963

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 29.

I shall certainly discuss your reluctance about honorarium with C. H. and the rest of our committee, although I doubt that it will change our minds.

Meanwhile, in the very near future, you will be hearing from C. H. about more precise factors related to your stint.

Best regards to Wiley Branton and Jean Levine.

Sincerely,

Peter E. Siegle

Peter E. Siegle,
Secretary

PES:bwm

H. A. BOWEN
Supervisor of Negro Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

B. R. BRAZEAL, Dean
Morehouse College

G. W. C. BROWN, Supervisor
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C. H. PARRISH, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville

ANDREW P. TORRENCE, Head
Department of Agricultural Education
Tuskegee Institute, Consultant

C.O. file copy

April 29, 1963

Mr. Peter E. Siegle
Secretary
The Negro College Committee on
Adult Education
4819 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Siegle:

Thank you for your letter of April 26. As I told C. H. Parrish, I would be available to speak almost any day from June 10 - June 14 except that on June 11 I shall need to keep the late afternoon and evening entirely free. I can, therefore, talk on June 11 provided I could be scheduled for the morning or the early part of the afternoon; or, as of this date, I would be free on the other days of that week.

I told C.H. that the one condition I would have to impose on my participation would be that I cannot prepare a paper; I have two deadlines to meet during the summer, both of which call for rather substantial work, and I cannot commit myself to any additional writing. I told C. H. that I would be pleased to speak from notes, and with your understanding, that I would not be able to do special research for the occasion much as I would like to. If, in view of this, you wish to re-consider your generous offer of an honorarium I think that would be entirely in order. $100.00 ?

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Dickens

Received June 1, 1963

the negro college committee on adult education

8819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois WAgner 4-0200

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, Chairman

PETER E. SIEGLE, Secretary

April 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

C. H. Parrish informs me that you have accepted our invitation to speak to the Institute on Negro Leadership in a Changing South during the week of June 8-15.

Shortly we will have more specific information on how we are going to discuss various problems, and will communicate with you.

C. H. has suggested that you be scheduled for Tuesday, June 11, the time of day to be settled later to suit your schedule. You are, of course, cordially invited to sit in on as much of our deliberations as you wish.

We are prepared to offer you an honorarium of $100.00 for your work. I hope this meets with your approval.

Sincerely,

Peter E. Siegle

Peter E. Siegle,
Secretary

PES:bwm

H. A. BOWEN
Supervisor of Negro Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

B. R. BRAZEAL, Dean
Morehouse College

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Department of Agricultural Education
Tuskegee Institute, Consultant

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 22, 1963

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I called you earlier this week in order to get a commitment from you to appear as a guest lecturer at an institute for community leaders to be held in Atlanta June 9-16. The institute is sponsored by the Negro College Committee on Adult Education. In attendance will be faculty persons from a dozen Negro colleges and representative Negro leaders from major Southern cities.

The institute will examine the role of "Negro" leader in a desegregating community and explore the possibilities for closer cooperation between colleges and leaders in meeting the adult education needs of the Negro population. Within this context, your specific job would be to discuss "decision-making" in the Southern city and the changing relationship between community power figures and Negro leaders. We would like to schedule you for Tuesday, June 11, but if that date is unsuitable another time during the week can be set aside for your appearance.

Wiley Branton will talk on "Political Goals and Strategies," and John Hope will consider "Expanding Economic Opportunity." Daniel Thompson, Peter Siegle of CSLEA, and I constitute the resident faculty. Thompson, as you may know, has just published a book on Negro leadership which is a case study of New Orleans. He will give the key note address on Sunday night.

You will be sent background materials, the institute program, and a tentative list of participants as soon as we hear from you. The report which is enclosed is of the first planning session for the institute which was held back in November. It will give you some idea of the initial prospectus.

I do hope that you can find it convenient to accept this responsibility. Please let me know right away.

Cordially,

C.H.

C. H. Parrish

CHP/kk

Enclosure

cc: Daniel Thompson
Peter Siegle

Honoraria Rec'd during 1963:

$100.00
from: Negro College Ctte on Adult Education

Negro College Committee on Adult Education

Report on recommendations of special committee for an inter-university program of leadership education.

Background

The call for a leadership education program for Southern Negro leaders, and for a committee to develop a plan for it, came from the members of the Institute for Negro College Educators, at Fisk University in June 1962. Institute members felt that there is a need to bring to leaders in the Southern communities an opportunity for study and discussion of the complex forces and trends operating in the South today, such as the Fisk Institute provided for educators. Leaders would benefit from an exploration into the full meaning of the new developments and their implications for leadership responsibility. The colleges and universities represented at Fisk, it was felt, would be ready to cooperate in sponsoring and supporting such a program of leadership education.

In line with the recommendation of the Institute, therefore, Dr. S. J. Wright, chairman of the Negro College Committee on Adult Education, sponsor of the Institute, appointed a special committee to develop plans for such a program, composed of three members of the Negro College Committee and three representatives of the Fisk Institute. Peter Siegle, secretary of the Negro College Committee, was designated secretary of the special committee, and instructed to call a meeting as soon as possible after his return from abroad in the fall.

The special committee met October 25-26 at the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, in Chicago, with all members present:

S. M. Nabrit (Chairman); Peter Siegle (Secretary); A. A. Liveright, for the Negro College Committee; and Edward Weaver (Atlanta University); Wilson Welch (Fisk University); and Henry Carpenter (Virginia State College) representing the Fisk Institute.

Also in attendance were: H. A. Bowen (Negro College Committee); Giles Hubert (Dillard University); and Freda H. Goldman (Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults).

Preliminary Discussion

The task of the committee was to draw up a set of recommendations to be presented to the Negro College Committee at is regular meeting November 28, 1962. In developing these recommendations, the committee agreed that, while it would be guided by the general intent of the informal suggestions made at Fisk, its job was to rethink the total project, and to decide on recommendations based on the committee's discussions.

The discussions, which lasted for two days, were informal but exhaustive. The following basic questions were dealt with:

1. Who are the "leaders" this program is intended to reach?

   In general, it was agreed that it was not the top national figures (e.g., Martin Luther King) or leaders like them who are already launched and set, and who cannot therefore be considered "educable" for our purpose. The focus should be on the new or emerging leaders with power potential. They should, however, be persons with leadership roles already evident in their communities.

   Some categories of persons who should be considered as potential invitees are:

   a. Those with political positions -- appointed, elected, or sponsored (e.g., elected councilmen, members of boards of education and the like, potential candidates for such offices, etc.)

b. Those who are part of the power structure, but who operate for the most part behind the scenes.

c. Professional community workers (e.g., human relations experts, community adult educators, Y workers, church leaders, etc.)

d. New direct social actionists (members of community councils, committees, etc.)

They should be people who have ties with the community and influence in it, with whom the universities can work in preparing the larger community for the changes that integration is bringing about.

2. What should the program be expected to accomplish?

a. To make power people more knowledgeable. To fill gaps in leaders' knowledge and understanding of what is happening in the South; to overcome the lack of awareness, or the deliberate ignoring of realities, which lead to strategy problems and hamper leadership effectiveness.

b. To help leaders see the present struggle in proper perspective. To develop a new posture among leaders, an awareness of the relationships between their problems to the total social problem; acceptance of long-term as well as short-term goals.

c. To increase leaders' awareness of resources provided by the universities; the kinds of help the university can provide to communities and leaders in achieving mutual ends.

d. To stimulate leaders and colleges to move along together to find new ways to relate themselves to their communities. To know what can be done toward desired ends through education.

In general, the objective of this program would be to help leaders work effectively toward achievement of the basic goals of the society: a free society for which people are prepared, and where they can live up to their full potential.

3. What kind of educational format should be adopted?

Debate on this question centered on whether it would be more effective to develop activities on a southwide basis, or in the individual communities. While no one doubted that in the long run, local activities will be needed to reach the many different kinds of leaders that there are in a community, most agreed that, at this point, locally organized activities might not attract or deeply affect the key persons we wanted to reach as a first step in a program that must of necessity be a long range one. Given the limitations of resources, it would not be possible to offer locally, the kind of necessarily high-level experience that was developed at Fisk. Further, the ties of the colleges (whose role in the community this program is intended to advance) to the community is not yet well-enough established for most of the schools to attract to a local institute the same key figures who might be drawn to a southwide event.

Recommendations

As a first step, therefore, it was agreed to recommend to the Negro College Committee that it concentrate resources on one major southwide institute directed to leaders from the communities of the colleges represented at Fisk; to be staffed by highly reputed scholars, analysts, and public figures; with a curriculum allowing for a sophisticated and extensive examination into key aspects of the Southern milieu as they affect leadership roles, responsibility, and strategy. The institute would attempt to attract central people, and to provide them with an educational experience in depth aimed at achieving an appropriate new posture and perspective.

Specific goals, to be developed by a faculty committee, should cover the kinds of objectives outlined during the preliminary discussion (page 3, item 2). One Fisk participant from each of the target colleges should be invited again for this institute, to participate along side the leaders. This mutual experience, along

with a content emphasis should help to make leaders aware of the resource they have in education and educational institutions, and to motivate them to become partners, or supporters, of the colleges in efforts to extend the resources of education to communities which must prepare for change.

The following specific suggestions for the structure and management of the institute were listed:

a. The institute should be about a week in length (rather than 12 days as at Fisk) as the maximum time, realistically, that leaders can be expected to give. The form of the institute however, should be similar to the Fisk Institute (e.g., study of facts and group reports) with necessary variations and adaptation to be made by a faculty committee. The time period recommended is June 8-15, the week between the conclusion of the academic year and the opening of the summer session.

b. The number of persons to be accommodated should not exceed sixty, including staff. Participants should include two leaders (see page 2 for preliminary definition of leader) from each of the communities in which the target institutions represented at Fisk are located, and one faculty member who was at Fisk (to be designated by the Negro College Committee). An effort should be made to finance travel as well as tuition and housing, perhaps by authorizing a car for all participants from a community.

c. Extreme care should be taken in the selection of the leaders to be invited. The following procedure was suggested. The college people who were at Fisk should be asked to act as local representatives of the institute committee for the purpose of selecting appropriate persons, on the basis of criteria developed by the committee. These local representatives consulting with the college administration and other members of the faculty, as well as with community people whose judgment they respect, should draw up a list of 6 or 7 leaders in their communities that fit these criteria, indicating an order of preference. This list, with a

descriptive paragraph about each nominee, should be sent to the institute planning committee, which will then apply another set of standards (for balancing the total participation) and suggest rank order changes, if necessary. In the final order of preference agreed on, invitations will be extended by local people personally and by formal invitations from the institute committee. (Prospective participants should not be approached until after the screening described above had been completed.) If local representatives or others wish to recommend additional nominees (e.g., persons not in a target community or others who do not fit the qualifications) their names with an explanation of why they seem desirable should be submitted to the institute planning committee for individual decision.

d. The institute should be held at a location central to most of the communities to be represented; accommodations should fulfill requirements for a satisfactory residential setting. The Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta was recommended as fulfilling these requirements; all participants can be housed together in one building; privacy for the institute is assured; rooms for informal social gatherings are available, etc.

Free
Just Speaking engagement

June 24, 1963

Mr. Frank G. Willey
Chairman
College Lecture Committee
San Jose State College
San Jose 14, California

Dear Mr. Willey:

Thank you for your letter and kind invitation of June 10. I would be glad to come to San Jose, especially if you could schedule me for a date after January 1.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE

San Jose 14, California

EXTENSION SERVICES

July 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciate very much your willingness to speak at San Jose State College; however, after writing to you on 24 June, I was given the opportunity to engage Mr. Louis Lomax which I accepted not knowing whether my letter to you would even reach you because of the somewhat sketchy address.

Mr. Lomax was booked through the Public Affairs Lecture Bureau in New York City, and is due here on May 20, 1964.

If for any reason he will be unable to keep this engagement, I would like the privilege of asking you again provided sufficient prior notice can be given by me.

Very sincerely yours,

Frank G. Willey
Chairman
College Lecture Committee

FGW:rs

SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE

SAN JOSE 14, CALIFORNIA

EXTENSION SERVICES

June 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I note with interest the account of your talk before the Annual Conference of the N.C.L. Clearing House. Your views on the attitudes of Negroes are very interesting and impressive.

If you expect to be in this area during the 1963-64 school year (Fall, 1963-Spring, 1964 terms), we would enjoy a lecture if you are interested. We can pay you an honorarium of $350.00 all-inclusive for a fifty-minute talk on some topic of general interest. May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

Frank G. Willey
Chairman
College Lecture Committee

FGW:rs

July 22, 1963

Mr. Randolph C. Miller
Editor
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
409 Prospect Street
New Haven 11, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you for your warm invitation of July 9. I wish I could accept, but I simply cannot take on another writing assignment at this time even if I were sure, which I am not, that I am the person to do the piece you have in mind. I hope you will try me again some other time, and in the meantime you might, if you have not already done so, consider as possibilities for the article either the Reverend Will Campbell, P. O. Box 1083, Nashville, Tennessee, or the Reverend Cornelius Tarplee, P. O. Box 853, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Official Publication REA *Religious Education*

EDITORIAL OFFICE
RANDOLPH C. MILLER
EDITOR
409 PROSPECT STREET
NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
HERMAN E. WORNOM
GENERAL SECRETARY
545 WEST 111TH STREET
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

July 9, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I need your help. We are planning a special issue of RELIGIOUS EDUCATION dealing with the problem of "Religious Education and Racial Relations." The idea is to have an interfaith approach to many of the problems involved and to deal with these problems from an educational perspective. We hope to publish this symposium in the January-February issue. The overall topics will be:

1. Biblical Teachings about Race Relations.
2. The Force of Racial Differences in Human Relations.
3. Methods of Education in Race Relations.
4. Projects Under Church and Synagogue Auspices.
5. Race Relations at the College Level.

I wonder if you would be willing to write an article on the light of your wide experience on "Methods of Education in Race Relations". An article of about 1000-1500 words would be adequate and I would like to have it by November 10. I think this would fit in very well with the overall plans of the issue.

Cordially yours,

R. C. Miller

Randolph C. Miller,
Editor

RCM/lc
(Signed by Professor Miller's secretary in his absence)

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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LESLIE DUNBAR

SOUTHERN REGGIIIONAL COUNCIL

FIVE FORSYTHE ST ATLA

THIS WILL CONFIRM THE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH YOU MADE WITH EDWARD FRIEDMAN TO GIVE TESTIMONEY BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER IN HEARINGS ON S773, S1210 AND S.1211, FRIDAY, AUGUST 2N, AT 10 AM IN ROOM 4232, NEW SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

JOSEPH S CLARK USS

773 S 1210 S 1211 2 10 AM 4232

(26).

BQ MAKSIG JOSEPH S CLARK USS

(26).

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

1963 JUL 25 PM 6 45

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LESLIE DUNBAR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FIVE FORSYTHE ST ATLA

IN ORDER TO PERMIT FULLER DEVELOPMENT OF THE RECORD WITHIN TIME LIMITATIONS PERMITTED BY SENATE RULES, SENATOR CLARK WILL BEGIN THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE HEARINGS NEXT WEEK AT 9:15 A.M. RATHER THAN AT 10 A.M. AS ORIGINALLY PLANNED

25 EDWARD FRIEDMAN COUNSEL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT & MANPOWER. 437P

c/o Senator Joseph S Clark
New Senate Office Bldg

sent 8-5-63 (noon - spec. handling)
MA

7 Dist - Speaking Engagements
Corresp. related to

file

WITNESS LIST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER

9:15 A.M. -- Room 4232

Friday, August 2, 1963

The Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, Vice Chairman, President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity

Roy Richardson, Minneapolis Honeywell, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Jacob Sheinkman, Counsel, National Community Relations Advisory Committee

American Friends Service Committee
Noyes Collinsen, Director, Employment Merit Program, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Sarah Herbin, Director, Employment Merit Program, North Carolina

Lwd
Speaking Engagements
Correspondence

August 26, 1963

Miss Florence C. Harris
Correlator
Southern Region
Y. W. C. A.
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Florence:

I think it would be more convenient for me to speak on Wednesday evening, September 18. I find that I can get a United flight to Asheville, arriving at 4:40 pm. This should give me plenty of time to reach Junaluska well before 7:30. I assume that I shall be able to rent a car in Asheville.

There is a Piedmont flight leaving the next morning at 10:29 am from Ashville.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
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Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

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MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

August 19, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I was delighted to get the message from your secretary when I returned to the office today that your September schedule will allow you to attend the S.E. Executive Directors Seminar at Lake Junaluska, N.C.

The group would like to have you present a concise summary of the states in the Southeast as they are today, desegregation and integration-wise. Of particular interest is desegregation in the public schools and in public accommodations. I would say the factual summary is background for some analysis by you of what you see will be needed in the months and years ahead in the Southern Region and the roles of people in intergroup relations agencies.

The subject suggested for you was "Social Change - Past, Present and Future". I am sure the Steering Committee for this group would want you to change the subject or the content which I have outlined above if, in your experience and judgment, some other approach to the area of desegregation and civil rights seems more appropriate to you.

When I talked with you, I stated that your presentation could be made either Wednesday evening, September 18, or Thursday morning, September 19. I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible as to which of these dates would be more convenient for you in order that the remainder of the program could be shaped up.

7 30 P.M.
9 30 A.M.

The staff member in our office who is carrying the responsibility for this seminar is Miss Hattie Droll, and she will be in touch with you the second week in September concerning travel and arrangements.

We are very grateful to you in the midst of a very busy fall to be willing to give this time. My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Florence

Florence C. Harris
Correlator, Southern Region

FCH:acw

YWCA ®

TRI COUNTY
GRAPHIC

MRS. LESLIE DUNBAR
1529 BERKELY LANE NE
ATLANTA 6, GA. 11-63

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is a good place
to buy a new car
Chamblee
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One Of The JORDAN Enterprises Group Of Prize-Winning Weekly Newspapers

Volume 2 | Monday, September 2, 1963 | NUMBER 35

Publisher's Paragraphs

By DUPREE JORDAN

The long and dramatic ordeal of the miners near Hazleton, Pennsylvania brought back many memories of years past. The first year we were married the Beautiful Wife and I lived in Pennsylvania, and had many opportunities to become acquainted with that state and its people. Although we lived in the Philadelphia area, we made many trips to Hazleton, and were thoroughly familiar with that city and the mining families that were typical of the area

CEREMONIAL SHOVELING - Taking part in the groundbreaking for a new high school in Doraville were left to right, Jim Almand, Mrs. .W. Fox, Jess Norman, Weldon Shows and Jim Cherry.

School Board Says Race Out In Placement

By JOSEPH H. BAIRD

The DeKalb Board of Education has instructed Supt. Jim Cherry to administer its traditional pupil-placement policy "without regard to race."

In an accompanying statement made available to the TRI-COUNTY GRAPHIC on the eve of the opening of schools next Tuesday, Mr. Cherry said the board's statement was a "re-statement and clarification" of a previous policy and "not a declaration of new policy". He noted that the clarification consisted in stating that "the superintendent shall not use race as a condition for placement of a pupil."

These cautiously - worded statements were regarded by observers as an answer to a request made twice to the Board of Education during the

ment that a transfer pupil should have the approval of the principal of the school he or she previously attended. The Negro groups departed quietly.

The board s full statement follows:

"The DeKalb Board of Education has adopted policies for the administration and operation of the DeKalb School System. These policies include the assignment and placement of pupils.

"The placement policy of the DeKalb Board of Education was adopted on Jan. 7, 1958, and under the provisions of this policy the Superintendent of Schools, with the educational best interest of the child as the primary consideration, places pupils in the educational program of the DeKalb System. To perform the placement function it is nec-

GRA...IC

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There was no major mine disaster while we were living in Pennsylvania, but many of our readers will remember the front page stories of little Kathy Fiscus who was trapped in a deep well for several days; the desperate rescue operations for that young child overshadowed many important world events at that time, while we were living and working in Pennsylvania.

JUST BEGINNING

While the mine disasters in Pennsylvania, and then out in Utah, have been so big and important as to overshadow other events during the past week, even the strong human interest of those personal experiences did not obliterate entirely the significance of the thousands of marchers in Washington last Wednesday.

Even though their demonstrations went off in an orderly way and without any major incidents, many Americans are increasingly uncomfortable about the implications of that march. Indeed, some of the same leaders responsible for the turnout in Washington are now threatening major efforts in several other cities, including Atlanta.

Like most Georgians, we feel it will be unfortunate indeed if the Negro leadership in this area allows itself to be swept away by more militant demands that really are not justified at this time. Not only the Atlanta area, but indeed the entire state of Georgia has made dramatic and commendable progress in the field of race relations, and it would be tragic to disrupt this pattern of progress, or to bring out bitterness and resentment in a way which has already popped up in other parts of the country.

CEREMONIAL SHOVELING - Taking part in the groundbreaking for a new high school in Doraville were left to right, Jim Almand, Mrs. .W. Fox, Jess Norman, Weldon Shows and Jim Cherry.

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These cautiously - worded statements were regarded by observers as an answer to a request made twice to the Board of Education during the last summer by the Atlanta Council on Human Relations for a statement of policy on segregation, as well as for the information of the general public. At the time the request public. At the time the requests were made Chairman Joe L. Morris of the board said merely that they would be given careful consideration.

School officials said they had no pre-knowledge of any integration attempts that are planned by Negro groups for the opening of school on Tuesday, Setp. 3.

During the first week of school last September, Negro parents with their children appeared at two all-white schools and attempted to register in them. They were informed by the principals of the DeKalb system's requirement that a transfer pupil should have the approval of the principal of the school he or she previously attended. The Negro groups departed quietly.

The board s full statement follows:

"The DeKalb Board of Education has adopted policies for the administration and operation of the DeKalb School System. These policies include the assignment and placement of pupils.

"The placement policy of the DeKalb Board of Education was adopted on Jan. 7, 1958, and under the provisions of this policy the Superintendent of Schools, with the educational best interest of the child as the primary consideration, places pupils in the educational program of the DeKalb System. To perform the placement function it is necessary to assign pupils to schools.

"The policy of the DeKalb Board of Education for pupil placement adopted on Jan. 7, 1958 does not specify race as a condition of assignment and placement.

"The DeKalb Board of Education re-affirms its placement policy and directs the Superintendent of Schools to administer this policy to insure that the educational best interests of the pupils of the school system are protected, and in the administration of this policy the superintendent shall apply it without regard to race."

Mr. Cherry's accompanying statement said:

"The statement adopted by the DeKalb Board of Education

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Doraville High School Ground Breaking Held

School officials broke ground on Wednesday of last week for a new high school in the Doraville area. The new school will be located adjacent to the Sequoyah Elementary School and will serve both the Sequoyah and Northwoods areas.

Taking part in the ceremony were DeKalb County Commissioner Jim Almand, Mrs. A. W. Fox, president of the DeKalb County Council Parent Teacher Association; Jess Norman, mayor of Doraville; Weldon Shows, member of the DeKalb Board of Education; and Jim Cherry Superintendent of DeKalb Schools.

Construction starts immediately on the new building, which will cost $1,127,850. It is expected to open in the fall of 1964. Abco Builders were low bidders and received the contract.

The first unit of the school, will contain 36 classrooms, a library, lunch-assembly room, administrative area and dressing room.

This is the third new high school and the sixth new school started in DeKalb County within the past month. Also under construction are the Clarkston High School and Walker High School in the Key-Road-Bouldercrest, and the Oakcliff Elementary School at Doraville Huntley Hills school at Chamblee and the Snapfinger Elementary School in the south end of the county.

Doraville P.O. Bid Accepted

Congressman Charles Weltner has announced that Alfred Kemmerer of Daytona Beach, Fla. is successful bidder for construction of the Doraville Post Office building.

Mr. Kemmerer was one of 17 bidders on the project. The estimated cost of the building is $106,000. Construction will begin in September, and completion is expected by May of 1964.

The new post office will be built on the northeast corner of Peachtree Road and Park Street. It will contain 7220 square feet inside the building, plus 1416 square feet of loading platform.

There will be a paved parking and loading area containing 24,530.

Bank Branch Opening

The branch office of the Chamblee National Bank will open Saturday morning, September 7 with a ceremonial ribbon cutting and prizes for visitors.

The new building was completed this week at a cost of $140,000 including land and equipment. It is located at 5001 Buford Highway near the intersection of Old Stone Mountain Road, and the lot extends from Buford back to Shallowford Road. There will be adequate parking space for a large number of cars.

The branch office will be a full service bank designed for easy expansion. One drive-in window will be equipped for operation at the opening. Spaces will be provided for two more when they are needed.

The vault is the same as that used in major downtown banks

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Service Districts Aid Sanitary Pickups

The complete reorganization of DeKalb s Sanitary Division includes plans to divide the county Sanitary District into four separate service areas, which will enable DeKalb officials to maintain closer surveillance over garbage and trash collections and to insure the refuse is picked up regularly.

Each area would be handled by a district supervisor, who will be charged with the responsibility of seeing that all properly prepared refuse is collected by the crews. He will work to keep all trucks in his district operating on schedule, while providing DeKalb County citizens with two garbage and trash pickups every week.

In addition to reorganizing the Sanitary Division, county officials are working on a new sanitary ordinance. It will provide regulations for the preparation, storage, collection, transportation, and disposal of refuse in the county.

The need for a new sanitary ordinance and the Sanitary Division reorganization was pointed up in a recent study made by Thomas R. Jacobi of the Public Administration Service of Chicago and Planning Analyst Charles Fortson of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

ROVING REPORTERS FIND

Real Warm Welcome Goes With Hot Water For Free

By CARY HOWARD and DON SMITH

Ever wondered how much a restaurant charges for two cups of hot water? Well, in at least one in Atlanta, the charge is nothing, and two glasses of ice water are included as a free addition.

Our two young ladies, dressed in sloppy blue jeans and rumpled sweat shirts ambled into a small restaurant about 9:30 one morning not so long ago.

They perched on two stools, and waited for the waitress to take their orders. When she arrived, she inquired, "Want a menu?"

"No, thank you," said one of the girls. "We'd like two cups of hot water."

"Two hot waters?" asked the waitress, showing no sign of surprise.

The customers nodded their heads. The waitress brought two glasses of ice water and plopped them on the counter.

The waitress went into the kitchen. A few seconds later, a cook popped his head out the door, took a quick look, shook his head, shrugged his shoulders and disappeared as quickly as he had materialized.

The waitress returned with the hot water. "This is a new one on me," she smiled. "I hope you have some tea with you".

"Matter of fact, we do," re-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

TRI COUNTY GRAPHIC

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ROVING REPORTERS FIND

Real Warm Welcome Goes With Hot Water For Free

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

sponded the girls. They reached deep into their pockets, and hauled out one lone, battered tea bag.

Both girls used the same tea bag, and when they were finished, asked if the waitress would like to use it. She replied that she didn't care for tea.

Two young men who had been watching this operation came up to the counter, just in time to hear one girl ask, "How much do we owe you?"

"Nothing," came the reply.

The girls smiled gratefully, and sidled off the stools. As they left, the waitress called out: "Thank you." Then, with a sympathetic smile, added "And come back".

* * * * * *

Editorial

Labor Day Thoughts

We read recently that the average income of the American worker engaged in manufacturing is approximately $80 per week. That would include, of course, many skilled technicians who earn double or triple that amount.

Such figures would be amazing to the European worker, particularly in Soviet Russia which the Communist leaders delight in calling the "worker's paradise". There a plant worker who carries home weekly the equivalent of $25 or $30 in purchasing power is considered by other Russians as well-paid.

Why this big difference in the economic status of American and European workers?

The latter, in countries like Great Britain and Germany, are fully as skilled as the American worker. In certain fields calling for a high degree of handicraft, they are probably more so.

The answer does not lie entirely in the degree of unionization. British trade unions are strongly organized, and aggressive in their dealings with employers. The German, French and Italian trade unions also are strong.

It seems to us that the real answer lies in the fact that America to a unique extent has developed mass production and automation so that large quantities of goods can be made and distributed within a price bracket that enables the average American to buy them. This in turn leads to corporation income large enough to enable the employer to pay high wages.

Of course, the two things are interlinked. Without high wages the buying power of the American public would not be enough to sustain business prosperity.

We have built in this country an economy so favorable to the worker that Karl Marx, the father of socialism, could never have imagined it. In a nation where factory workers drive good cars, live in comfortable homes and often send their children to college, Marx's talk of the enslaved masses seems ludricous -- as it is.

Both capital and labor have at times been guilty of selfish excesses. When they have been, they have injured not only the other partner in American prosperity, but also themselves. We are optimistic enough to believe that both sides are coming slowly to realize this.

On this day we salute Labor as a partner in the American free enterprise system. May it continue to prosper!

A Reminder, Sheriff

A friend was pointing out the other day that 1964 will be a big political year.

The American people will elect a President, a Vice-president, a new House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate.

Georgians will elect a new General Assembly.

And DeKalb countians will elect three members of the Board of Commissioners and, among other things, a Sheriff.

All of which brings us around to asking Sheriff Robert K. Broome again:

"Sheriff, did or did you not get that $10,000 from the Teanster's Union.

Remember?

RICHARD STARNES OBSERVES

Raising Limits Will Not Solve Problem Of Radioactive Fallout

School Board

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

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"The policies and procedures of the DeKalb Board of Education will be administered in accordance with the law."

In connection with the latter statement, it may be recalled that several years ago C. Murphey Candler, Jr., attorney for the Board of Education drew up a statement, later approved by the board, which pointed out that the 1954 decision of the U. S. Supereme Court on school desegregation was the law of the land.

In the 1962-63 school year there were 52,631 pupils enrolled in white schools and 3,-823 in Negro schools in DeKalb county.

And Subscription Information
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Atlanta 16, Georgia

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Publisher

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Advertising Materials
And Checks To:
5396 Peachtree Road
Chamblee, Georgia

Joseph H. Baird
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Second class postage paid at Atlanta, Ga.
Subscription rates $4.64 per year or $8.24 for two years

ROVING REPORTERS FIND

Real Warm Welcome Goes With Hot Water For Free

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

sponded the girls. They reached deep into their pockets, and hauled out one lone, battered tea bag.

Both girls used the same tea bag, and when they were finished, asked if the waitress would like to use it. She replied that she didn't care for tea.

Two young men who had been watching this operation came up to the counter, just in time to hear one girl ask, "How much do we owe you?"

"Nothing," came the reply.

The girls smiled gratefully, and sidled off the stools. As they left, the waitress called out: "Thank you." Then, with a sympathetic smile, added "And come back".

* * *

"Yes, two cups of hot water, please."

* * *

"What's the matter with you guys? Don't you like hot tea??"

Labor Day Thoughts

We read recently that the average income of the American worker engaged in manufacturing is approximately $80 per week. That would include, of course, many skilled technicians who earn double or triple that amount.

Such figures would be amazing to the European worker, particularly in Soviet Russia which the Communist leaders delight in calling the "worker's paradise". There a plant worker who carries home weekly the equivalent of $25 or $30 in purchasing power is considered by other Russians as well-paid.

Why this big difference in the economic status of American and European workers?

The latter, in countries like Great Britain and Germany, are fully as skilled as the American worker. In certain fields calling for a high degree of handicraft, they are probably more so.

The answer does not lie entirely in the degree of unionization. British trade unions are strongly organized, and aggressive in their dealings with employers. The German, French and Italian trade unions also are strong.

It seems to us that the real answer lies in the fact that America to a unique extent has developed mass production and automation so that large quantities of goods can be made and distributed within a price bracket that enables the average American to buy them. This in turn leads to corporation income large enough to enable the employer to pay high wages.

Of course, the two things are interlinked. Without high wages the buying power of the American public would not be enough to sustain business prosperity.

We have built in this country an economy so favorable to the worker that Karl Marx, the father of socialism, could never have imagined it. In a nation where factory workers drive good cars, live in comfortable homes and often send their children to college, Marx's talk of the enslaved masses seems ludricous -- as it is.

Both capital and labor have at times been guilty of selfish excesses. When they have been, they have injured not only the other partner in American prosperity, but also themselves. We are optimistic enough to believe that both sides are coming slowly to realize this.

On this day we salute Labor as a partner in the American free enterprise system. May it continue to prosper!

A Reminder, Sheriff

A friend was pointing out the other day that 1964 will be a big political year.

The American people will elect a President, a Vice-president, a new House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate.

Georgians will elect a new General Assembly.

And DeKalb countians will elect three members of the Board of Commissioners and, among other things, a Sheriff.

All of which brings us around to asking Sheriff Robert K. Broome again:

"Sheriff, did or did you not get that $10,000 from the Teanster's Union.

Remember?

RICHARD STARNES OBSERVES

Raising Limits Will Not Solve Problem Of Radioactive Fallout

The most enchanting news in many a week tells us that a solution has been found to the annoying problesm posed by radioactive fallout.

Since neither the Russians nor ourselves seem able to find the wit and courage to halt atomic bomb tests, the Armeican sootsayers in charge of such matters have proposed raising the safe limit of radiation to which mankind may be exposed.

This, of course, is madness that Orwell in his wildest genius never imagined. Like the limit on the public debt, the allowable limit on fallout will be progressively raised until we all begin to glow in the dark and go broke simultaneously.

The Federal Radiation Council, which was established in 1959 to advise the President on health problems created by radioactive poisoning of mankind's environment, is headed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and is composed of the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. These EX OFFICIO wise men do not wear pointy hats covered with the signs of the zodiac, and it is a pity they do not because their logic has come down unchanged from the ranks of medieval alchemists.

In 1961 the FRC gingerly estimated the number of monstrous birth defects and the number of persons who would die of bone cancer and leukemia that might be expected as the result of radioactive contamination of the atmosphere. Last September the Council chuckled indulgently and told us proles that there was no need to panic even when nuclear fallout exceeded safe limits it had established. Why panic indeed, when all that is needed to cope with increased fallout is to raise the limits allowable?

The solution is brilliant in its simplicity, and there is no reason it shouldn't work in other areas as intractable as public debt and fallout. Blood pressure high enough to pop the old arteries? Shucks, Dad, throw away your pills and get the old family sawbones to increase your normal rane by 100 points or so by a flick of the pen.

Dr. Paul C. Tompkins, executive director of the FRC, recently told the Joint Atomic Energy Committee that, "if we get pushed hard internationally and must conduct more nuclear tests, levels above the industrial exposure standard may be okay".

The allowance limit of exposure for workers in industries using radioactive materials was set at 2,000 Strontium Units. For the general population the limit was fixed at 150 SU, and for the most susceptible members of society, the newborn, the allowable limit was set at 50. By the FRC's own estimates, fallout will contaminate food in the United States with 50 units in 1963, as against an estimated eight to 13 units last year. If testing continues at current rates for several more years, contamination of food will reach the 200 to 2,000 unit range, which is the theoretical danger point where the government must decide whether to take steps to decontaiminate food.

Our leaders are fretting because they may be forced to some such move if fallout reaches levels hitherto considered critical. Hence the endlessly diverting prospect that the danger may be removed simply by raising the allowable limits. This is wholly analogous to solving the speeding problem on super-highways by raising the legal speed limits. They won't stay under 65 m.p.h.? Then we'll put the speed limit at 75, and if that doesn't work, we'll make it 100, or 150. We'll by heaven, stop this lawbreaking, if it kills us.

The fallacy, of course, is that no bureaucratic graph-shuffling will change the human body's tolerance for radioactive poisons. If 50 units is enough to cause young women to bear monstrous infants, no oily reassurance from Washingto is going to change it.

What ecstatic young mother doesn't count the fingers of her newborn infant and feel a kinship with God? What human agency has the right to jeopardize the very continuity of the race? It is shocking and indecent. We are a nation hypnotized by fear and we have lost the ability to make moral judgments.

(c. 1963)

to CURE MORE
GIVE MORE to
AMERICAN
CANCER
SOCIETY

I find the great thing in this world is, not so much where we stand, as in which direction we are moving. -- Goethe.

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In the 1962-63 school year there were 52,631 pupils enrolled in white schools and 3,823 in Negro schools in DeKalb county.

Judge Denies Injunction Against City

Judge H.O. Hubert of the DeKalb Superior Court, has denied an injunction against the City of Chamblee asked by Andrew Varellas.

Mr. Varellas had petitioned the court to stop the city from bringing him into mayor's court and fining him for violation of the Chamblee trailer ordinance.

City officials contended that Mr. Verellas had too many trailers and that he had violated other sections of the ordinance. They further contended that he was working under a special permit to have trailers on his property, and did not have a business license to operate a trailer park.

In denying Veralla's injunction Judge Hubert allowed the plaintiff 30 days in which to appeal.

Briarcliff Closed For Sewer Work

The DeKalb County Sewer Department has announced that Briarcliff Road will be closed between Cravey Drive and Briarmoor Road beginning Tuesday, September 2, and continuing through Friday, September 6.

Recommended detour is Hawthorne Drive, Sylvan Ramble Road and Cravey Drive.

Since the area is adjacent to the Hawthorne Elementary School parents are warned that they may need extra time to get the children to school before the last bell rings.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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SF-1201 (6-60)

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RCA 4 1730

LT LESLIE DUNBAR

SOUTH REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTHSTNORTHWEST ATLA

ARTICLE LATE SATISFACTORY BUT SINCE SO LATE SHOULD CHIEFLY

DEAL WITH MARCH CONSEQUENCES

MINDLIN

(17).

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Mr. M. Mindlin
Forum Service
Summit House
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SP-120 (4-60)

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LESLIE DUNBAR

SOUTH REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTHSTNW ATLA

PLEASE SEND EXPRESS AIRMAIL 1500 WORD ARTICLE ON WASHINGTON

MARCH AND GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE

MINDLIN FORUM

(55).

Lust articles, — 1963

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Published by

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In cooperation with

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September 13, 1963

RECEIVED
SEP 16 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your manuscript, "The Exposed Nerve."

Professor Leiserson is due back on the campus from Salzburg the latter part of this month and he will, no doubt, be writing to you concerning your article.

Yours very truly,

Cleo W. Sandlin

Cleo W. Sandlin (Mrs.)

CWS

FORUM SERVICE

Background Features, Information and Analysis

SUMMIT HOUSE, 1-2 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

Editorial Director: Melvin J. Lasky

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September 20, 1963

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1963
RECEIVED

Dr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia, U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I am somewhat puzzled by the article sent to us by Miss Margaret Long. It is almost entirely taken up with the march itself but arrived much too long after it could be used.

On the other hand, your cable of September 4 offers an article to be airmailed on September 25, and in my cabled reply I agreed to this date and asked you to concentrate on what has happened up to the date of your writing, with only back references to the march.

I hope that this article promised for the 25th is still forthcoming and I very much look forward to receiving it.

Yours sincerely,

M. Mindlin

M. Mindlin

file
articles, corresp re
food

December 2, 1963

Mr. George Strauss
Managing Editor
Industrial Relations
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Strauss:

I was sincerely pleased to receive your suggestion that I contribute an article to Industrial Relations, but I'm afraid this is not feasible at the present time. I simply cannot get to it, and it would be unfair to you for me to indicate that I could. Nor does it seem likely that anyone on our staff could do this in time for your May issue.

Paul Norgren is not exactly correct. We do not have any continuing studies underway; only a continuing interest for which we are constantly accumulating information. Last January we released a rather superficial, but I think accurate, report dealing with Plans for Progress (enclosed). We did not even give it a press release, but curiously it got read all over Washington -- on the Hill as well as in the Executive Department -- and provoked a lot of people there, and one effect of it was to render forever (or at least for a good while) Atlanta an unfit place for study, because the Department of Defense applies extraordinary attention to this city. There was some effort to dispute the findings

of the report, but that has pretty well died down. Charles Silberman did some checks on a handful of other cities, and on the basis of his observations accepted our findings as valid and used them in his September Fortune article.

We have done, in the past, a few short studies on employment discrimination in three southern cities, but have nothing similar underway. Recently, we published a compilation and analysis by Vivian Henderson which I am also enclosing for your possible interest. Vivian, incidentally, might be a good person to do your article.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

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November 21, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our journal, Industrial Relations, has a practice of running symposia on subjects of current industrial relations interest. For our May 1964 issue we are planning one on "Minorities and Employment."

Paul Norgren (whom we hope will contribute to this symposium) has told us a little bit about the kind of research which the Southern Regional Council has been doing and particularly about some very interesting studies as to the effectiveness of the President's Committee on Southern Cities. I wonder whether this work is sufficiently far enough along to make an article for our symposium. If so, we would like to explore the possibility of your contributing such an article.

We are looking for an article which not only describes the extent of Negro employment in various occupations, but also gives a picture of how and why the situation is changing. We would be particularly interested in any evidence as to (1) the areas (occupations, communities, etc.) in which the color line of discrimination in employment has been pushed back, and (2) the relative effectiveness of various techniques to reduce discrimination, such as CORE-SNVCC, etc., demonstrations, the President's Committee's Plan for Progress vs. their enforcement activities, and so forth.

We would be very interested in an article along these lines which you or a member of your staff might like to write for us. As a first step, were this feasible, might I suggest that you send us a brief outline of the kind of material which you might cover? This would give us a chance to see whether your contribution would fit into our format for the issue and would also reduce any possible duplication. At that point, too, we would be in a position to make a definite commitment.

As with most academic journals, we are unfortunately not in a position to pay for contributions, other than with the traditional fifty reprints. Our journal, however, has wide circulation among academicians as well as practicing industrial relations and union people and might well provide a useful channel for publicizing the results of your research.

I am enclosing a copy of a recent issue to give you a general idea of our format.

I am anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

George Strauss

George Strauss
Managing Editor

jl
Enclosure

December 3, 1963

Reverend J. N. Shopshire
Heck Chapel Methodist Church
202 East Broad Street
Griffin, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shopshire:

Thank you for your kind invitation to address the Griffin Spalding Bi-Racial Organization, January 26. Because of a previous commitment I will not be able to do so. I wish you, however, every success in your work, and if we can be of help in any way, I hope that you will call upon us.

It occurs to me that Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations would be excellently qualified to discuss the questions you set forth in your letter to me. Mrs. Pauley's address, if you would care to write to her, is 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo from **MILDRED JOHNSON**

PA

advise please

I can't go

James Pauley says she would welcome the opportunity to visit this group again.

Heck Chapel Methodist Church

202 East Broad Street

Griffin, Georgia

J. N. Shopshire
Minister

Otis Head, *Chairman*
Of Official Board

Raymond Head, Jr.
Treasurer

Miss Carrie L. Horton
Recording Secretary

November 24, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The program committee of Griffin Spalding Bi-Racial organization has selected you to speak to us on Sunday, January 26, 1964. This meeting will be held at St. Georgi's Episcopal Church at 3 o'clock p.m. in Griffin, Georgia.

We would like to have you take to us about ways of implimenting Bi-Racial committees or especially the attitude in the community. We would like to know some of the things that are going on across the state on race relations. Our special concern will be methods of securing the good-will of the communities.

We hope that you will be able to be with us on this day.

Sincerely yours,

J. N. Shopshire

Rev. J. N. Shopshire
Chairman

JNS/mst

File
Staff - Lw Dunbar
Speaking Engagements

December 31, 1963

Mr. J. Mansir Tydings
Executive Director
Youth Speaks
230 Heyburn Building
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I'll be with you on February 22.

What kind of materials do you think might be useful? I notice in your letter to Dr. Edwards that the Program Committee is still working on the topics and questions for discussion. Would it be better towwait on their decisions before selecting any materials?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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Youth Speaks
Incorporated November 19, 1953

230 HEYBURN BUILDING
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December 19, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have just written to Dr. Franklin Edwards, who was recommended by Dr. Herman Long, to share the platform with you. It is very probable that you already know him.

Since the information I have given Dr. Edwards would be the same kind of information which you should have, I will not repeat it in this letter.

The Youth Speaks Program Committee and I are most grateful to you for consenting to speak to the workshop. If you have access to, or know about any inexpensive materials which we might distribute to the schools to help the students prepare for their discussion groups, I would be most grateful for suggestions. It takes about a thousand copies to supply the group in the 36 high schools.

Thank you again for agreeing to be with us on February 22.

Cordially,

Mansir Tydings

J. Mansir Tydings
Executive Director

JMT:ec

Enclosures

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Youth Speaks

Incorporated November 19, 1953

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TREASURER
DORETHA PIPKINS
HISTORIAN

COPY

December 19, 1963

Dr. Franklin Edwards
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Edwards:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation this morning, and to thank you for being willing to address our Youth Speaks Workshop if your schedule permits.

The enclosed report of the 1963 Workshop will give you a detailed description of a typical workshop, and how it is organized. If you are able to be with us, you would share the platform with Dr. Leslie Dunbar, who, as you know, is Director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The Youth Speaks Board of Directors have decided with enthusiasm, that the subject of civil rights should be the workshop topic this year. They are concerned about the tragic events which have taken place in recent months, and want to know how this may affect them as future leaders and citizens of this community. Your advice as to how to present and interpret the situation in our country, as well as its effect upon international relations would be most helpful.

The Program Committee will need to decide on the wording of the topic, formulate questions for student leaders of discussion groups, and develop study materials in preparation for the workshop.

A committee of Youth Speaks is now working with the Judge of the Juvenile Court on plans for a Youth Court, or to serve in other ways to exert peer group influence on youthful offenders. Your experience in association with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime could be appropriately included in your remarks.

The date of the Workshop is February 22, 1964. It begins at 9:00 A.M. and adjourns at about 3:00 P.M. The speakers participate

in a question and answer period, and make summary remarks in a closing session. A television appearance might also be arranged at 4:30 P.M. on the same day.

Last year we paid our two speakers an honorarium of $125.00, which would include travel expenses of approximately $75.00 to and from Washington, and we took care of the cost of accommodations while they were here. We apologize for the amount of the honorarium, which is by no means commensurate with the value of your services.

The Youth Speaks Workshop is an important occasion for the youth leadership of this area. I sincerely hope that you will be able to participate as a keynote speaker.

Please call, or wire us collect at your earliest convenience. Our phone number is 585-4733 or 585-2251, Ext. 241.

Cordially,

J. Mansir Tydings
Executive Director

JMT:ec

Enclosure

Eleventh Annual Report

1963

Youth Speaks

Incorporated November 19, 1953

A program by, and for high school youth, conducted by Private, Catholic, and Public Schools in Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, and sponsored by thirty-two community organizations.

☆ ☆ ☆

In order to promote the ideals of democracy through the development of a personal concern for community problems and world affairs by creating better human relations, and applying to every thought word and action, the moral and spiritual values inherent in the democratic way of life.

OUR ELEVENTH YEAR

1963 IN REVIEW

Youth Speaks needs elbow room! Now in its eleventh year, the organization has added new members and sponsors, and is expanding its already large program to include all parts of the county and state. It's been a busy year . . .

Workshop

The 11th annual Youth Speaks Workshop was held at the new Atherton High School on February 16 this year. A record number of over 600 high school delegates attended, despite an extensive outbreak of Asian flu which kept many students from participating.

In response to numerous suggestions given after last year's workshop, more student discussions were held this year. Two periods before lunch and one after were given to the delegates to air their views and talk with the two main speakers, who visited many of the discussion groups during the day.

Youth Speaks was fortunate this year in gaining the help of Dr. Louis Kesselman, Chairman of the Political Science Department at the University of Louisville, who did a great amount of work in gathering materials and developing questions for the workshop.

Mr. Robert Foster, Youth Speaks Sponsor for the Jefferson County Board of Education, was also most helpful with pre-Workshop preparations.

A delicious lunch was served in the school cafeteria, mainly with the help of Mrs. Katherine E. Gentry, manager of Atherton's lunchroom, and her staff.

The Executive Committee reviews the workshop report.

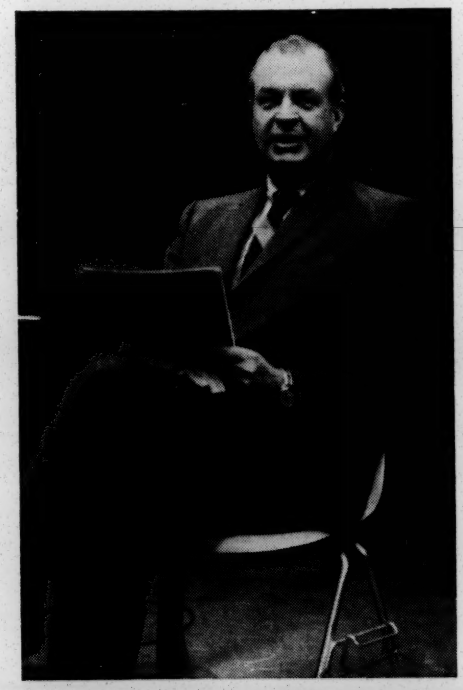
Pre-Workshop

In November, the Student Board of Directors held a meeting at the American Legion Shawnee Post to plan for the annual Workshop. Guest speakers included: Mrs. James Tyrrell, Adult Trustee Representative, Dr. Herbert S. Waller, of the Louisville Board of Education, and Mr. James Wilkerson, Shawnee Post Commander. Lunch was served, followed by a discussion of workshop plans and division of the delegates into their respective committees.

A second general preparatory meeting was held February 2 at Atherton for faculty advisors, consultants, student leaders and recorders, and student committees. Dr. Sabin Landry of the Southern Baptist Seminary addressed the delegates on group dynamics, and final planning for the workshop was completed.

New Members

The Youth Speaks program expanded to include more students as three new high schools joined the organization this year. To Bishop David, Western, and Westport High Schools we say "Welcome to Youth Speaks!"



Livingston Gilbert of WAVE moderates Youth Speaks television programs.

New Sponsor

The Kentucky AFL-CIO, represented by Mr. Sam Ezelle, became a sponsor of Youth Speaks this year. Our thanks to Mr. Ezelle and his organization.

TV Program

Youth Speaks' television program is still enjoying success. Currently the program is broadcast at 2:30 every Saturday over WAVE. During Feb. and March the panel discussed topics used in the Great Decisions program. February 16, the day of the annual workshop, the show was moved to a "prime time" slot at 8:30 P.M. Distinguished guests responsible for the time switch were Dr. Robert Huckshorn and Dr. Robert Spencer, who addressed delegates at the Workshop that morning.

Mr. George Patterson, Program Manager for WAVE-TV, expressed his appreciation for the fine panel presentations.

A Suggestion

A very informative pre-Workshop discussion was held February 10 at Trinity High School. Trinity sponsored the program, attended by delegates from Sacred Heart, St. Xavier, and Assumption. Four different officials, two Democrats and two Republicans, gave brief talks on their party history and policy, and then answered the students' questions. Meetings such as this held before the Workshop between various schools, would help give their delegates a broader and more thorough understanding of the Workshop topic under discussion.

Appreciation

This year the Lincoln Foundation awarded a scholarship to Allan M.

Steinberg to enable him to serve as Assistant Executive Director of Youth Speaks. In this capacity Allan carried a great deal of the responsibility for the Youth Speaks program and made a valuable contribution to its success.

As Youth Speaks moves into its second decade, it gives every promise of expanding in membership, importance, and achievement. "Wide-open spaces" all over the state between students, schools, and communities may soon be closed by the cooperation of all these groups with each other—through Youth Speaks.

Joan Riehm (Sacred Heart)

ALUMNI ACTIVITIES

Friendship Exchange

Youth Speaks Alumni found 1963 to be a year of challenge. In addition to the regular programs of the High School Quiz Bowl, Alumni TV Panels, and participation on various civic committees, the *Friendship Exchange* program was born. Allan M. Steinberg (Male), Vice-Chairman of Alumni, is directing the project, which seeks a better understanding among high school juniors and seniors of parts of Kentucky now unfamiliar to them.

The program arranges for these students to live and work in other sections of the state during the summer months. The project has been endorsed by Kentucky's Department of Education, the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce, Louisville Chamber of Commerce, Kentucky Farm Bureau, and the Mayor of Louisville.

Second Annual Quiz Bowl

The High School Quiz Bowl grew this year in community interest and student participation. Twenty-seven participating Jefferson County schools were divided into four regions. Regional eliminations were held April 20 at the University of Louisville, Nazareth, Ursuline, and Bellarmine colleges. Each college was responsible for the functioning of the program in its region. Four winners were declared and paired off for two semi-final matches.

The first semi-final match, conducted by Ursuline, was held April 27 between Manual and Flaget. Nazareth sponsored the second semi-final competition between Eastern and Atherton on May 4. Manual and Atherton emerged as winners, and paired off for the final contest, supervised by Bellarmine on May 11. Manual won the Second Annual Youth Speaks Alumni Quiz Bowl in a closely contested battle. Semi-final and final matches were televised over WAVE-TV.

The winning schools received a silver bowl donated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, to be kept for one year. Each member of the winning team received cash awards. Sponsors this year included: General Electric, Pepsi-Cola, the Royal Bank and Trust Co., Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co., and Stewart Dry Goods. Mrs. Harry Stuart (Betty Frye, Sacred Heart) served as College Coordinator for this year's Bowl.

The Alumni furnish one panel a month for the WAVE-TV program devoted to Youth Speaks. Bob Adelberg (St. Xavier) is Chairman of Youth Speaks Alumni and represents the organization on the Adult Board of Trustees. John Stewart (Shawnee) is the permanent representative of the Alumni on the Mayor's Human Relations Commission. Clyde Crews (St. Xavier) has been active on Alumni panels and in promoting Alumni membership.

The Alumni finds its greatest need is an expanding active membership to meet an expanding program of activity.

Bob Adelberg, Jr.
(Alumni Chairman)

HOW YOUTH SPEAKS BEGAN

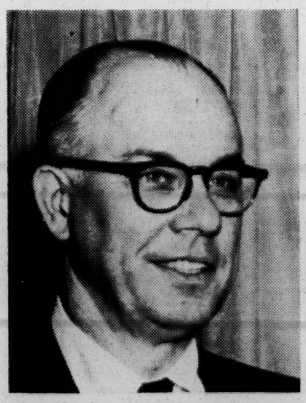
Organized in December, 1952, Youth Speaks has since received national recognition as an outstanding intergroup community relations program. In workshop meetings, representative high school students from private, public, and parochial schools participate in discussions on subjects they select related to the goal of Youth Speaks, which is to: "activate young people and adults to study, discuss, and work for a positive, constructive approach to personal concerns, community problems, and world affairs, thereby challenging them to create better human relationships, encourage personal citizenship responsibility, and to discover, develop, and apply the moral and spiritual values inherent in the democratic way of life."

Dr. Herbert S. Waller

Youth Speaks originated from a parent study group called Parents On Our Block, which resulted from a P.T.A. meeting on moral and spiritual values. Dr. Herbert S. Waller, a member of the group, attended a high school program in Cincinnati, Ohio, called "The American Way Institute." At the meeting in June, 1952, after he presented the Institute's program, the group showed interest in seeing such a forum come to Louisville teenagers. Subsequently, the Lincoln Foundation, which helped to initiate the Kentucky Program for moral and spiritual values in the public schools, sent its director, Mr. J. M. Tydings, to Cincinnati to study the American Way Institute and later brought their director, Miss Helen Seal to Louisville for further advice.

Mrs. Margaret Keyes Tate

At the request of the parents' group, Mrs. James S. Tate, with the support of the Highland Mother's Club and the Younger Woman's Club, approached the Louisville Board of Education and received their endorsement of the plan. With this encouragement, she went to the Catholic School authorities, private high schools, and the Jefferson County Board of Education and obtained their wholehearted approval and cooperation. Later, several civic groups, interested in the growth and development of youth in the Louisville area, were added to the growing list of sponsors.



Mansir Tydings

Since its inception, Youth Speaks has served as a medium for student expression. During the school year, miniature workshops in individual schools and panel programs for radio, television, school club, church and P. T. A. groups give many students opportunities to express opinions on countless subjects.

Youth Speaks will endeavor to demonstrate American democracy in action and to enable its members to live up to the motto of Youth Speaks: "Youth builds socially, spiritually, and scholastically."

Betsy Rush (Collegiate)

STUDENT EVALUATION

Almost all of the participants this year agreed that the Workshop was a stimulating and interesting experience and one that shows great promise for the future. Getting acquainted with the students from many different schools and hearing the many varied opinions on the discussion topic were the features preferred by nearly all the students. On the specific divisions of the Workshop the following comments were made.

General Sessions

The first session was declared interesting and informative. Many students felt, however, that it was a little too long and that the material given was not pointed directly at the discussion questions. But general opinion praised the two excellent speakers and felt that the material they presented gave an informed background to the discussion groups.

The second general session was undoubtedly the favorite. It was most interesting and entertaining to hear the two opposing sides answer controversial questions. Most of the students noted that this was the climactic ending of a well-spent day. Indeed the only major complaint was that the session was too short and that not enough questions could be answered.

Discussion Groups

This was obviously the highlight of the entire workshop. Even those students who found fault with the groups stated that they enjoyed the opportunity to express their own ideas on the topic and to hear the opinions of students from different schools. Having two discussion periods instead of only one went over very well. In fact many students complained of the excessive free time at lunch. They felt it would have been spent more constructively in the discussion groups.

Several evaluation sheets carried complaints of conversation hogs who greedily gobbled up the discussion time with their personal opinions only. Others felt that some leaders were not well instructed in their duties and consequently lost control of the group. It was also the opinion of many students that the discussion topic was too broad, too deep, or demanded facts rather than personal opinion. Many expressed the wish that more material be made available on the topic and that some students be better prepared. It was also suggested that if smaller groups could be used this might provide for more stimulating arguments and would draw out the students so that all would actively participate.

Expansion and School Participation

The majority of students this year were definitely in favor of expanding the activities of Youth Speaks in order to allow more students to participate. There were many suggestions given for doing this. Regular meetings at individual schools and inter-school preliminary workshops were strongly advocated. Several students reported that their schools have done this and they found it to be most beneficial.

The success of the 1963 workshop can best be seen by the eagerness of the participants to have more workshops each year. An overwhelming majority requested this as an ideal expansion plan. Several went so far as to propose having one every two or three months. Already topics for next year are being suggested. The most popular were: The U.S. and Communism, The Foreign Policy of the U.S., A Common Market, and Federal Aid to Education.

Barbara Coomes
(Angela Merici)

ADULT EVALUATION

The eleventh forum of Youth Speaks, Inc., entitled, "America's Two Party System," lived up to its fine reputation by presenting this topic of timely concern. Immediate enthusiasm and interest were generated by the teen-age participants, many of whom will be exercising their civic responsibilities for the first time come May and November.

Excellent, stimulating, informative were repeated descriptives recorded by adults in evaluating various phases of the workshop. It was the overwhelming judgment of this group that the forum was an excellent showcase of adolescent intellect; one that the community should nurture as many positive forces conducive to moral leadership and effective citizenship were in evidence.

Many found value in the forum as it afforded an opportunity for inhibited students to speak their minds on those related topics frequently termed controversial. Also students ventured value judgments to the extent schools play in contributing to citizenship; their personal progress; and academic achievement.

At the same time it gave students an insight into the complexities of government and its influence on our daily living with hopes of sparking an interest in improved government through personal participation.

To further the cause of Youth Speaks, Inc., and its civic and cultural influence it was suggested that some type of follow-up as assembly programs where delegates present their reports to the school at large; panels formulated to discuss the current topic in classes; inter-school debates and student exchanges be carried on regularly.

While it was the thinking of some that Youth Speaks, Inc., should be broadened to include wider participation, a wider segment of adult participants thought a larger group would be unwieldy and lose its effectiveness. Crowded student, teacher, and school schedules would restrict additional forums. One effort per year, well organized and implemented as at the present, would do the job of projecting a favorable image and fostering constructive leadership and civic interest in the community.

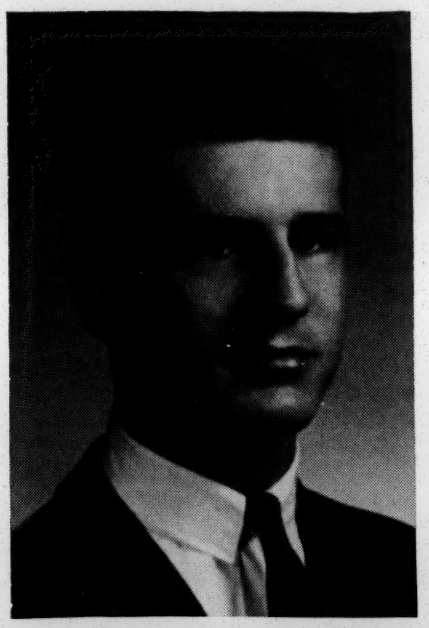
The 1963 workshop was marked with vitality due to well informed speakers; the excellent ground work laid earlier in the year by the Student Board and the Executive Director in addition to many meaningful experiences offered by the senior discussants who have long since functioned in this area.

Several interesting themes for future workshops suggested were:

(1) Credit Buying in the United States
(2) U. S. in World Affairs
(3) The Effect of Communism in the United States
(4) Communism in Western Europe and/or Southeast Asia
(5) Juvenile Delinquency
(6) The Peace Corps
(7) Secularism in Our Modern Society
(8) Socialism, An American Prospect
(9) World Disarmament
(10) Civil Rights

Mrs. Lloyd E. Alexander
Adult Trustee

TODAY'S YOUTH—TOMORROW'S LEADERS



Greg Blow, (Fern Creek) Chairman

That statement is just as true today as it was in the days of Napoleon, or Moses, or Alexander the Great.

But the youth of today have many more opportunities. Our educational system is far superior to any in the past. Mass communications now allow us to traverse the world and soon the solar system in search of knowledge. How many of us have been told by a teacher that it would be a good idea to see this television program or that one. It is impossible to estimate the complete benefits derived from radio and television coverage of news and current affairs.

I'm sure that both our distinguished guests will agree with me when I say that television, radio, and newspapers make or break a candidate.

Without mass communications, a national candidate would die of exhaustion if he tried to reach all the voters. And the voters would face the impossible task of choosing a candidate about whom they know little or nothing.

But communications provide only one means of becoming familiar with happenings around the world. Organizations such as Youth Speaks offer the student an opportunity to share ideas and opinions with others. The only drawback is that not enough students utilize their opportunities. I know it is impossible for students to do everything, but too many take part in nothing.

When we were children, we were told to be "seen and not heard." But now we represent the youth of our nation and what we have to say *is* important. Here in Kentucky, many of us are approaching voting age or have already reached it. But this is only one way of making our feelings known.

Becoming a member of the youth branch of one of our parties is another way. Any of you who has ever helped in a campaign knows how much the candidates respect the views and opinions of young people.

But, before you join or support anything, be sure you know what it is. Many educators are accusing today's youth of lacking the inquisitive spirit of past generations. And possibly they are right. Maybe we accept too much of what we are told as being above reproach. Maybe we're not skeptical enough.

How can we remedy this situation? Simply look on both sides of the coin. Don't be influenced by only a candidate's personality or that the past dozen generations of your family have belonged to a particular party. Look at the policies incorporated within the party platforms. Take a look at the candidate's voting record and evaluate some of those indiscriminate promises. But don't look at just the bare facts. Discuss the issues and candidates with others and share your opinions with them. I believe that many of our ideals do not become unified until we begin to talk about them.

But don't believe everything that everyone says. I'm sure we have all learned much from our two eloquent and informative speakers, but I'm sure

they will be the first to admit that there is much more to be said about their parties. Possibly something they didn't say or you passed over in your preparation would have changed your entire outlook. Keep an open mind! You can never learn everything, but there is always something to be learned.

One of the purposes of Youth Speaks is to encourage constructive citizenship and public responsibility. To be a good citizen, one must be well informed. And to be well informed in today's fast moving society is the obligation of every citizen, including the youth.

As the sixth decade begins, we find the United States moving into a decisive period of democracy. It is the youth of today who will resolve the crises of tomorrow.

Greg Blow (Fern Creek)
Chairman, Youth Speaks

WHAT THE SPEAKERS SAID

Both Dr. Huckshorn and Dr. Spencer began their informative speeches by briefly outlining the structures of the two national committees. Dr. Huckshorn spoke first and in his speech pointed out the problems that the Republicans face in coming elections, being a minority party attempting to gain control again.

It was explained that each party has at least one man and woman representing each state. The Republicans, being the minority party, have several more representatives than the Democrats; this is necessary if they are to gain control again.

Each of the national committees has several varied functions to perform, ranging from public relations, research, finance, to convention activities. These committees also try to "appeal to minority groups" as Dr. Huckshorn said. Both Dr. Huckshorn and Dr. Spencer agreed that the minority groups in the United States were the people who ultimately decided the elections. Each explained that they do not spend money backing those people who they know will rate Democratic or Republican, whichever the case may be; but rather to attract the smaller, undecided groups, because united they will determine the outcome.

Dr. Huckshorn also pointed out that before the Republicans had always given the Democrats the so-called "solid South" without any opposition; but since the recent plan of "Operation Dixie" had been inacted that many favorable results had occurred, such as the recent election of two Republican senators from Kentucky.

Dr. Spencer confirmed Dr. Huckshorn's statements but also pointed out that the Republicans were "losing out" in regard to the minority groups. Such as, in 1956 62% of the Catholic voters went Republican, but in 1960 the election was the exact opposite.

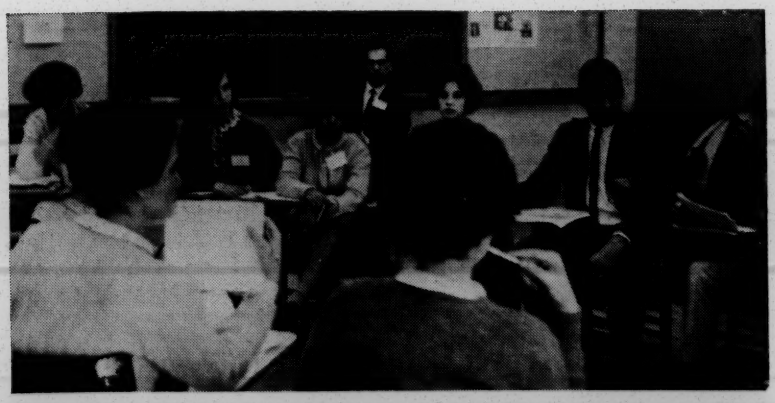
Each speaker summed up his talk by saying and illustrating that today more than ever before, elections were totally unpredictable and that the future of each party lay not only in the hands of the candidates for each but more important in the two committees. The minority groups, the independents are the voters that must be persuaded one way or another.

Bill Young (Eastern)
Frank Chumley (Country Day)

Delegates waiting for discussions to begin.

YOUTH!

Jill Haden and Sina Craddock discuss work
second from left, director of the arts a
NATIONAL COMMITTEE and Dr. R. C.
CRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.



Just one of the many discussion groups that came to contested conclusions.

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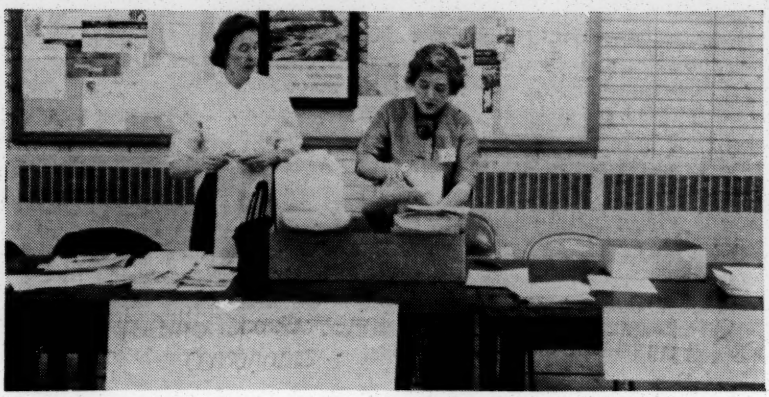
SPEAKS



Mrs. Louis Lusky and Mrs. David Thurman, part of a giant complex necessary for success.

rkshop topic with guests Dr. R. J. Huckshorn, and sciences division of the REPUBLICAN C. Spencer, research director of the DEMO-

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The delegates soak up knowledge at one of the three general sessions.

WHAT THE DISCUSSION GROUPS SAID

The two party system grew out of two causes: 1) A serious political conflict between the aristocracy and the laboring class, and 2) the need for checks and balances in politics. It prevents dictatorship and represents the different nationwide aspects on current issues. This system is better than a multi-party system because such a framework would find it difficult to accomplish anything or to get a majority vote on a major issue.

Minor parties are advantageous in that they publicize the needs of minority groups by openly taking a stand on those issues avoided by the major parties. However, third parties should not be encouraged to the point of introducing a multi-party system.

The Democrats and Republicans

The Democratic and Republican parties are similar, for they both work toward the preservation of democracy, both abide by the constitutional principles, and both have a basic structure similar to the other. Each major party contains liberals and conservatives, and must appeal to people from all walks of life.

However, these two groups differ in the following ways: The Democrats, because they are basically on the side of the "common man," are more liberal and tend more toward socialism. The Republicans, on the other hand, side for the most part with "big business," taking a more conservative viewpoint. Many discussion groups realized though, that this distinction is not so great as it used to be because of the efforts of either party to capture the other's voters, and because of the somewhat leveling off of the classes. Even though the Democratic party is the bulwark of liberalism and the Republican the stronghold of conservatism, both parties contain sharers of both viewpoints, thus preventing either from straying too far from the "middle of the road."

Sectional concentration of the parties, it was noted, is breaking down due to the education of the electorate and the efforts of both parties. Also, modern elections are often a case of backing a man rather than a party.

Liberals and Conservatives

Before going on to the discussion of liberals and conservatives, most groups found it necessary to define these terms. On the whole, it was agreed that liberals move toward change and reform, while conservatives are content with the status quo and will reform only as a final resort.

Then came the discussion of the liberal and conservative issues:

Interpretation of Constitution—Because they need a flexible system with which to work, and because they abide more by the spirit of the law, liberals would favor loose interpretation of our constitution. Conservatives, however, believe in abiding by the letter of the law and are stricter in their interpretation.

Taxation and Budget Policies—Liberals usually increase taxes to provide more revenue for their progressive movements, while conservatives are content with the present taxation and are willing to balance the budget with the present amount of income.

Civil Liberties—On the national scope, most groups agreed, both are in favor of equal justice and civil liberties. The difference lies in the local scopes where the liberals progress toward more such liberties and conservatives are satisfied with the traditional status quo.

States Rights—The Tenth Amendment serves as the guide for conservatives on this issue. Liberals tend to concentrate more power in the hands of the national government.

Social Security—Since the liberals initiated this measure, most agreed that they are in favor of it and even advocate strengthening it by medicare. Conservatives are mostly opposed to such intrusion upon the average man's life.

Federal Aid to Education—The necessity for aid to education is agreed upon by those of both views, but, while the liberals want to put the administration of such a program in the hands of the national government, the conservatives prefer the control in state hands.

Regulation of Business, Agriculture, Labor Unions—The liberals support such regulation as a means to reform and progress. Conservatives, however, are opposed to government interference unless absolutely necessary.

United States Foreign Policy—Liberals are out-going advocates of foreign aid who whole-heartedly support such international agencies as the United Nations and the Common Market. Conservatives, while not supporting such measures, are not in direct opposition to them. Although they tend toward isolationism conservatives realize that this is impossible in the modern world. Both groups, however, are willing to discuss and negotiate with the Communists on the matter of peace.

Re-alignment

Most discussion groups agreed that a re-alignment of the parties into conservatives and liberals would work against national interests because such newly-formed parties could easily reach the radical and reactionary stages and they would have difficulty making progress since a change of the party in power would result in repeal of all the measures of the previous party.

Jean Hayes (Holy Rosary)
David Perry (Trinity)

UNCHANGING VALUES

Those who are inclined to be concerned about the spiritual and moral progress of mankind are often startled by the attitude of their contemporaries as to what is fault and what is virtue. With the calculated risk of being termed "Old Fashioned," I want to set down some observations that may be helpful to some whose future is yet before them. This, I think, should be the purpose of a message from the President of the Youth Speaks Board of Trustees.

It does not matter by what name we call our vices or our virtues. They are just what they are and what they always have been before man and in the sight of God. It has often been popular to call licentiousness broadmindedness, but licentiousness will continue to be licentiousness by whatever name it may be called.

If we choose to give the name of liberalism to despotism, and if we call bondage freedom, it does not change them at all. If we decide to designate virtue and honesty and sincerity as old-fashioned and belonging to a forgotten day, that does not mean they are different from what they always have been; and it does not lessen the need for them, since there are not substitutes even though we may pretend that there are. These values are time-tested, and are permanently imbedded in the nature of our society.

We are pledged to defend constitutional government and the rights of all people against the enemies of democracy and free institutions. We stand for what America stands for, the sovereignity of self-governed people, her examples, her systems, her encouragement which have built up human liberty both here and abroad.

In political terms, and appropriate to the tpoic of the 1963 Youth Speaks Workshop, Mr. Thomas E. Dewey wrote: "Our political history has been the history of a two-party system in action. From the early days of the Republic our basic historical arrangement has been the same—one party in

power and one party in opposition. Within this alignment we have built and operated our system of government. For more than a century and a half the two-party system has served our country well. Thus far we have survived every kind of crisis. We are still the strongest nation on earth. We have preserved our liberties. As against the single party or multi-party system, I think it is clear that our two-party tradition, despite occasional failures, has been the most effective instrument of government yet devised and should be vigorously supported."

There are truly great challenges and threats to our system today. Mr. Khruschev made remarks recently to the effect that communism will bury our system of government, not by bombs but from within, because Americans do not have strong convictions about democracy. I do not believe this, or the statement of Mr. Khruschev when he said that the American way of life will vanish from the earth. The strength of America for the future is in the intangible spiritual and intellectual forces of our youth of today, who *do* have convictions and ideals.

However, our strong sense of values has an Achilles heel. Far too often many of us are prone to let someone else do the job. The problem is indifference and apathy, and we often take for granted the many advantages of our democratic government. We live in a busy world. It is so easy for us to be occupied with our business interests and social life to such an extent that we feel we do not have enough time to give to the business of our community, state, and country, and too often our only contribution is one of criticism.

As each generation profits from the good as well as the mistakes of its elders, I know of no better way for adults to serve the interests of our country than to give a hand to young people in discovering for themselves the values inherent in the democratic way of life with freedom for themselves and the people of the world.

Thomas Jefferson wrote: "The ground of liberty is to be gained by inches. We must be content to secure what we can get from time to time, and eternally press forward for what is yet to be gained. It takes time to persuade men to do even what is for their own good."

The time to begin is now, the place—wherever you are.

Robert Winder, President
Adult Trustee Board

PANEL COMMITTEE

A small division of the Youth Speaks Panel Committee sends panels to organizations in Louisville. This year the committee coordinated two such panels. On February 4, panelists Lisbeth Smith (Louisville Collegiate), Martye Armstrong (Waggener), John St. Lawrence (Aquinas Prep), and Gaby Gruber (Atherton) met at the Brith Sholom Temple to discuss America's Party System. Mr. Robert Jones was the moderator.

On February 21, a twenty-minute panel discussion concerning Disarmament was presented by Sharon Cook (Presentation), Mildred Rice (Shawnee), and Wayne Milam (Bishop David). This panel, moderated by Mr. Robert Adelberg, was held at the Sheraton Hotel for a Coast Guard Reserve Officer meeting.

Although there have been few panels such as these, the students who have participated have found them stimulating and informative, and many wish that the opportunity to speak on such a panel could be given to more Youth Speaks members.

Lisbeth Smith
(Louisville Collegiate)

ADULT PARTICIPANTS

Faculty Sponsors

Miss Anna Ruth Spiegel, *Ahrens Trade High School*
*Sister M. Lourdette, *Angela Merici High School*
*Mr. Donald G. Rushing, *Aquinas Preparatory School*
*Miss Jean Andriot, *Assumption High School*
Mrs. Elizabeth Sherry, *Atherton High School*
*Rev. Theodore R. Sans, *Bishop David High School*
*Mr. Lyman T. Johnson, *Central High School*
*Rev. Harry Pinkel, *DeSales High School*
Miss Edna Brown, *duPont Manual High School*
*Mrs. Frances Schneiter, *Durrett High School*
*Mr. William R. Houghton, *Eastern High School*
Mr. Ted Hightower, *Fairdale High School*
*Mrs. Helen Scott, *Fern Creek High School*
*Brother Fischer, *Flaget High School*
*Sister Bonaventure, *Holy Rosary Academy*
Mrs. Albert Prentiss, *Kentucky Home School*
*Mr. Claude A. Bradley, Sr., *Lincoln Institute*
*Miss Elizabeth D. Zachari, *Louisville Collegiate School*
Mr. Garner Rowell, *Louisville Country Day School*
Mrs. Flora Masters, Louisville Male High School
*Sister Mary Dolores, RSM, *Mercy Academy*
Mr. Ronald Wilson, *Pleasure Ridge Park High School*
*Sister Joseph Inez, *Presentation Academy*
*Sister Mercia, *Sacred Heart Academy*
*Brother Berchmans, CFX, *St. Xavier High School*
*Mrs. Frances Masters and Miss Kate Kirwan, *Seneca High School*
*Mrs. Thomas Haile, *Shawnee High School*
Mr. B. F. Browning and Mrs. M. Gilpin, *Southern High School*
*Rev. C. J. Wagner, *Trinity High School*
*Sister M. Edwardine, *Ursuline Academy*
*Miss Esther Dixon, *Valley High School*
*Miss Mary Lou Carpenter, *Waggener High School*
*Mr. Harry Weber, *Western High School*
Mr. Greg Bobrow, *Westport High School*
**Served as discussion group consultants of Workshop*

Others Serving as Workshop Consultants

Mr. Robert Langan, *duPont Manual High School*
Mr. Mallory May, *Louisville Country Day*
Mrs. Latsly, *Waggener High School*
Miss Alma Owens, *duPont Manual High School*

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Bill Young, Co-Chairman, *Eastern*
Barbara Coomes, *Angela Merici*
Betsy Rush, *Louisville Collegiate*
Jean Hayes, *Holy Rosary*
Dave Perry, *Trinity*
Jeff Wade, *Male*

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Lisbeth Smith, Co-chairman, *Louisville Collegiate*
Gloria Bradley, *Angela Merici*
Mike Perry, *St. Xavier*
Tom Ryan, *Trinity*
Mildred Rice, *Shawnee*
Gaby Gruber, *Atherton*
Bruce Quick, *Louisville Country Day*
Arthur Fultz, *Bishop David*

Hospitality

Sini Craddock, Chairman, *Atherton*
Tim Perkins, Co-chairman, *Durrett*
Joseph Ferriell, *DeSales*
Milanie Minyard, *Manual*
Allen Jones, *Southern*
Betty Parish, *Valley*
Sharon Lauyans, *Mercy*
Carol Schuler, *Sacred Heart*
Martye Armstrong, *Waggener*
Sara Sullivan, *Presentation*
Wayne Milam, *Bishop David*

Publicity

Ann Bickley, Co-chairman, *Eastern*
Mary Ann Thompson, Co-chairman, *Mercy*
Claude Bradley, *Lincoln Institute*
Sharon Cook, *Presentation*
Lucian Gatewood, *Central*
Susan Horton, *Pleasure Ridge*
Lucian Moreman, *Valley*
John Ouellette, *DeSales*
Christine Owens, *Fairdale*
Richard Prather, *Ahrens*
John St. Lawrence, *Aquinas Prep*
Karen Walther, *Male*

DELEGATES

Ahrens High School

Hall, Gayle
Hofilich, Jim
Martin, Russell
Lucas, Joyce
Davis, Colleen
Porter, Charlotte

Angela Merici

Murphy, Margie
Hagan, Eleanor
Sheler, Ann
Goegel, Martha
Ansback, Pat
Pickenpaugh, Jeannie
Ralston, Diane

Aquinas

Cadden, John
Harrod, Fred
Hill, James
Downes, Collings
Rudd, Mike
Schulten, Joseph
Bloom, William
Will, Joe
St. Lawrence, John

Assumption

Roenn, Laurie Von
Liebert, Ann
Johmann, Patty
Nopper, Sarah
Kemble, Kay
Zimlich, Sharon
Lesousky, Jean
Maier, Donna
Kurzendoerter, Jan
Blandford, Jane
Byrnes, Kathy
Kolb, Donna
Goetz, Joan
Oakes, Pam
Mullen, Sharon

Atherton

Craddock, Sina
Baker, Tom
Benn, Rick
Brown, John
Deutsche, Don
Ford, Harriet
Graves, Jenny
Hart, Damon
Levitan, Alan
Matthews, Judy
Sherman, Barry
Wiley, Frank
Anderson, Brenda
Burdorf, Cathy
Ewing, Ann
Hall, John
Keeling, Emily
Nash, Richard
Ott, Nancy
Updegraff, Betsy
Banks, Neil
Pearlman, Janet
Yarmuth, John
Layne, Larry

Bishop David

Milam, Wayne
Darst, Donald
Frazier, Michael
Venhoff, John
Leasor, Danny
Fultz, Arthur
Cummings, James
Griffin, Steve
McIntyre, Bill

Central

Alexander, Verna M.
Davis, Karen
Davis, Vernida
Frazier, Joyce L.
Gatewood, Lucian
Harris, James
Johnson, Lyman M.
Johnson, Martha Y.
Poignard, Brenda Jo
Webber, Anita
White, Janice L.
Williams, Carl
Young, Angela Rayme
Barnett, David
Bowers, Carrye E.
Cobb, Linda
Cross, Joyce E.
Gordon, Jacquelyne
Harris, Michael N.
House, Anita
Kean, Alice C.
LaRue, Renee
Nelson, Bonnie C.
Ralston, Margaret
Stockdale, Harmon E.
Potts, Sylvia
Williams, Consuella
Palmer, Maurieen
King, Vernon
Simmons, Ronald
Linston, Elsia
McGill, Claudia
Cook, Jo Carolyn
Evans, Emily
Bradley, Elizabeth
McKenny, Mary
Love, Carol
Tucker, Barbara
Downing, William
Stevenson, Donald
McNiel, Larry

Country Day

Dodd, Ed
Chumley, Frank
Moore, Mike
Pell, Buddy
Werst, John
Quick, Bruce
Andrews, Jackie
Butt, Biff
Gerard, Will
Marshall, David

DeSales

Dodge, Wayne
Quill, Kevin
Pfalzer, Gerald
Blandford, Danny
Lynch, Tom
Rateau, Ronald
Buckle, John
Lattis, Don
Claycomb, Lawrence
Ouellette, John
Matheis, Sidney
Rode, Clarence

duPont Manual

Birkhead, Sherry
Blanford, Evelyn
Chaudoin, Cheryl
Coffman, Dorothy
Crosier, Carleen
Dehne, John
Dixon, Charles
Geoffrey, Gregory
Hammons, Cecelia
Harrison, Patricia
Hay, Judith
Hodges, Judith
Hoffman, Carol
Kaufman, Doris
Keebler, Elizabeth
Lewis, Margaret
Minter, Michael
Minyard, Melanie
Morrison, Carol
Morton, Donna
Payton, Jefferson
Perdue, Joyce
Rinehart, Glenda
Robertson, Sue
Shelton, Donald
Van Dyke, Martha
Barr, Barbara
Crutcher, Sheila
Mattingly, Lois

Durrett

Perkins, Tim
Eisert, Gordon
Combs, Barbara
Lane, Lynda
Stuart, John
Shoemaker, Paul
Ellis, Tim
Mullendore, Martha
Swartz, Kathy
Blevins, Sandy
Bryan, Bonnie
McLendon, Anne
Thrasher, Patricia

Eastern

Cloutier, Michael
Perdue, Gary
Schoenbachler, Nancy
Belcher, Eddie
Kelley, Jane
Rogers, Covington
Young, Billy
Bickley, Anne
Doughty, Ann
Gatenbee, Doug
Hays, Allen
Simons, Robbie
Whayne, Jennifer
Harris, Mark
Jensen, Marilee
Allen, Faye

Fairdale

Miller, Ruth
Hunt, Joann
Shepherd, Wanda
Stevenson, Sandra
Tucker, Dorothy

Fern Creek

Cox, Donald
Ellis, Pat
Moore, Charles
Henson, Susan
Chute, Barbara
Robertson, Dorissa
Davis, William
Long, Bill
Thompson, Noel
Dorwart, Bob
Davis, Rod
Laukhuf, Claire
Farak, Jerri
Cooper, Suzy
Stearman, Diana
Speck, Sharon
Payne, Warren
Mayland, Sharon
Kalmerton, Carol
Butters, Kenny

Flaget

Greene, Dave
Jardin, Albert
Manning, Peter
Hardesty, Robert
Jansing, George
Ayres, Timothy
Osborne, Joseph
Wirth, John
Washer, William
Norton, Dave
Sibler, Joseph
Hale, Thomas
Higdon, Keith

Holy Rosary

Bindner, Mary
Burger, Victoria
Corbett, Jo Ann
Crabb, Beverley
Fowler, Carolyn
Hayes, Jean

DELEGATES

Kirchner, Judith
Abel, Sandra
Lieber, Patricia
Nichols, Linda
Simms, Virginia

Kentucky Home

Cook, Barbara
Ellis, Mary Hall
Gaines, Peggy
Greer, Bonnie
Haden, Jill
Kemper, Linda
Receveur, Sharon
Shapira, Ellen

Lincoln Institute

Bradley, Claude, Jr.
Burley, Jean
Cochran, Jo Ann
Dawson, Ronald
McIntosh, Willie
Pipkin, Doretha
Pipkin, Richard
Rankin, Jesse
Read, George
Shelby, Wanda
Smith, Gregory
Tobin, Clarence
Vernon, Theda

Louisville Collegiate

Coleman, Kathy
Crosby, Ann
Futrall, Nancy
James, Sarah
McNair, Stanny
Rumage, Nora
Rush, Betsy
Smith, Lisbeth

Male

Anstedt, John
Bennett, Jacqueline
Bright, Cheryl
Bullock, Ellis
Cannon, Patricia
Denkler, Barbara
Devine, Judy
Feldmanis, Atis
Hundley, Mike
Levine, Jay
McClure, Jesse
McCoy, Millicent
Morehead, Janice
Morris, Elaine
Morris, Joan
Moris, Sandra
Madden, Marsha
Page, Margaret
Redmon, David
Saunders, Carolyn
Shadoin, Linda
Singleton, Richard
Wade, Jeffrey
Walther, Karen
Williams, Gary

Mercy

Lanham, Loraine
Lauyans, Sharon
Cox, Linda
Thompson, Mary Ann
Mettling, Sharon
Weller, Dana
Bramer, Betty
Doll, Martha
Ross, Helen
Call, Libbie

Pleasure Ridge

Snyder, Alva
Horton, Susan
Nelson, Suzanne
Scritchfield, Judy
Dowell, Philip
Childers, Lee
Dohn, Donna
Shuck, Sandy

Presentation

Cook, Sharon
Sullivan, Sara
Covatta, Cale
Moran, Kitty
Schmidt, Sharon
Stielberg, Diana
Keown, Bernice
Wilburn, Beverley
Wettig, Maureen
Gatton, Dorothy
Daugherty, Kyran
McNerney, Kathy
Curran, Carol
McKim, Susan
Zender, Carol
Schmidt, Rita
Schwerman, Gerrae
Steuerle, Jeanette

Sacred Heart

Schuler, Carol
Bamberger, Ann
Bruenderman, Kathy
Bocknick, Lynn
Knopp, Sherron
Krieger, Patricia
Kunk, Susan
Murphy, Susan
O'Daniel, Ellen
Perrelli, Jackie
Toutant, Claire
Wagner, Mary Jane
Simon, Libbye
Riehm, Joan
Gettelfinger, Alice
Day, Jennie

St. Xavier

Berry, Charles
Dorris, Mike
Garr, Matt
Payne, Bob
Van Buren, Doug
Perry, Mike
Becker, George
McGannon, Angus
Steuerle, Eugene
Bowen, Peter
Croft, Tom
Flemister, Fred
Greulich, David
Zimmerman, Charlie

Seneca

Mashuta, Alexis
Gale, Terrie
Myers, Charlie
Naamani, Roanette
Millikin, Susan
Platoff, Sheila
Abramson, Leslie
Abramson, Jerry
Garber, Linda
Burgin, Jim
Karnes, Eric
Handmaker, Gayle
Yoffe, Terry
Cohen, Ray
Nielsen, Carl
Poulter, Doug
Martin, Eddie
Volz, Karen
Nottke, Doug
Stoll, Ricky
Segal, Julie
Wilson, Norbie
Lipetz, Marcia
Baer, Lois
Friedman, Stan
DeLevil, Sharon
Maloney, Don
Kommer, Martin
Mackler, Rod
Bleader, Rosalyn
Holloday, Stephen
Boyd, Marty
Gaddie, Norman
Sanders, Joe
McClendon, Chuck
Heint, Alice
Feitelson, Maxine
Knopf, Howard

Shawnee

Blandford, Judy
Bowman, Patricia
Brown, Barbara
Canupp, Donna
Cook, Gail
Costilow, Thomas
Gains, Lonnetta
Gilmet, Peggy
Hawkins, Shirley
Jones, Jane
Kennedy, Pamela
Land, Gary
Lloyd, Morris
Peacock, Jo Ann
Porter, Marie
Rader, Robert
Rice, Mildred
Raubeson, Marie
Scott, Linda
Smith, Suzanne
Storey, Carolyn
Trautwein, Donna
Whitehouse, Katherine
Sledge, Ann
Walker, Rosie
Hopper, Kathy
Talley, Joan

Southern High School

Cooper, Lindsey
Queen, Susan
Goodykoontz, Ann
Messinger, Janice
Brooks, Joe
Onnybecker, Nancy
North, Sherry
Fincher, Yvonne
Taylor, Candy
Baptie, Janet
Potts, Mike
Risner, Gloria
Boyd, Vicky
Owens, Carol
Fackert, Nina
Potts, Marian
Rodgers, Jerry
McMichael, Bonnie
Linton, Cherie
Sublett, Gary
Grubbs, Sandy
Osbourne, Mike
Cooper, Linda
Jones, Allen
Markwell, Linda Carr
Ashcraft, Barbara
Koontz, Nancy

Trinity

Conliffe, Kenny
Gliessner, Joseph
Hettinger, Jack
Hennessey, Barry
Leibig, Mike
Perry, Dave
Robards, Buddy
Rothrock, Tom
Tate, Brad
Young, Jack C.
Freund, Mathias
Toll, Richard
Bayens, Gregory

Ursuline

Weickel, Mary Jude
Burkhart, Carol
Colvin, Judy
Tonini, Nan
Hall, Carolyn
Weber, Mary Richard
Krugel, Linda

DELEGATES

Hawkins, Terry
Marchal, Mary Lee
Thompson, Margaret
Kamer, Janice
Kelley, Barbara
Cole, Geraldine
Elder, Beverly

Valley High School

Atkinson, Carolyn
Busroe, Janet
Boyd, Randy
DeArmond, Carolyn
Elrod, Sharon
Fletcher, Shirley
Frase, Anne
Harker, Alan
Isaacs, Dotty
Lawrence, George
Mack, Dennie
Manahan, Warren, Jr.
Meyer, Anne Marie
Patterson, Mike
Pennington, David
Ramsay, Eleanor
Rinehart, Cheryl
Robinson, Kearney
Rustigian, Kathy
Sturgeon, Lester
Taylor, Barbara
Taylor, Beverly
Triplett, Joy
Walker, John
Wyatt, Betty
Moreman, Lucian
Parrish, Betty

Waggener

Armstrong, Martye
Clark, Sylvia
Dicter, Richard
Haaga, Jane
Johnson, Calvin
Larmee, Rod
Marmion, Dana
May, Martha
Smith, Bruce
Almond, Alice
Carpenter, Pat
Giannini, Diane
Harper, Betty
Heckenkemp, Jan
Lovelace, Don
Hendricks, Rickey
Johnson, Nancy
Karp, Julie
Kesselman, Jonathan
Melton, Jayne
Mills, Leslie
Samuell, Robert
Silvey, Cheri
Trietz, John
Warren, Myrta
White, Jay
Morris, Hume
Burke, Marcus
Perry, Tim
Tomes, Jim
Todd, John
Garth, Russell
Black, Kathy
Speer, Marty
Ortner, Penny

Western

Tygrett, Wade
Ross, Paskel
Hellen, Kathy
Rowan, Nancy
Rowe, Frank
Voll, Larry
Vance, Arthur
Pace, Richard

Westport

Brizendine, Margaret
Russell, Alice
App, Susan
Johnson, Jeanie
Ellis, Susan
Ellis, Lynda
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Moore, Kendale
Samples, Daryl
Woods, Jim

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Youth Speaks

Incorporated November 19, 1953

230 HEYBURN BUILDING
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40202

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MARGARET RALSTON
SECRETARY
BETSY RUSH
TREASURER
JUDY JEFFRIES
HISTORIAN

MA - Can you think of any suitable material please?

File

January 22, 1964

MA - noted - material to be mailed week of 2/10

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The subject chosen by the Youth Speaks students for the February 22 Workshop is "America's Unfinished Business: Civil Rights". The program will be arranged so that sub-topics to be discussed during the morning sessions will be Education and Employment; in the afternoon sessions, the discussions will be related to Housing and Public Accommodations.

There will be two lunch periods during which the plan is that the group not having lunch will discuss a project under consideration, identified at this point as a Youth Corps. A Youth Speaks student committee has been having conferences with the Juvenile Court Judge to develop an action program for reducing juvenile delinquency and high school drop-outs. They feel that as youth leaders who are doing exceptionally well in school, they should take some kind of responsibility for members of their peer group who are having difficulties both with personal adjustments and with their studies. This could take the form of a Youth Court, tutoring, person to person talks, etc.

Approximately 600 students from 36 high schools will participate in the workshop and in separate discussion groups which are usually limited to not more than 20 students each. These groups meet simultaneously in separate classrooms with one or two adult community resource people. Students serve as leaders and recorders.

The opening session is a kick off period when the speakers inspire and provoke discussion. The closing session is a question and answer period when the speaker will answer written questions provided by the discussion groups, and sometimes from the floor. Usually the speakers visit some of these groups to pick up misinformation in need of correction, or points which should be emphasized or clarified.

Any free materials or those for which there is a nominal charge, would be appreciated, either in quantities of about 100 (3 sets each) for the 36 school libraries, or 600 for distribution to the individual students. These would be most helpful to adequately prepare the students for participation in the discussions.

The students have asked me to tell you that they are most grateful for your willingness to serve as a speaker at the workshop, and their adult advisors are most appreciative.

Sincerely yours,

J. Mansfield Tydings
Executive Director

JMT:ec

P.S. The press has requested a photograph, and biographical sketch. I hope that you can accommodate.

File ~~Lectures~~ Staff
L. W. Dunbar
Speeches - Carey
related to.

January 22, 1964

Mr. Merlin G. Cox
President
The Open Forum
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Cox:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 8, 1964, and its generous enclosure. I greatly enjoyed my visit last spring to Daytona Beach, and the opportunity of meeting you and your associates.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE OPEN FORUM

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

January 8, 1964

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DIRECTOR SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPT.
DAYTONA BEACH JUNIOR COLLEGE

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VICE PRES. & PROGRAM DIRECTOR
MINISTER FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FRED STEADMAN
SECRETARY
RETAIL ADV. MANAGER NEWS-JOURNAL CORP.

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MANAGER
SEARS ROEBUCK & CO.

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DISTRICT OFFICE MANAGER
SOUTHERN BELL TEL. & TEL. CO.

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VOLUSIA COUNTY
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PRESIDENT
DAYTONA BEACH JUNIOR COLLEGE

DR. P. T. FLEUCHAUS
ROLAND D. BARZE

Rec'd in Jan, 1964 for 1963?

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Reginal Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

// finally!

Enclosed is a check for $150.00 as your honorarium for last year's appearance at the Open Forum.

I regret this delay, but the anticipated funds were not contributed last year. Of course, our first official act in this new years budget was to pay our debts from last year.

Wishing for you and yours a very happy New Year, I am,

Most cordially yours,

Merlin G. Cox

Merlin G. Cox
President, The Open Forum

MGC:mmc

LWD SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS:

The Open Forum - Daytona Beach, Fla.
March 17, 1963

Honorariam received: January 10, 1964
$150.00

See correspondence filed in folder
marked: OPEN FORUM, 1963

Files
Staff - Prog. Speaker Engagements
Speeches, corresp. relative to

February 6, 1964

Mr. Robert L. Sommerville
President
Atlanta Transit System, Inc.
P. O. Box 1595
Atlanta 1, Georgia

Dear Bob:

I remember with some pleasure my talk before the Inquiry Club last year, and if the members can stand to have me back again, I would be able and pleased to come on May 19. I guess the racial situation in the South, and in Atlanta, is, unfortunately, always topical.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ATLANTA TRANSIT SYSTEM, INC.
P. O. BOX 1595
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

ROBERT L. SOMMERVILLE
PRESIDENT

524-2492

February 4, 1964

9 9 6:00

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

When I ran into you recently, I was quite astonished that you were not a member of the Inquiry Club. I think that should be remedied. And in the meantime I think the Club should get the chance to hear what you have to report on the racial situation, particularly in the Atlanta area but, of course, touching the South as a whole. Would you be willing to talk to the Club at its May meeting - May 19th.

I have fallen into the job which our friend Cullen did so well for so long. I have to arrange for these meetings and I try to guess what is going to be topical. That is why I am a little ahead of myself. But also I know that you have a great many things to do and I would like to get your agreement to this time if you can now make it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Sommerville

RLS:sgs

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PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY
MARION R. DISBOROUGH
TREASURER
J. MANSIR TYDINGS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ALLAN M. STEINBERG
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Youth Speaks

Incorporated November 19, 1953

230 HEYBURN BUILDING
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PRESIDENT
CHARLES MOORE
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
LESLIE ABRAMSON
SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
MIKE PERRY
THIRD VICE PRESIDENT
MARGARET RALSTON
SECRETARY
BETSY RUSH
TREASURER
JUDY JEFFRIES
HISTORIAN

M J - put in Youth Speaks correspondence file for use today

February 10, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Enclosed you will find a set of questions developed by the students for use by student leaders in the discussion groups which will follow your speech. These questions will give you a better idea as to their concerns, and you might want to speak to some of them.

Mr. John D. Pemberton, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union will join you and Dr. Edwards in the question and answer period in the closing session of the workshop program.

WAVE-TV will make a tape recording of a panel program after the workshop at 4:30 P.M. It is now planned that three students will participate on the panel with our three guests. The program will be broadcasted during Youth Speaks' regular weekly program time on the following Saturday.

Both the Station, the Press, and Program Committee would appreciate having your picture and biographical sketch as soon as possible.

Bruce Quick, President of Youth Speaks and his parents are extending to you and Dr. Edwards an invitation to stay at their home, and will need to know your time of arrival on Friday, February 21.

Everyone is looking forward to meeting you personally.

Sincerely,

Mansir Tydings

J. Mansir Tydings
Executive Director

JMT:ec

Enclosures

A youth forum conducted by public, parochial, and private high schools and sponsored by community organizations

file
Staff - Lect speeches - corresp related to

ATLANTA TRANSIT SYSTEM, INC.

P. O. BOX 1595

ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

ROBERT L. SOMMERVILLE
PRESIDENT

file

February 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

It was nice seeing you again last night. And I am just confirming that you have agreed to talk to the Inquiry Club on Tuesday, May 19, and I have given it the title "What's New In the South's Endless Topic."

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert L. Sommerville

RLS:sgs

File: Lord
Speeches + articles
Corresp. related to

Youth Speaks, Incorporated
Twelfth Annual Workshop
America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights
February 22, 1964

4 6/2
9 2

A Word of Introduction
by
Bruce R. Quick, President

This Workshop marks the realization of one of the goals of the 1963-1964 Executive Committee, one which has required much concerted effort on the part of those involved in planning and carrying out the various tasks. The subject chosen by the Student Board of Directors is both interesting and effective, but perhaps its greatest attribute is that it is one in which youth today are playing a major role.

The purpose of this pamphlet is multifold: it is to acquaint you more fully with the subject matter to be discussed, to introduce the speakers, and to convey several requests which we feel will make the Workshop more meaningful to you as participants.

On behalf of this year's Executive Committee, I want to thank you who have helped to make this Workshop a success, and we hope that you all will enjoy participating as much as we have enjoyed planning.

* * * * * *

The Subject:
America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

The actual realms of discussion will be more fully outlined in another section of this pamphlet. However, there are certain notes which should be remembered.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that we are not discussing whether integration is morally right or wrong. We feel that the answer to this question is obvious. It is asked that all discussion be confined to the realms defined as much as possible. While morals cannot be excluded from the discussion, undue prejudice should not be displayed, because the results of the Workshop will be viewed by both local and national figures. In a sense, the very maturity of youth in discussing such a problem is being tested by this subject, and will reflect on you as an individual.

The Speakers

Youth Speaks is very fortunate to have as speakers for the Workshop:

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia; and

Dr. Franklin Edwards, Professor of Sociology at Howard University, Washington D.C., and member of the President's Committee on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency.

Both men are of the highest caliber as speakers, and are very well qualified with respect to our topic.

We urge you to utilize every opportunity to get to know these men personally in the course of the Workshop, not only from the standpoint of gaining insight into the basic problems of integration, but also in order that they may receive greater understanding of your feelings on this important subject.

* * * * * *

A few Guidelines

In order that the Workshop might run more smoothly, we ask that you follow the following suggestions:

(1) Be Prompt---The Workshop is to be held at Mayme S. Waggener High School, 220 Hubbards Lane, in St. Matthews; and begins at 8:30 A.M. on Saturday, February 22, 1964. The more punctual you are in arriving at all activities, the less chance boredom and fatigue will have an opportunity to set in!

(2) Be Courteous---Basic rules of etiquette should apply, both in the discussion groups and in other activities throughout the Workshop.

(3) Be Co-operative---The roles of discussion Group Leader and Recorder are not easy ones. Help them in every way you can.

(4) Be Constructive---While fellowship is always desirable, spend as much time as possible in discussion of the matters at hand in a positive frame-of-mind.

(5) Remain until the end of the Workshop---- While in some cases, it is not always possible to remain for the entire program, please do not leave early unless it is absolutely necessary. Except in special cases, certificates of membership will not be awarded to those who do not remain for the entire Workshop.

* * * * * *

Youth Speaks Goes International!

This year, Youth Speaks is honored to have as our guests twenty-five fellow students from Quito, Equador under the program of "Operation Amigo" as participants in the Workshop. We welcome these young men and women to their "neighbor to the north", and hope that the Workshop will be one of their most memorable experiences during their stay here.

Acknowledgements: This pamphlet was prepared by the Program committee, Allen M. Jones, Committee Chairman; Leslie Abramson, Second Vice-President; Bruce R. Quick, President; and Allan M. Steinberg, Assistant Executive Director.

TWELFTH ANNUAL YOUTH SPEAKS WORKSHOP

WAGGENER HIGH SCHOOL, FEBRUARY 22, 1964

America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

The following questions are to be used as a guide for the discussion groups:

EMPLOYMENT

1. What are the salient reasons for discriminatory practices in employment as they relate to race and color?

2. What are the tasks of immediate and practical concern in the area of employment which demand rational action?

3. Is the most important sector of the conflict in employment to be found in legislation or on the job?

4. Is education without compulsion sufficient in the long run to induce an orderly abandonment of discriminatory practices in employment?

5. Is a nation-wide campaign to raise the basic educational level of minority group workers in the productive age category, 16 to 25 desirable?

6. How can the community be stimulated to utilize all available resources for removing traditional barriers and expanding job opportunities for minority groups?

7. Is there a need for more vigorous, compulsory action by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the various state and city Fair Employment Practice Commissions?

8. Should the minority groups work force be designated a "Critical" sector of the American economy and become the object of a special program of inclusion to offset the effects of traditional exclusion?

9. What efforts are necessary to crack the barriers in apprenticeship programs and upgrading of non-white employees?

10. Is Federal compulsion either desirable or inevitable to break down barriers that continue to keep most non-white from skilled crafts and jobs?

11. How can racial identification in statistical data on employment status best be obtained without setting the stage for further possible discrimination?

12. What is the price, in terms of our economic, political and social well-being of continued discrimination in employment?

SUGGESTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Courier-Journal, Vol 219, No. 20, Louisville, Monday, January 20, 1964, Section 1, Page 1.

Puryear, M.T., ed. Automation and the Retraining of Negro Workers, Task Force Document (Job Development and Employment) The National Urban League, 1962.

(MORE)

(EMPLOYMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY - continued)

A Fair Chance, Booklet, National Urban League.

Information Kit, The Equal Job Opportunity Program, The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington 25, D.C.

The Economic Situation of the Negroes in the United States, Bulletin [illegible], 1962, U.S. Department of Labor.

The City and the Negro, by C. E. Silberman, Fortune, March, 1962.

President Johnson's State of the Union Address, Courier-Journal.

The Negro in America, Newsweek, July 29, 1963.

"What the White Man Thinks of The Negro Revolt," Newsweek, October 21, 1963.

* "The Negro in America Today," Look, April 10, 1962.

*NOTE: Copies of this article may be ordered at 15¢ each, $2.50 per 100 from The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

TWELFTH ANNUAL YOUTH SPEAKS WORKSHOP

WAGGENER HIGH SCHOOL, FEBRUARY 22, 1964

America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

The following questions are to be used as a guide for the discussion groups:

EDUCATION

1. How (or could) federal and/or state aid to educational institutions affect the integration process?

2. How might de-segregation of schools be accelerated?

3. What advantages or disadvantages have come from integrating Louisville's City and County School Systems?

4. Has integration affected the quality of education in Louisville?

5. How can the community at large be educated in the integration concept?

6. How far has integration progressed in the Commonwealth of Kentucky?
   (a) Is "token" integration enough? Define token integration.
   (b) What effect, if any, would a movement toward integrated faculties have on "total" de-segregation?
   (c) Has faculty integration succeeded or failed in the Louisville and Jefferson County Schools?

7. How can vocational guidance programs be revised to meet the needs of the increased opportunities afforded by integration?

TWELFTH ANNUAL YOUTH SPEAKS WORKSHOP

WAGGENER HIGH SCHOOL, FEBRUARY 22, 1964

America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

The following questions are to be used as a guide for the discussion groups:

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

1. Does a Federal, state or local law requiring that public accomodations be open to all infringe upon the rights of other people?

2. Can we justify such an ordinance by saying that it will compel all businesses to do the same?

3. Would it be the case that establishments which serve Negro customers would lose white customers?

4. Do you believe that democratic rights are inalienable are bestowed by the majo

5. Do you believe that Negroes have the right to demonstrate by sit-ins, civil dis obedience, etc. to obtain their rights?

6. Should whites who violently oppose these demostrations be arrested as the Negro is for demostrating?

7. Do you think that the Negro is moving too fast and too far?

8. If you were mayor of a city or governor of a state what would be your solution maintaining peace and order: (1) Take no action at all? (2) Inaugurate a get-tough policy? (3) Take leadership in passage of a law guaranteeing civil right for all citizens? (4) Or any other?

9. Do you believe that the way we have worked out the civil rights problem in Louisville will contribute very much to the international image of the U. S.?

10. Do the churches and synagogues have a responsibility to the community concerning these problems?

TWELFTH ANNUAL YOUTH SPEAKS WORKSHOP

WAGGENER HIGH SCHOOL, FEBRUARY 22, 1964

America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

The following questions are to be used as a guide for the discussion groups:

HOUSING

1. Can the contention of realestate people that land value depreciates when a minority group family moves into a neighborhood be justified?

2. Do you think that churches and synagogues should take responsibility for assisting in programs for integrating the neighborhood they serve, and wouldn't it be consistent with their beliefs to urge their members to invest their money only in financial institutions which have non-discriminating lending and borrowing policies with regard to home financing?

3. Have the proposed solutions to the housing problems included giving assistance to underpriviledged families in the Louisville area through Federal Housing and relocation of Negro families in Urban Renewal Programs?

4. Does it follow that better housing provides motivation or desire for better education and employment opportunities, and/or vice versa?

5. What is meant by the term, "open occupancy?"

6. Would "panic selling" of homes by several neighbors on a block in which a Negro family has just moved lower values of all the homes on the block, or would it be wise to sell out when this occurs?

7. Has the President's directive of no racial discrimination by government home loan agencies such as FHA and VA, caused problems or helped?

8. Would it be desirable to establish "open occupancy" practicies by real-estate brokers, and financial institutions by Federal, state and local laws?

TWELFTH ANNUAL YOUTH SPEAKS WORKSHOP

WAGGENER HIGH SCHOOL, FEBRUARY 22, 1964

America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

The following questions are to be used as a guide for the discussion groups:

YOUTH CORPS

This project concerns working with youths in the parts of our city where educational opportunities and recreational facilities are lacking.

1. What is our role in the Youth Corps program and what goals should we seek?

   a) In what areas (e.g., education and recreation) should we attempt to work?

   b) Would the Youth Corps work best in clubs, neighborhood houses, in schools or on an individual basis?

   c) What organizations could possibly aid with the development of a Youth Corps? For example, Community Chest, Scouts and City-County Governments.

2. How could the program function?

   a) How "involved" would the participants become in the Corps? (Would this be an afternoon or evening enleavor, daily or on weekends, during the school year only, all year or in the summer?)

   b) Who would participate and what qualifications would be needed?

3. What first steps should be taken by Youth Speaks to get the Youth Corps into ACTION?

4. Is there any relation between this program and the overall problem of helping to remove racial barriers, juvenile delinquency and instilling higher aspirations into youths and making them more apart of our community?

file

Staff - Dunbar (speaking engagements)

March 10, 1964

Mr. Mansir Tydings
230 Heyburn Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mansir:

As I told Bruce Quick in a separate letter today, I enjoyed being with all of you.

I see that the NAIRO Board is meeting in Louisville on April 21, and I possibly may be able to come over for it. Perhaps then I will see you again.

My expenses were as follows:

Round-trip air fare:	
Atlanta-Louisville-Atlanta	$51.29
Airport limousine:	
Downtown Atlanta to airport ...	1.35
Taxi:	
Atlanta airport to home	3.55
Total:	$56.19

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

March 10, 1964

Mr. Bruce R. Quick
Youth Speaks
230 Heyburn Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Bruce:

Thank you for your letter of February 29, and for the enclosures. I very much enjoyed my participation in your 12th annual workshop and also the opportunity to meet you and your co-workers. I enjoyed also hearing you speak.

As I said that I would, I am sending you some material about the Southern Regional Council, together with a few samples of our publications.

Please give my regards to your mother and father. I am terribly negligent about such things, but I shall soon be sending them my very sincere thanks for their graciousness to me.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosures:
"Direct Action..."
"March on Washington"
Coles, Henderson, Morland pamphlets
New South subscription blank

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Youth Speaks
Incorporated November 19, 1953

230 HEYBURN BUILDING
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40202

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HISTORIAN

February 29, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I am just now getting around to the many letters I must write after the workshop, but I wanted to make this the first. We can't thank you enough for giving us your valuable time to come up here, and the comments we have received have more than echoed our appreciation. From all reports, this year's workshop was the best yet, and I am sure that the speakers were largely responsible.

I am enclosing a copy of the newspaper article which was printed Sunday morning in the Courier-Journal. We are still trying to find copies of the other publicity on the Workshop, and I will forward them to you as soon as they are available.

Our work here is just now starting on publishing the results of the day's efforts, so we will be pretty busy here for some time to come. But among the new "projects" we will be undertaking is that of spreading the Youth Speaks idea to other parts of the country. We are trying to raise enough money to caravan into the South, especially Atlanta, during the summer months, so you may well hear from us for suggestions and assistance.

The television panel we taped last week went off much better than expected, and I for one was very impressed with the high level the discussion attained. I guess I was just too numb to realize last week.

Both my parents and I are certainly glad that we were able to meet and talk with you, and hope that we can work together again very soon.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce

Bruce R. Quick

Youth Speaks

Incorporated November 19, 1953

TWELFTH ANNUAL WORKSHOP

ON

America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights

Saturday, February 22, 1964

WAGGENER HIGH SCHOOL

Conducted by Private, Public and Catholic High Schools and sponsored by Community Organizations.

Program

8:30 A.M. REGISTRATION

Each school's delegation will go to a designated room to register and receive name tags and directions. Check in front lobby for room number.

9:00 A.M. Opening of Twelfth Annual Workshop
Mr. Robert E. Winder, *President*
Youth Speaks Board of Trustees

FIRST GENERAL SESSION ..... Bruce R. Quick, *Country Day President, Presiding*

Invocation ..... Rev. Grayson L. Tucker, Jr.
Superintendent John Little Centers

Dedication ..... Mike Perry, *Third Vice President*

Pledge to the Flag

The Star Spangled Banner ..... Mrs. Forrest Heeren, *Song Leader*
Michael Minter, *Accompanist*

Greetings ..... Charles Moore, *Fern Creek First Vice President*

Introduction of Speakers ..... Mr. J. Mansir Tydings, *Youth Speaks Executive Director*

1st Address ..... Dr. Leslie Dunbar, *Executive Director Southern Regional Council*

2nd Address ..... Dr. G. Franklin Edwards, *Professor of Sociology, Howard University, Wash., D.C.*

10:00 A.M. ANNOUNCEMENTS ..... Leslie Abramson, *Seneca Second Vice President*

DISCUSSION GROUPS

TOPIC: **America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights**

10:10 A.M. First Discussion Period – EDUCATION

10:55 A.M. 5 Minute Break (Optional)

11:00 A.M. Second Discussion Period – EMPLOYMENT

LUNCHEON PERIODS

Your discussion leader will inform you as to which luncheon period you are to attend. The group for Second Lunch will discuss the Youth Corps until 12:45 p.m.

12 Noon — 1st Luncheon Prayer ..... Rev. F. G. Sampson, *Pastor*
Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church

12:45 P.M. — 2nd Luncheon Prayer ..... Rev. Harry Pinkel
DeSales High School

Those who ate at the First Luncheon Period will return to their rooms and discuss the Youth Corps.

1:30 P.M. — AFTERNOON DISCUSSION – HOUSING AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

2:30 P.M. — SECOND GENERAL SESSION ..... Mike Perry, *St. Xavier,*
Third Vice President, Presiding

Introduction of Guests ..... Mrs. Harry Stuart
Youth Speaks Alumni

Summary of Workshop by our guest speakers.

Question and Answer Period

President's Speech ..... Bruce R. Quick, *Country Day*
President, Student Board of Directors

3:15 P.M. — FILLING OUT AND COLLECTION OF EVALUATION FORMS
(*Please hand these forms and name tags to door attendants.*)

3:30 P.M. — Benediction ..... Dr. Herbert S. Waller, *Rabbi,*
Adath Israel Temple

Flowers contributed by Korb The Florist
Shelbyville Road Plaza

YOUTH SPEAKS

IS

SPONSORED BY THE FOLLOWING CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

American Jewish Committee

American Legion, Shawnee Post 193

American Legion, Women's Auxiliary Shawnee Unit

American Legion Auxiliary, 5th District

Catholic League of Parents and Teachers

Frontiers Club

Girl Scouts, United States of America

Highland Mother's Club

Jefferson County Medical Society

Jefferson County Home Makers

Junior League of Louisville

Kentucky State AFL-CIO

Knights of Columbus

Louisville Kiwanis Club

Louisville Links, Inc.

Louisville Rotary Club

Louisville Urban League

Louisville Younger Women's Club

National Conference of Christians and Jews

National Council of Jewish Women

Old Kentucky Home Council of Boy Scouts of America

Richmond $A^2 + E$ Volunteers

St. Matthews Lions Club

Sertoma Club

The Lincoln Foundation, Inc.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

John Marshall Chapter, DAR

Jefferson County Council, PTA

League of Women Voters

Louisville Council, PTA

Youth Speaks Alumni Association

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Rec'd 4/6/64

File
LWD - Speaking engagements 1964

Youth Speaks

Incorporated November 19, 1953

230 HEYBURN BUILDING
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40202

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BETSY RUSH
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JUDY JEFFRIES
HISTORIAN

April 1, 1964

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Please accept our apologies for not writing sooner to express again sincerest thanks for taking time out of your busy schedule to participate in the Youth Speaks Workshop. We heard many favorable comments that the speakers were informative and interesting.

We have waited for a report on our finances before sending you a check, with the hope that we could afford a large honorarium in addition to your travel expenses. However, I do hope that the enclosed check is acceptable with the understanding that it is by no means commensurate with your valuable contribution to a very successful Workshop.

Thank you once again for your participation.

Sincerely,

Allan M. Steinberg

Allan M. Steinberg
Assistant Executive
Director

$100.00 CR Travel
$20.00 CR Materials

4/6/64
RHA

A youth forum conducted by public, parochial, and private high schools and sponsored by community organizations

April 1, 1964

Enclosed please find check for payment of materials from the Southern Regional Council.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Allan M. Steinberg

File - Dre Staff - Lvd Speaking Engagements 1964

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Mr. Ronald Haxton, Government Week Committee April 30 1964

Street and No. Student Activities Office, Student Union Building

Care of or Apt. No. Oklahoma State Univ. Destination Stillwater, Oklahoma

Will leave Atlanta May 5 on Delta #817 to Dallas, arriving Okla. City at 3:03 pm on American #396. Returning May 6 from Oklahoma City on American #27 at 7:45am, and Delta #360 out of Dallas. Reservations tourist. If you can find a better return schedule for me please f feel free to change.

Leslie W. Dunbar

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

File
Staff - Lect
Speakers - corresp
related to

April 7, 1964

Mr. Ronald Haxton
Government Week Committee
Student Activities Office
Student Union Building
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Haxton:

Enclosed are biographical notes and a glossy print for Mr. Dunbar who will be speaking to your meeting May 5. May we please have the glossy returned when you have made use of it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

Tray 5

Ronald Haxton

Government Week Committee

Student Activities Office

Student Union Bldg

Oklahoma State Univ

Stillwater, Okla

May 6th

lv. Okla City Jet - Journ

Amer. #27

7:45 AM

ar Dallas

8:25 AM

lv. Dallas - Delta

~~#630~~ #622

~~10:05 AM~~

ar. Atl - ~~4:52 pm~~

5:05 PM

Les,

The only two lines that have service (only connecting service) into Stillwater are Delta and Eastern. The schedules follow.

(Note: Getting out there is rather complicated. It looks as though you might have to go a day before in one case, or drive from Tulsa to Stillwater in another case.)

DELTA: #817 May 5th R. Jet Tourist

Lv. Atlanta - 12:10 pm

Ar. Dallas - 12:56

Lv. Dallas - 2:15 (American Airlines) #3:96 7 30

Ar. Okla. City 3:03

Lv. Okla. " 5:25 pm (Central Airlines)

Ar. Stillwater 5:54

Delta 12 15 Dal 1:00 3:02 2:20 6:1 1:12

Delta O. City #27 7 45 Dallas 8:25 10:05 Dep #630 Ar. 4 Braniff EA 2:25 8:10

EASTERN:

Lv. Atlanta - 10:20 am

Ar. Memphis 11:56

Lv. Memphis 12:40 (Braniff)

Ar. Tulsa 3:28pm **

Lv. Tulsa 9:25

Ar. Stillwater 9:57

**Eastern's clerk suggested flying into Tulsa and renting a car to Stillwater. It can be driven, he says, in about an hour (40-50 miles)

RETURN SCHEDULES

Delta:

Lv. Stillwater 2:30 pm

Ar. Atlanta 3:26 am (with connecting flights at Dallas and Oklahoma City)

OVER:

22

Eastern:

Lv. Stillwater	7:57 am
Ar. Tulsa	8:26 **
Lv. Tulsa	1:19 pm
Ar. Atlanta	8:10 pm

** Here again, it is suggested that you drive from Stillwater to ~~T&&~~ Tulsa in time to take the 1:19 flight out of Dallas to Atlanta.

Ron Hayton

Government Week Committee

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Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

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DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

LWD
Speeches - Corresp.
related to

file

May 1, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you will be able to participate in the Consultation on Christian Action, October 28-29. You will be hearing further from us as time goes on regarding the particulars of the consultation.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm Calhoun (S.D.)

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:sd

File
Lect - speaking
engagements
1964

June 23, 1964

Mr. Chris T. Delaporte
Director
Government Week Committee
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Delaporte:

Thank you for your letter of June 16. I enjoyed very much my visit and my participation in your Government Week. I thought the turnout of students was impressive, but the enthusiasm I encountered was even more so. Many of the questions during the meeting and in the coffee session afterwards were sharp. All in all, the program did credit to the University.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Government Week
Committee

Oklahoma State University
STUDENT ACTIVITIES OFFICE
STUDENT UNION BUILDING
STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA

June 16, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Government Week Commission of Oklahoma State University again wishes to convey to you its deepest appreciation for your participation in the fourth annual Government Week program. The program was an overwhelming success, and the consensus among observers was that this year's Government Week was the finest ever, in both scope and dimension. One of the major factors contributing to the fine success of the program was your participation and your speech will be remembered as one of the outstanding events of the week.

Plans are now underway for Government Week's fifth anniversary program. We hope to enlarge the program and to present additional specialized and accelerated seminars for the history, economics, and political science students. In essence, we wish to broaden the scope of our programming, maintaining our standard of quality so that we can reach more citizens and have our influence more widely felt.

We hope that Government Week will receive your continued support; and we would greatly appreciate any written remarks which we might use as an endorsement of our program.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Chris T. Delaporte
mm

Chris T. Delaporte
Director

CTD:kp

Lw-1-fyi

MJ - pls confirm
Confirmed by telephone 9/1/64.
MMJ

Sandra - file
Staff - Lwd
Articles + Speeches
Correspondence related to

August 12, 1964

Mrs. Aretha M. Wiggs
Secretary to Mr. Warren Cochrane
Butler Street Y.M.C.A.
22 Butler Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Wiggs:

In reply to your letter of August 10, I should like to tentatively accept, for Mr. Dunbar, your invitation to speak to the Hungry Club on October 21.

Mr. Dunbar did indicate, in his letter of August 4 to Mr. Cochrane, that the only Wednesdays remaining in this year that he could not be at the Hungry Club were October 28 and November 18. However, he is away from the office for three weeks also, and I would not like to make this a binding obligation until he has had a chance to say whether the date is satisfactory with him. When he returns to the office he or I will be in touch with you to confirm this or some other date.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

W. L. CALLOWAY, PRESIDENT G. L. CHANDLER, SECRETARY A. T. WALDEN, TREASURER WARREN R. COCHRANE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

BUTLER STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

22 BUTLER STREET, NORTHEAST TELEPHONE JACKSON 4-0246

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 10, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 4 in which you stated that you will not be able to address the Hungry Club on October 7 because of a conflicting engagement.

Mr. Cochrane is out of the city for two or three weeks, and since I am handling the Hungry Club until he returns, I am writing now to see if you could address the group on October 21.

Will you call this office if this meets with your schedule?

Sincerely yours,

Aretha M. Wiggs
(Mrs.) Aretha M. Wiggs
Secretary to Mr. Cochrane

w

File D
Financial Correspondence

December 10, 1964

Reverend Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Dear Malcolm:

I am sorry to be so dilatory in submitting expenses. Perhaps you have already closed your books, and if so that is all right.

Air - Atlanta to Richmond and return	$52.37
Taxi and Airport Transportantion	9.50
Breakfast October 30	1.40
TOTAL	$63.32

I learned a great deal at the consultation, and I hope that I may have helped a little. Call on us whenever you think we can be of use.

Best wishes for the season,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

File
Staff: Lwd
Speaking engagements,
Correspondence related to

April 21, 1964

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Secretary
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

Your Consultation plan for October 28-29 sounds very worthwhile, and I shall be glad to attend.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING • EIGHT NORTH SIXTH STREET • BOX 1176
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23209
Telephone: Area Code 703 • 643-6691

Rec'd 4/15

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

April 10, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States, has authorized the holding of a Consultation on Christian Action next October 28, 29. The following action was taken by the Board concerning the consultation:

Time and Place: October 28-29, 1964, Richmond, Virginia.
Purpose: To explore the role of the church in Christian Action during this time of rapid social change, with special reference to racial and cultural relations.

Objectives:

(1) To set forth the broad theological basis for Christian Action.

(2) To identify the basic problems involved in the removal of racial and cultural discrimination.

(3) To ascertain what the church is doing to resolve these basic problems.

(4) To project how the church, both as the gathered and scattered community of believers, can move more effectively toward the removal of racial and cultureal discrimination.

Constituents: The consultation would be limited to some 35 persons, more or less, including such categories as Christian ethics professors, pastors, businessmen, labor leaders, human relations executives, law enforcement officers, public school administrators, civil rights consultatns, representatives from boards and agencies of the church, and others.

I am writing to invite you to participate in the consultation. We need the contribution you can make as we seek to discover how the church can best be the church in the social struggle. Your special knowledge and experience will help in making this discovery.

Papers will be presented dealing with objectives listed above as starters. In due time, you will receive these documents along with other pertinent material. Your expenses, of course, will be paid by the Board of Christian Education.

Out of the experience of the recent months and years, it is our hope that the consultation will be a means of helping us to be Christians more committed and informed as we seek to know and to do the will of God for our day and time.

Hoping to have an early reply from you accepting our invitation to participate in the consultation, I remain

Cordially yours,

Malcolm P. Calhoun

Malcolm P. Calhoun

MPC:sd

Rec'd 12/28/64

File Speeches Corresp

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

to:

12-22-64

Read this with my usual high admiration for your work.

Sophocles' Antigone states the case for civil disobedience in dramatic form. You would do well to re-read it.

Tell Paul Anthony that I say his speech at Tuskegee was a revelation of unsuspected power. He should do more of that sort of thing.

M. A. W.

PA ✓
MV ✓
SW, file

SRC

BEHAVIOR CITED

Individual Seen Key to Ending Bias

LWD

Ed Journal 10-26-64

By CLAUDE GEORGE SR.

"Behavior is better than attitude," Dr. Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council, told a Butler Street YMCA forum.

He said that in the fast pace of living today, it is not the U.S. President, Congress, Supreme Court or state legislatures who make the "really basic decisions."' It is the millions of persons in churches, trade unions and other organizations and the voters who reach those decisions, he found.

Dr. Dunbar said the new civil rights law will not solve basic racial problems. They must be solved by Negroes and whites from every walk of life, he said.

Rec'd 1/12/65

MILLSAPS COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
JACKSON 10, MISSISSIPPI

January 9, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of December 11, 1964, and for the copy of the paper you gave at the Southern Political Science Association meeting and the copy of the address you made at Earlham College.

I think I enjoyed the SPSA paper even more on reading it, and if anything I think even more of it now than I did when I heard it. The Earlham paper too I thought first-rate.

Thanks again for sending them.

Sincerely,

Gordon

Gordon G. Henderson

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE
NCSW

national conference on social welfare

a national forum for social welfare since 1874

SOL MORTON ISAAC, president
JOE R. HOFFER, executive secretary
RUTH M. WILLIAMS, asst. exec. secy.

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345 EAST 46TH STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK • 10017
Telephone MUrray Hill 2-6117

PLEASE REPLY TO — COLUMBUS OFFICE

Read 4/5/65

file

April 2, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Leslie W. Dunbar

FROM: Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary

We are proud to welcome you as a participant in the program of the 92nd Annual Forum. Your contribution, and that of your fellow participants, will add greatly to the success of the Conference, and we hope that the experience will be equally rewarding to you.

The material enclosed has been designed to help you in planning for your meeting and in the preparation of your manuscript. Speeches presented at the Annual Forum each year form the basis for all National Conference publications. Since our Editorial Committee begins reading for the 1965 publications early in May and makes its final selections during the week end following the Forum, only those papers submitted in advance can be considered. The five copies of your manuscript will be due in our Columbus office by May 1st. We urge your cooperation both in meeting this deadline and in following the instructions for the preparation of your paper. If your paper is duplicated, additional copies will be helpful for use in our news room, and for the consideration of other organizations interested in the publication.

With your manuscript, we would also appreciate five copies of a concise summary of the contents of your paper in the form of a 250-word abstract describing the points which you have covered.

A copy of the Spring issue of the Conference Bulletin containing the preliminary program will be mailed to you under separate cover.

SOL MORTON ISAAC
President
Columbus, Ohio

ARTHUR KRUSE
First Vice-President
Chicago

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Second Vice-President
Baltimore

ROBERT MORRIS
Third Vice-President
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HAROLD HASS
New York City

J. KIMBALL JOHNSON
Cleveland

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Washington

JOSEPH F. MEISELS
Kansas City, Kansas

MILDRED MURPHY
Oklahoma City

CHARLES F. ODELL
Detroit

RICHARD PETERS
New York City

SHELDON RAHN
New York City

MILTON G. RECTOR
New York City

JOSEPH REID
New York City

ELIZABETH P. RICE
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MRS. ANNIE LEE SANDUSKY
Washington

MALCOLM B. STINSON
Los Angeles

WHITNEY YOUNG, JR.
New York City

MELVIN GLASSER
Representative, Public Relations Committee
Detroit

WILSON H. POSEY
Representative, National Association of Statewide Health & Welfare Conference and Planning Organizations
Columbus, Ohio

CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND
Representative,
U. S. Committee of ICSW
Waltham, Mass.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

Editorial Committee

Criteria for Selection of Manuscripts for Pulbication

The Editorial Committee has the responsibility of selecting papers for publication in Social Welfare Forum (the official Proceedings), and a supplementary volume on social work problems, practice, and trends, so that there may be an authoritative record of the Conference's contribution to social thinking.

The following criteria have been developed to guide the Committee in selection, and the speakers in preparation of manuscripts.

I. Content

Selected papers should:

-- have relevance to current or future concerns of social work. (On occasion it may be appropriate to say things that have historical significance primarily or that need to be said simply as a matter of record.)

--have contributive value either by adding new data or by making new and significant interpretations. (An occasional paper may be needed to restate an old problem, consideration or issue in the light of new developments.)

--have significance beyond any individual, agency or community situation. (Where based on an individual or local experiance, the paper should point up the larger implications.)

--have usefulness to the membership of the Conference. (Practical values in philosophical or conceptual contributions should be made explicit and the practical applications to social work in material from outside fields should be clearly indicated.)

II. Presentation

Papers should focus on the needs of the Conference membership, which consist of both a listening and a reading audience. Perhaps a single draft may not be suitable for both. That prepared for oral presentation may not do for publication. A draft submitted for consideration for publication should:

--be written in a form which will not require extensive editorial effort. (Follow the format of the most recent Social Welfare Forum.)

--be written in a style which will express ideas and information in simple, clear, accurate and interesting language. (Note suggestions in the pamphlet "Information for Speakers.")

The Editorial Committee solicits your help in making the Social Welfare Forum and the supplementary volumes of real value to the Conference membership.

4-64

GUIDES TO REVISION

Manuscripts for NCSW

These "Guides to Revision" have been designed to help you evaluate the manuscript you are planning to read at the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare. They will help you look at your material from the point of view of a critic of your own writing. Here are 20 questions that should help you do a better job of communicating your ideas through writing.

1. What was your purpose in writing your paper? Has your purpose changed?

2. To whom are you writing? Did you adjust your subject matter and your expression to him? Did you bring your material into the sphere of his interest?

3. How did you go about planning your writing? Did you outline it? Are there gaps you should fill? Have you thought, read, "researched" to fill in these gaps? Have you experimented to see what arrangement of your material would be most interesting to your reader and most effective in results?

4. Does the title appeal to the reader's personal interests? Does it refer to some timely topic? Is it euphoneous?

5. How many words in the title? Are all of these words necessary? If it is long, could you break it by using a subtitle? Is your title a word, a phrase, or a sentence? A question? A statement? An imperative? An exclamation? Does it suggest the subject of the article (Unmarried Mothers), or indicate a problem (Unmarried Mothers Lack Medical Care) or a solution (Good Services Help Prevent Black Markets in Babies)?

6. Does the beginning sentence appeal to the reader? What is the nature of this appeal? Is it the language of the ordinary man? Is it appropriate to the audience of the article?

7. What does the beginning (lead) paragraph include? Does it catch your reader's interest? Could you better it? How?

8. How do you handle your ideas? Do you have enough of them and are they in good order? Do you show your reader as well as tell him? Do you use examples? Illustrations? Statistics? Case stories?

9. How are the "facts" brought in? Are they interesting? Convincing? Are there any gaps?

10. How do you bring your reader along with you? Do you point out details he can observe? steps in a process? facts? reasons? comparisons? contrasts? anecdotes? case stories?

Prepared for the National Conference on Social Welfare by Dorothy E. Bradbury, Assistant Director of Division of Reports, Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

11. Are the sentences direct and effective? Can any dead wood be removed?

12. Are your words fresh and appealing? Or do you use "favorite expressions" over and over again? Are trite expressions used? Are many technical words used? Are these essential to the audience or are they dragged in? Are the words outside the technical vocabulary simple or difficult? Are familiar, short words used whenever possible?

13. Is there some venturing or experimenting in ways of expression, e.g.? Are words used figuratively in an effort to make writing more interesting, more exact, or more intense? Is repetition used effectively?

14. Do statements within paragraphs lead easily and smoothly from one to another? Can the reader pass from one idea to the next without losing the thread? Do sentences vary in length? In structure?

15. How is each of the paragraphs built? Can the main or key thought in each paragraph be summarized in one sentence? Is there continuity between them? Can you suggest better transitions in certain places? Do paragraphs vary in length? In structure? Do they all contribute to the theme? Could any of them be omitted?

16. Are human beings brought into the article? How? Do you find dialogue in this article? Fiction techniques? How many passages are there that move you? Why?

17. How does this article end? Does the conclusion leave your reader with the point you want him to carry away? With a question? A general statement of a truth? A projection into the future? A hope?

18. Does your article have a central idea or theme? Do you develop this theme through a series of logical steps? Does each idea contribute to the next and to advancing the theme?

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

Manuscript Data Sheet

Author's Name _____ Position _____

Correct Mailing Address: _____

_____

_____

_____

Title of Manuscript _____

Presentation

Time _____

Auspices _____

Length

Time _____

No. of Words _____

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON SOCIAL WELFARE

Information for Annual Forum Speakers

An invitation to speak at the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare is recognition of a contribution to social welfare. To assist you in making arrangements for your participation in the Annual Forum, the following suggestions and instructions have been prepared:

1. Information about the Annual Forum

If you have never participated in a program of the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare, you may be interested to know that it takes place each Spring and normally brings together from 5,000 to 7,000 persons for a period of nearly a week. Approximately 90% of those attending are career persons in social welfare and 10% are students, volunteers and others from allied fields. Individuals attending the Annual Forum come from all over the country and from some foreign countries. They operate at all levels (board members, administrators, practitioners, supervisors, teachers, etc.) and represent all the specialties within the field of social welfare.

2. Information about Program

Presumably each speaker has been given full details about the topic of his speech, when the meetings will take place, other speakers appearing on the same program, whether the speech is to be followed by discussion, etc. Questions about any of these points should be taken up immediately with the person who issued the original invitation.

3. Expenses

The National Board of the NCSW regrets the Conference is unable to pay fees or to reimburse speakers for their expenses. It wishes each speaker to know, however, that the Conference is most appreciative of the services of those who, by agreeing to speak, become associates in this cooperative venture to provide a dynamic educational forum for the social welfare field.

4. Hotel Reservations

If speakers wish hotel reservations they should write to the Conference office, 22 West Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215, for a reservation form.

5. Registration

All speakers are asked to register as soon as they arrive in the Annual Forum city. At that time they will receive a copy of the final program which will contain information concerning the location of the meetings. The Information Service located in the Registration area will be glad to answer any questions.

6. Time Allotment

Speakers are asked to observe the allotment of time given them. All the meetings are carefully planned in relation to the length of the meeting period, and if speakers take more time than that allotted, they cut into other parts of the program. As a guide to speakers, it is estimated that the number of words in a speech should be based on 110 words per minute; i.e. a talk of 30 minutes should not exceed 3300 words.

Presiding officers for meetings at the Annual Forum are instructed to warn speakers three minutes before as well as at the conclusion of their allotted time. The Program Committee feels this is the way to be fair to other program participants and to the audience.

7. Presentation of Speeches

Although all speakers are asked to prepare written manuscripts, speakers are under no obligation to follow exactly the texts they have written.

It is further suggested that speakers on programs calling for discussion couch their remarks appropriately to provoke questions from the audience.

8. Audio-Visual Aids

The Conference Committee on Audio-Visual Aids will be glad to try to assist speakers and other program participants who would like to use films or other aids in connection with their presentations at the Annual Forum. Persons wishing suggestions or assistance should write to the New York Office of NCSW. (See address on last page.)

9. Abstracts

Each speaker is asked to supply five copies of a 250-word abstract of his speech, properly identified, for use by the Conference. These abstracts should be submitted with copies of manuscripts (see item 11). They help secure wider publicity for your remarks.

10. Publication of Speeches

All speakers are asked to submit a manuscript to be considered for publication by the Editorial Committee. (See point 11 for instructions concerning this.) Publication and recordings of selected material presented at each Annual Forum help reach the large public which regards the statements made at the Annual Forum of the National Conference as an authoritative record of each year's advance in social thinking.

The National Conference regularly publishes "Social Welfare Forum," the Annual Forum Proceedings containing papers on basic social, economic and political issues, policies and trends – local, state, national and international, and a volume on social work practice, problems and trends. In addition, selected speeches may be recorded and reproduced on High Fidelity lp records.

Manuscripts and recordings become the property of the National Conference. Speakers will be informed as soon as possible after the Annual Forum as to whether their manuscripts have been selected for publication by the Conference. Papers not selected may, of course, be published elsewhere, with a footnote stating that the paper was originally presented at the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare.

The Conference reserves the right to condense or omit any manuscript in whole or in part. Manuscripts should

be submitted in final form for publishing. The edited version of a manuscript selected for publication will be sent to the author for approval before actual publication.

For a period of one year from the date of publication, the Conference reserves the right to withold permission to print elsewhere, those papers selected for its volumes.

11. Preparation of Manuscripts

Each speaker is requested to mail to the Executive Secretary of the Conference at the Columbus office, five copies of his speech three weeks prior to the opening of the Annual Forum, since the Editorial Committee begins reading the papers at that time. If circumstances make this impossible, speakers are urged to send the copies as soon as possible.

It is important in order to facilitate processing that all manuscripts submitted to the Conference be prepared in accordance with the following specifications:

1. If typed, manuscripts should be on opaque white paper of at least fair quality. The ribbon copy of manuscripts **must** be submitted, along with four clear carbon copies. Do not use tissue for original or carbons.

2. Duplicated copies of manuscripts (mimeographed or dittoed) are preferred to typed copies.

3. Use paper of 8½"x11". Text should be double-spaced 27 lines per page. Right and left margins must be 1" in width; quoted matter must have a left-hand margin of 1½". Use one side of paper only.

4. Footnotes should be double-spaced. Type footnotes separately at the end rather than at the bottom of pages of text.

5. When the above instructions are followed, the manuscript word count should run approximately:
   Elite type, 350 words per page
   Pica type, 290 words per page

12. Panel Members and Discussants

Panel participants and discussants are free to submit written manuscripts or not. In the past such statements have often been included in the Proceedings, particularly when they contained comments on a paper which was being printed.

Thank you for your cooperation.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON SOCIAL WELFARE
22 West Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215
and
345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017
August 1964

PRESS RELEASE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

From the office of
CONGRESSMAN DOMINICK V. DANIELS
CA. 4-3121, ext. 2765

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STUDY OF DESEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS GETS UNDERWAY

Washington, D.C., Feb. 15. -- Congressman Dominick Daniels (D-N.J.) today announced plans for public hearings on the status of desegregation of public schools and the expenditure of federal funds for education. Daniels is chairman of an 11-member ad hoc subcommittee established by Chairman Adam C. Powell of the House Education and Labor Committee to study integration in federally assisted education.

"We want to know if federal money is being spent for the benefit of all our children," Daniels said. "We expect to take a look at expenditures all over the nation for NDEA, library services, land grant activities, research and training grants and public health education. We will certainly take a good hard look at the school districts that get impacted areas money."

Daniels went on to say that the study has been sparked by the partial findings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. "While the subcommittee has no intention of duplicating studies already made," he added, "we will take advantage of all the available data to build our own findings, and work up the information that is missing."

The public hearings, according to Daniels, will open with Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff as first witness at 10:00 a.m. Tuesday, February 27, in Room 429 House Office Building. "We feel the subject matter is so important that we have invited the full Committee to attend the initial hearings," Daniels said.

Other members of the subcommittee are: Edith Green (D-Ore.), James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), Herbert Zelenko (D-N.Y.), John Dent (D-Pa.), Ralph J. Scott (D-N.C.), Charles Joelson (D-N.J.), Peter Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.), Robert Griffin (R-Mich.), Peter Garland (R-Me.), and John Ashbrook (R-Ohio).

Daniels announced that anyone wishing to testify should contact his office. Dates of additional hearings will be announced later.

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COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court Decision and Use of Federal Funds in Support of Education

When the U.S. Supreme Court first ruled in the school segregation cases on May 17, 1954, 17 Southern and border States, plus the District of Columbia, maintained complete segregation in elementary and secondary schools, except in some communities having only a few Negro children to educate from time to time. Four States outside the region -- Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico and Wyoming -- allowed varieties of local segregation contrary to law. Sixteen States had laws prohibiting segregation but not all enforced them. Eleven other Northern and Western States had no laws on the subject.

What has happened in America's public schools and colleges since that memorable date? Are the schools truly integrated? Have the States worked with all deliberate speed to achieve desegregation? Has the Federal Government continued to contribute funds to schools and colleges which have acted in violation of the laws of the land? Has there been equal protection of the law in elementary, secondary or higher education? Let us look at the record.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The 17 Southern States most affected by the Supreme Court ruling have 285 tax-supported institutions of higher learning, with 152 known to be desegregated, in practice or principle. Of the 234 public colleges with all-white or predominantly white enrollment, 137 will accept Negroes. Fifteen of the 51 all-Negro or predominantly Negro public colleges will accept whites. This is by State law which prohibits integration. In most cases where there is "desegregation" it is of the token order. For example in Florida, of the more than 26,000 students in the state universities for whites only five Negroes are enrolled,and no whites are enrolled in those institutions maintained for Negroes. Likewise in Georgia -- of the more than 34,000 students in the 15 white public colleges there are five Negro students, all of whom have gone through long legal suits in order to be admitted. Of the 37,000 students attending the three Negro institutions of higher learning supported from public funds in the State of Louisiana, not a single white student is in attendance. As in the elementary and secondary schools, the public colleges and universities of Mississippi and South Carolina remain completely segregated.

The segregation found in the student body of the public colleges and universities is reflected in the faculties. In seven states -- Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia -- the faculties remain entirely segregated. This in spite of the rapidly increasing numbers of highly trained Negroes.

As to the distribution of Federal funds, let us consider the allocations in seven states -- Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas. For language institutes under the National Defense Education Act, $325 thousand went to these States. Not one single Negro institution received any of these funds. Not one single Negro institution received funds under NDEA for counseling and guidance institutes. Eighteen million dollars was spent in 1960 for agricultural research and extension in these States. Not one cent went to a Negro land grant college. The Atomic Energy Commission did not make a single grant to a Negro institution in these States. The National Institutes of Health made one grant to a Negro institution. The National Science Foundation awarded 173 fellowships to students in these States. Two went to Negro students in Negro institutions.

In 1960 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recommended:

> That the Federal Government either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Three members of the Commission wrote an additional recommendation, that the action in which they concurred should be directed to the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education whether in publicly controlled or private institutions.

Last month Congresswoman Green introduced a bill, H.R. 9824, to amend the Act of August 30, 1890, to eliminate the provisions authorizing Federal land grant contributions for the maintenance of schools of higher education in which racial segregation is practiced.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

The impacted areas laws, that were extended last session for two years, provide financial assistance for maintenance and operation of schools and for the construction of school facilities where the local school districts are required to house the children of Federal employees. The rationale behind this assistance holds that, if Federal activities have increased school enrollments or taken property on which the local government could otherwise have collected taxes, the school districts affected are entitled to some Federal contribution. These laws cost us $312 million a year. The 17 Southern States affected by the Supreme Court decision contained, in 1961, 6,663 school districts, of which one-quarter (775) were desegregated. Ten percent (661) of the school districts in these 17 States get funds under impacted areas laws. These schools serve over 12 million children, over 3 million of whom are Negroes. Only seven percent (215,000) of these Negro children are in desegregated schools.

Consider the six States of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina, where no Negroes are enrolled in desegregated schools, and Louisiana and Florida where only one school district was desegregated in 1961.

These "hard core" States have shifted from statewide, massive resistance to local option and freedom of choice, fortified by tuition grants. Legislative enactments in these six States allow, variously, incorporation and operation of private schools; authorize the use of public funds to pay tuition grants for children to attend private nondenominational schools; authorize state income tax deductions for contributions to private schools; authorize pupil assignment plans with freedom of choice, giving assurance that no child will be required to go to school with a child of a different race except on a voluntary basis. Mississippi and South Carolina maintain a pattern of undisguised resistance in their 1960 legislative enactments, repealing any mandatory requirement for the State to maintain the public schools. These six States have collected $100 million for impacted area aid to 154 school districts.

The situation boils down to this -- that at the same time these States are exercising their powers to circumvent a federally protected right (the 14th Amendment to the Constitution) they are applying for Federal support for their public education systems.

In 1956 Congress enacted the Library Services Act providing matching grants to the States for the development of free public library services in rural areas. Rural areas were defined as communities having a population of 10,000 or less and the allotments were based on $40,000 to each State plus the ratio the State's rural population bears to the U.S. rural population. This formula heavily favored the Southern states because of their predominantly rural economies. In Alabama, where no Negro children go to school with whites, four new regional libraries were established. In Mississippi, where no Negro child goes to school with a white child, the State got the funds to hold a statewide conference on book selection.

The law requires the libraries to "serve free all residents of a community, district or region." Notwithstanding, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found through a survey in the fall of 1960 that practices in some of the libraries supported by the LSA clearly violate this requirement. Variously, they maintain separate racial facilities at the same location; they have reading facilities only for whites; county library boards are allowed to set their own racial policies; main reference services are for white only and Negroes are served at branches; some are open to Negroes only during the summer.

The 17 Southern States got $3.2 million in 1961 under this Act, as compared to $4.3 million to all the other States and territories. In other words, 34 percent of the States got 43 percent of the money available under LSA. The "hard core" six States mentioned above got close to $1.1 million for library services.

In addition, we need to know what the distribution of funds is under the area vocational education programs, the school lunch act, the various NDEA titles relating to elementary and secondary education, the Federal funds used to educate the children of military personnel stationed around the country who must go to off-base schools.

Congressman Joelson has introduced a bill, H.R. 9730, to provide for desegregation of public schools with all deliberate speed, including nationwide first-step compliance by 1963. Similar bills by Congressmen Celler, Cohelan, Zelenko, Goodell and Ryan have been introduced. Congressman Joelson also proposes to introduce legislation to withhold funds under the impacted areas laws from school districts that maintain racial segregation.

NOTE: Figures cited in this memorandum do not go beyond the school year ending June 1961.

SOURCES: 1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report, EDUCATION, Book 2
1960 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC LAWS 874 and 815, TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, June 30, 1960.

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HF - the talk I gave in Savannah, finally written out at their insistence

WD - Like all your considered utterances, this is first-rate. I'd like to send it to some people — college presidents on our board, a few philanthropists, etc. ~~If you~~ Maybe Lucius could use our mimeo'd copies — or if he's reproducing maybe we could pool our mimeo'ing efforts. If you're agreeable, arrange for 30 or so copies for my use, plus any copies you can use.

HCF

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JAMES ROOSEVELT, CALIF.
HERBERT ZELENKO, N.Y.
JOHN H. DENT, PA.
RALPH J. SCOTT, N.C.
CHARLES S. JOELSON, N.J.
PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., N.J.
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.
PETER A. GARLAND, MAINE
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, OHIO

Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

DEBORAH WOLFE
DIRECTOR
JAMES BRANIGAN
COUNSEL
429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 5257

PA
MJ - file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wish to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation, as well as that of the members and staff of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education, for your kindness in appearing in hearings conducted by the Subcommittee in its investigation of the progress of compliance by our schools with the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

filed in Personally

Our study has been concluded and we are enclosing a copy of the hearings and the report of the findings of the study for your information.

We feel that through the findings of this Subcommittee important steps now can be made in bringing about more rapid compliance with the Supreme Court decision. Moreover, we believe that the studies and hearings on this question will help our citizens to become more enlightened and better able to participate in the full process of integration of the schools.

Again, may I express my appreciation for your interest in helping in the resolution of this most important question.

Sincerely,

Dominick V. Daniels

DOMINICK V. DANIELS
Chairman

Enclosures (2)

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

STANDARDS FOR WITNESSES

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration

1. Testimony will be taken, as far as possible, on higher education first, with secondary education and elementary education to follow. Witnesses will be scheduled with this in mind, as far as practicable.

2. A written statement shall be submitted to the subcommittee in 75 copies, at least 20 of which should be mailed to reach the committee office the day before the witness appears, so that pertinent questions may be prepared.

3. The witness may have 10 to 15 minutes to make his oral presentation. He may either read from his prepared text or submit it for the record and request permission to use his allotted time to amplify his material or to present additional related material. Findings of any studies on which the witness may rest his testimony should be submitted in detail unless they are otherwise published.

4. The witness is available for questioning by Members after his presentation, confining his answers to the substance of the question asked, which will be based on the statement made.

5. The witness' time on the stand will be at the discretion of the subcommittee chairman.

See [illegible]

Cr. ref. data
Send Biog. photos.
+ indicate that
photo has been
sent to these
people

April 26, 1965

Mr. Irving Elligan
Board of Christian Education
Division of Christian Action
Presbyterian Church, U. S.
Presbyterian Building
8 North 6th Street, Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Elligan:

I am sorry to be so slow in sending you a photograph and biographical information on Mr. Dunbar; the only glossy print that we had was out of the office and had to be written for. It has just arrived, and I send it on to you in the hope that you will return it as soon as you have made whatever use of it you wish. Enclosed also is a short biographical data sheet.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN
Secretary

IRVIN ELLIGAN, JR.
Associate Secretary

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

MARSHALL C. DENDY, *Executive Secretary*

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DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN ACTION

Rec'd 4/1/65

March 31, 1965

Return ltr & will send today WY

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are in the process of preparing our advance publicity for the Covenant Life Conference, July 7-13, in which you have graciously consented to participate.

For the publicity we will need to have a brief biography and glossy print photo of you.

Your consideration in sending this information and photo as soon as possible will be appreciated.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely,

Irvin Elligan

Irvin Elligan, Director
Covenant Life Conference

pc

IE:pc

Biographical Data -- Leslie W. Dunbar

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Born in Lewisburg, West Virginia

Ph.D. in Political Science from Cornell University

Taught at Emory University 1948 - 1951

" at Mt. Holyoke College 1955-1959

" Part-time at Cornell University, Smith College, and Holyoke Junior College

Guggenheim Fellow 1954-1955

Worked for Atomic Energy Commission 1951-1954

Director of Research, Southern Regional Council, February 1959-61

Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, April 1961 to present

Has contributed articles to various journals and magazines

Married, and has two children.

Methodist

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

for

Leslie W. Dunbar - file
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Born: Lewisburg, W. Va., 1921

Married, two children

EDUCATION: Maryland State Teachers College, 1937-38
University of Maryland, 1938-41
Johns Hopkins University, 1941-42
Univ rsity of Maryland Law School, 1943-44
Cornell University - M.A., 1946
- Ph.D., 1948

Appointments

~~APPOINTMENTS:~~ New York State School Industrial and Labor Relations, Instructor in Extension Division, 1948

Instructor in Political Science, Emory University, 1948-49

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Emory University, 1949-51

U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1951-54
Guggenheim Fellow 1954-55
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Mt. Holyoke College, 1955-59 (Chairman of Department, 1956-57)

Lecturer in Government, Smith College, 1956-57

Lecturer in Political Science, Holyoke Junior College, 1958-59

Director of Research, Southern Regional Council, 1959-61

Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 1961 -

Guggenheim Fellow, 1954-55
Contributor to a number of journals and magazines

Writings
Articles

36 — file

Biographical Data -- Leslie W. Dunbar

Executive Director
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Guggenheim Fellow 1954-55

Worked for Atomic Energy Commission 1951-54

Director of Research, Southern Regional Council, February 1959-61

Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, April 1961 to present

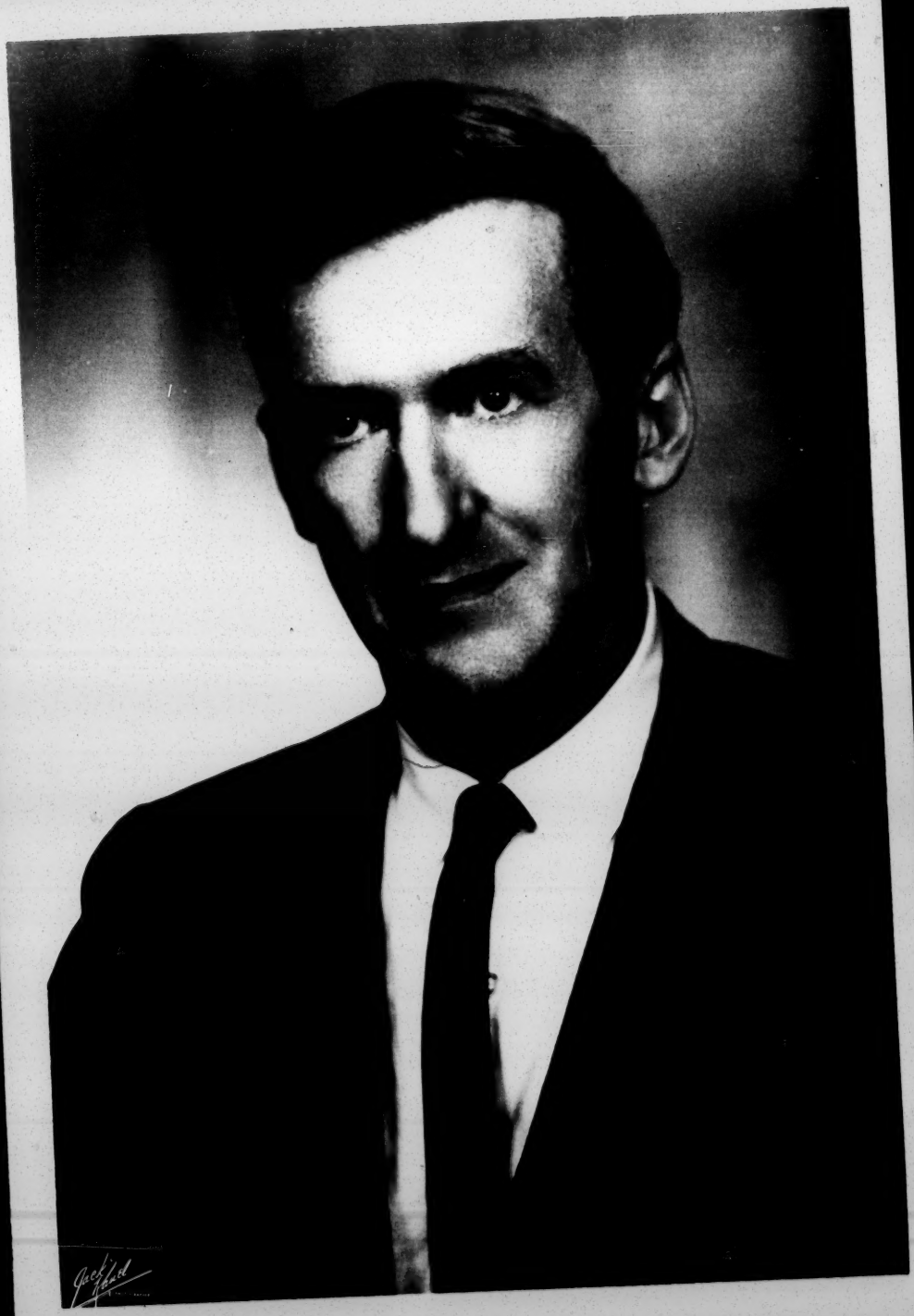
Has contributed articles to various journals and magazines a few of which follow:

The Journal of Politics
The Virginia Quarterly Review
The Negro Educational Review
Forum Magazine of London
Current History
America
University of Pittsburgh Law Review
Virginia Law Review

Member: NAIRO (National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials)
ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union)
National Council of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation
Board of Directors, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor

Married, and has two children

Methodist



File
Lived Speeches. I think this is of
(Janet folder of these speeches)

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE*

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

I do not need to tell an assembly of college students that the question of whether disobedience to law is ever allowable is an old issue in our civilization's political and intellectual history. You have encountered it in the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and their refusal to bow down before King Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol. You have met it again in Sophocles's great play, Antigone. You have, I trust, read and pondered the Crito, and sat beside Socrates as he debated whether an Athenian citizen could rightfully escape from the commands of his city. You have found the controversy in the heat of the politics and political theory of the late Middle Ages and of the Reformation period as well, when momentous problems of church-state relationships and religious toleration shook our Western culture. You have seen the question posed anew by Abolitionists in this country prior to the Civil War, and given literary definition by Thoreau. You have come across it once more in the history of Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance against British rule in India. You have seen its shadow lie across the present day church-state conflicts in the Communist satellite countries. In short, whenever political power and moral values have crossed, and have found each other unyielding, the question of civil disobedience has come to the forefront. When it becomes hard for men to know how to obey the Biblical order--Render unto Ceasar the things that are Ceasar's, and unto God the things that are God's--, when men come to think that they cannot obey God without disobeying Ceasar, then they must re-examine their loyalty to the state.

It was inevitable that Negro Americans' fight for civil rights should, sooner or later, embroil them in the old dilemma. As long as Negroes fought through the courts or through the halls

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* Convocation address at Earlham College, February 7, 1961

of legislatures, obedience to law was not questioned. When, in the Winter of 1960, the sit-in movement began, there quickly emerged the ancient issue, the right of an individual to disobey the law. Negro youth have knowingly and openly violated trespass and other laws, and have persisted in their violation; they have been convicted and have gone to jail. They have done this deliberately, because they believed the law to be unworthy.

The intellectual and spiritual mentor of these students has been, more than any other living person, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King has written:

> We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, we will try to persuade with out acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.
>
> The way of nonviolence means a willingness to suffer and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. If such is the case the resister must be willing to fill the jail houses of the South. It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive.[1]

Dr. King has recognized that Civil disobedience will cause community discord, but he believes that as long as those who disobey do so non-violently that there will be built-in controls which will prevent mutual destruction.[2] He has derived the right to resist and to disobey from what he usually speaks of as the moral law of the universe. "I say obey the law when the law is right, when the law is just and when the law is in line with the moral law of the universe. When conscience tells someone

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1. M. L. King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (Harper & Bros.: N.Y.), 1958, p. 216. For an enlargement of this idea that civil disobedience is a form of persuasion, see the address by Harris Wofford, "Civil Disobedience," reproduced in mimeograph form by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.
2. M. L. King, Jr., "The Burning Truth in the South," The Progressive, May, 1960.

that a law is unjust, then I think a righteous man has no alternative but to conscientiously disobey that law. ...The individual who disobeys the law in a loving spirit and accepts the consequences is dignifying the law."[3]

I believe no feeling person can fail in sympathy and admiration for the pluck and the vitality of these ideals, as they have been carried into practice by thousands of Negro (joined by a few white) students engaged in sit-ins or other protests. Dr. King has exposed himself to the law's punishment, as have other Negro adults in various southern places. This magnificent surge of the human spirit, thrusting outward for liberty, has attracted interest and respect throughout the world. But to applaud the students has meant giving approval to their frequent practice of civil disobedience. We are a civilization too jealous of its dignity, too much aware of how necessary is respect for law, to give this approval lightly.

That approval has been granted, however, and by a number of altogether staid organizations. Student associations also have, as one would expect and hope, been quick to support the sit-in movement. Several of these have discussed and passed resolutions regarding the propriety of disobedience. I talk to you, therefore, about a subject to which American students have already addressed themselves.

Among the organizations which have recently taken stands is the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., meeting last May at Cleveland in its 172nd General Assembly. The Presbyterians, as a body of believers whose faith was nurtured in controversies over the rights of conscience, acted appropriately. The resolution which they passed is thoughtful and complete; it raises most of the questions, and gives us a basis for thinking about them. It seemed to me, therefore, that one way of approaching this subject

3. M. L. King, Jr., quoted by Claude Sitton, "Dr. King, Symbol of the Segregation Struggle," New York Times Magazine, January 22, 1961.

would be by reading this resolution and commenting on it as I do so.

The resolution begins this way:

> Acknowledging that Christians have historically upheld the just authority of the state as being constituted by God for His own glory and the public good so long as the state has not commanded anything contrary to the law of God;

Here we have stated what I would assume is the orthodox Christian view: the state and its authority are ordained by God. There have been many references lately to Thoreau, and the thought seems to be that he is the intellectual father or grandfather of the idea of civil disobedience. I think this is questionable. On the whole, Thoreau regarded the state as a great nuisance, perhaps needful but certainly of no positive benefit. When he taught civil disobedience, he was simply exhorting his compatriots to refuse to tolerate the state when it became unbearably obnoxious. He had none of the profound respect for the state which is evidenced in the Presbyterians' statement. And yet the fact is that civil disobedience has, throughout Western history, been far oftener advocated and practiced by persons wedded to their view, than by those who, like Thoreau, have been contemptuous of the state. Moreover, Thoreau was neither a teacher of nor a believer in non-violence, and this makes it all the harder to understand why he has been adopted as a sort of patron of the sit-in movement.

We can note, therefore, that civil disobedience has historically been taught by the churches, which at the same time have taught that the state is an expression of God's will. I will not go so far as to agree that the state is divinely established. I do agree, however, that the state and the community of men and women and institutions which it represents is a great good for all of us. By keeping us together, by educating us and enabling us to find fields of growth and service, the state is the means whereby we can become civilized persons. You will remember Socrates's final decision: he owed a debt to Athens which he must pay. I think, and I would say to you, that we ought to be mindful as he

was of the goodness inherent in the state, and that we ought to be as reluctant as he to set an example to others of disobeying its laws.

The resolution of the Presbyterians goes on:

> Affirming that some laws and customs requiring racial discrimination are, in our judgment, such serious violations of the law of God as to justify peaceful and orderly disobedience or disregard of these laws;

I must confess that I don't know what this means. Are there some violations of the law of God which are serious enough to justify violent disobedience? Is racial discrimination a lesser sort of immorality, against which only peaceful resistance is allowable? Or does the statement imply that peaceful disobedience is the only kind ever permissible, whatever the wrong may be? These are not mere quibbles, for they suggest some of the real--and unresolved--ideological questions of the sit-in movement. Always, Dr. King and some others have insisted that non-violence is more than a technique, more than a method of combatting a specific evil. "Non-violence is not," said the National Student Conference last April, "just a lack of violence but the requirement that one respect the dignity of all men and stand up for that dignity within himself. It is a movement of human beings against injustice." One theology student, writing in the Student Voice,[4] has said the sit-in movement will not be true to itself unless the participants see that they have a responsibility for all exploited and all exploiters everywhere. Not even the most practical minded of men disputes the importance which the sit-ins have already attained. If the movement does spread the philosophy of non-violence as a way of life, it will indeed have been a giant among social movements. On the other hand, there have been those who have said that non-violence is simply the most useful weapon for this particular fight and some have advocated the slogan "Jail, Not Bail" because jail is costly to the state, and bail (or fines)

4. Brewster Kneen, "Nonviolence and Vision," Student Voice, October 1960.

would be costly to the students. I mention this because it is worth remembering that the sit-in movement is made up both of persons who may disobey the law because they refuse to cooperate with what they regard as evil in any form; and of others who may disobey because they are fighting one particular battle, that against racial injustice.

But to return to the Presbyterian resolution:

> Believing that current student demonstrations against racial segregation, while in some cases conflicting with local laws or customs, seem to be consistent with our Christian heritage, the Federal Constitution, and the moral consensus of our nation;

I think this indicates the basic practical problem. Does approval extend to disobedience of the federal Constitution, or doesn't it? Suppose the legality of the trespass laws which inhibit and punish sit-ins is upheld by the Supreme Court? Will the students still disobey those laws, and will their actions be approved? Dr. King was asked this question on a recent television program, and replied that the situation would be the same: that whatever the Supreme Court said, the moral law of the universe would have to be followed. But this raises the question of the right of segregationists to resist the Supreme Court's ruling that segregated public schools are discriminatory and unconstitutional. For nearly seven long years, we have called on the southern states to comply with the law, to bow to the Constitution. Should not the same obligation be urged on the Negro students?

These are, of course, hypothetical questions; the Supreme Court has not ruled, and when it does may decide in favor of the students' right to sit-in and otherwise demonstrate. Nevertheless, the questions are important because they inquire about the seriousness of the motives and the language of the leaders and participants of the movement. The Presbyterians happily find that Christianity, the Constitution, and the moral consensus of the nation are all in agreement. I think this is what most of us, in our present society, like to assume. Are we really prepared for the possibility that Christianity and the Constitution, as

interpreted by the Courts, may be on opposite sides; or, beyond that, that Christianity rightly understood may not be the same as the moral consensus of the nation? Let me remind you that some have faced these questions. Some years ago, for example, the Supreme Court said that religious instruction during the school day, and on the property of the public school, was unconstitutional. Yet such instruction continues to be given (most widely, I understand, in the mid-West); evidently there are many persons who think the Court has violated the moral consensus of the nation, and choose therefore to disobey it.

Now, of course, neither of the comparisons I have made--the resistance of southern statesor the continued offering of religious instruction--exactly fits the case of the Negro demonstrators. Indeed, they differ greatly. The southern resistance has been under the umbrella of state power, and has resembled rebellion--or, at least, organized defiance--more than civil disobedience. The school boards who violate the Constitutional barriers between church and state do so, probably invariably, with community acquiescence. The conduct of the Negroes, on the other hand, is characterized by other qualities. They act openly, with no attempt at concealment. They accept the consequences, by peacefully submitting to arrest. They act in dissent from the prevailing opinion, official and lay, of their localities.

And yet what these differences amount to is only this, that they put the case of civil disobedieance on its true grounds. If, in other words, the question be raised as to the possible propriety of Senator Byrd's or Governor Patterson's resistance, one never has to meet the philosophical problem of civil disobedience. Theirs is too cheap a performance, and is exposed for what it is without need to consider the honorable issue of positive law vs. higher loyalties.

But, nevertheless, the students cannot rely on their honesty and dignity alone. If disobedience is <u>never</u> permissible, as some have followed Hobbes[5] in thinking, then it makes no difference

5. Hobbes did allow the right of disobedience in one situation, viz., when to obey would endanger one's own life.

how manly is the act. Nor does it, if the argument against disobedience is the widely held belief that it is illegitimate in a political order such as ours, where political and judicial means exist to work for the change of laws. The case for civil disobedience has to be an ethical one. Because of this, those who choose to believe in it must act ethically and openly; i.e., must conduct themselves as the segregation fighters have. But wrong ends can never be justified by attractive means; nor can differences in means wholly distinguish actions whose ends are similar. The basic issue raised by civil disobedience is the effect which it has on men's always tenuous commitment to the rule of law; and on their habit of trust in other men's intentions, which is the only alternative to a police state.

There is another argument advanced against the Negroes' actions which goes this way: "When one is in opposition to the whole political order of which he is a part, then civil disobedience is justified as a tactic. When, on the other hand, a person is in basic assent with his political order, then it is unconscionable for him to pick and choose what he will and will not obey." The immediate rebuttal is that, under the complications of the American federal system, southern Negroes can be at the same time loyal to the national system without acknowledging allegiance to their states, and that it is the laws of the latter which they resist. I believe this is a valid contention. Federalism makes the states, in some particulars, our legal masters, and thus requires of us loyalties to them as well as to Washington. Assuming that civil disobedience is sometimes justified, there is no reason why it is not against a federal unit, in areas where it and not the national government is in control.

On the other hand, what if--to return to the question--the Supreme Court may affirm the Constitutionality of the trespass laws? I am hopeful that enough momentum toward desegregation now exists so that the movement will not be slowed by such a ruling. But if the issue does arise, and the laws of declared Constitutionality are regularly disobeyed, then I believe the Negro spokesmen will have to do more to reassure the country than to invoke simply

the "moral law of the universe." They shall need, I think, to explain carefully to their countrymen how their position is essentially akin to that of the conscientious objector, which the morality of the country has traditionally respected. The conscientious objector refuses personally to obey a legal summons; he does not interfere with or hinder other people, nor does he precipitate the law's wrath. Those who combat segregation must explain to the country that in this area conscience may sometimes require doing, as well as refusal to do.

After these statements of belief, the Presbyterians' resolution concludes:

> The 172nd General Assembly ...
>
> Assures students of our common cause with those who for the sake of conscience participate in such responsible non-violent demonstrations;
>
> Urges them to continue to recognize the dangers to the civil order enherent in conflict with established authority.

This is, I think, the sum of the matter. Here is the age-old Christian tension between loyalty to God and loyalty to the social order. Nothing more need have been said. Nor is it only a Christian tension, for it was present in Western civilization before the Gospels.

The idea of civil disobedience was born when men began to feel that they possessed and were possessed by souls to which they had to be true. From this realization came the theory which we call natural law, and came also the idea of the free, responsible individual and his natural rights. This has brought its hardships as well as its glories, its pains and burdens as well as its satisfactions. For if the old idea of the free, responsible individual means anything, it means this: that each of us, every day, when confronted by the commands of the law, asks "will I" or "won't I" obey. It is a daily plebiscite. This is an awful weight, a crushing responsibility if we take it seriously. And we have seen men flee from that responsibility, seekescape from that freedom, yearn desperately to give it up, and to find security in the comfortable, protective embrace of a social and political order

which fashions all one's values.

Nor is there any aid for the individual. There are no doctrines which justify civil disobedience. If there were, we would have a contradiction in terms. For the responsibility is solely the individual's, and the only authority to which he can turn is his own conscience. It is he[6] who must decide that his conscience directs so clearly and forcefully that he can presume to speak for God before other men. You have all heard a minister say that he had received "the call." Even though "the call" may seem, to some of us, to have reached occasionally an unlikely pair of ears, there is still a deep wisdom behind the conviction that only a man called--chosen--by God is entitled to speak His words to other men. And with the same seriousness, those who violate man made law in order to obey conscience have the responsibility, first, to understand what a weighty responsibility it is to appear as God's interpreter and, second, to see clearly that they are constrained to act.

I cannot, therefore, justify the acts of southern students in disobeying the law, for I think no man can. I think no man can, for even to attempt to do so is an invasion of the autonomy of the individual, who himself has the choice to make. It is he who must undergo the tension, weighing in the scales the legitimate claims of the social order and the directives of his own conscience. All that another can do is give material aid and comradely comfort.

I read recently a poem, brief and anonymous, which I would like to speak to you:

For no man escapes
    When freedom fails,
The best of men rot
    In filthy jails;
And they who cried
    "Appease, Appease"
Are hanged by men
    They tried to please.

---

6. For suggesting this thought, I am indebted to my friend John Yungblut, director of Quaker House, Atlanta.

This much one man can say to another. If he cannot advise him when to obey and when not to obey the law, if he cannot even endorse his decision when it is acted on, he can at least say to him this: The civilization that we have and enjoy and boast of, with its freedom, its gentleness, its richness of knowledge, rests on the shoulders of an amazingly few individuals who, in their time, saw what there was to do and chose to do it. That when freedom fails, no man does escape. That those of us who live today in freedom do so because some men--some few men--have interposed their lives and their security for the rest of us, and have been the atonement of humanity.

Finally, I would like to tell you that I came across the little poem which I recited a few minutes ago in the monthly newspaper of the Citizens Council,[7] which some of you I am sure know of as the organization of white southerners dedicated to fight against racial equality. In reading it to you, I meant to be neither cute nor critical. I like what the poem says, even if my adversary writes it. Indeed, I like it all the better on that account. We ought never to forget that political controversies take place among human beings--on both sides. I think we need to do more than love the souls of our enemies. This is not so hard. More difficult is it to respect our enemies, and yet that is what we need to do. I believe with Camus that we are not free to judge. We need to accept our brothers, even though to do so is harder than to love them, or to be their keepers. We need to try to stand in their shoes for a few moments, and to see through their eyes. We need to accept their right to be what they are. If a man resists what other men want, if he even go so far as to disobey their laws, he will weaken the human community if he does it in the spirit of judgment. He ought not to say, "I act, I disobey because my brothers are wrong to command as they do;" he ought rather to say, in the spirit of Martin Luther, "I disobey because I--this I which possesses me and directs me--cannot do otherwise. God help me."

---

7. Citizens Council, September 1960

And when he has taken this step, he will, with, as a hallowed text puts it, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, be zealous to re-assure his fellow countrymen of his cause and his motives.

The sit-in participants are not the only ones today who practice civil disobedience. There are people who on principle refuse to answer some questions of the census takers; biology instructors in Tennessee who teach the theories of evolution despite state law; Amish folk and some other sectarians who refuse in various states to observe compulsory school attendance laws; a gentleman in Tacoma who disbelieves in parking meters and after 23 arrests and 34 days in jails continues to withhold his nickel. Moreover, there are visible the first signs of what may become a new, prevalent mood of disobedience. For, besides the sit-ins, we see here and abroad people--brave people--violating the law by sailing into a nuclear weapons test area, by hindering the construction of new submarines, and by other means. These are small pin pricks on the back of Leviathan. But they are expressive of the horror shared by many throughout the world over the radical immorality of our political situation. Power, like fire, is a good and necessary servant but a dangerous master. But national power, which ought to be the servant of our societies, has become that to which everything must be subordinated. The nations sacrifice all, if need be, to make their power great. This is mad; this is stupid; this is degrading of humanity. To some extent, this lust of power has always dominated. But today the game is more serious, and the absurdity of the probable outcome more apparent. And so a few have attempted to persuade us of this absurdity by sailing into forbidden seas, or by interfering with armaments construction. Their civil disobedience has been interposed between us and our folly; they are gadflies for our times, as Socrates was for his. Perhaps in years to come, men may look back on them, and on the sit-in demonstrators of the South, as ones among those lonely few whose shoulders have held up the freedom of all of us. And thus, while I have sought to warn you against presumption, I end by reminding you that the line is thin and shadowy between, on the one hand, presumption and moral conceit, and, on the other, courage and moral leadership.

Set up file on Leslie Dunbar

Home JE 3-6365

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Jefferson 8-8211

Sunday,
3-16-58

Dear Harold,

You must have enclosed your flu germ with the letter: not a reproach, but an apology for my delay in responding.

Your note fired my interest, & I am real curious to know what you may have in mind. As to your question: first, I could be available nearly the entire summer, & could probably undertake an assignment with some carry-over. Second, I don't want to seem coy, but I honestly don't know what to say about pay, especially without much notion of the work involved. I am pretty sure, however, that what you thought fair would be agreeable with me. Third, I can think of two possible developments that might make me require a definite understanding by, say, about April 15. But apart from this consideration, I am in no

hurry.

Give my best to Emory. I am probably going to be in Washington for a few days during spring vacation; I have been thinking that, as long as I would be ~~that~~ far south, I'd go on down to Aiken. & if to Aiken, I may as well go across to Atlanta. And if this isn't a pipe-dream, I may drop in on you.

Best wishes,

Frank

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

Yes is a possibility for materials development, selection and, among academics, distribution in connection with Hopkins request.

E.F.V.

3/5/56

Rcd 2/13/58

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Ans 3/5/58 HCB

February 11, 1958

Dear Harold,

I see that you are putting a good part of your effort now as always to special reports, & when some time ago I asked George McMillan what he knew of your plans he suggested that, for all he knew, you might need some help. Since being up here I have been asked from time to time to interpret southern development: I have done this for campus clubs & for the regional ACLU, & wrote an article for America in January 1957. One of the few things, however, which I believe I did learn in my seven years in the South was a trustworthy suspicion of what is said about the South by those who are not of the South. Hence, I have shut my mouth.

Which in a way is not good, because up here any little shred of information & knowledge is rare. Which brings me to my inquiry, of whether you may have not-too-ambitious research & writing plans that I might be of some use to you on this business, & which

would be of use to me also in my present location in the sense of re-charging my batteries. This is a very nebulous solicitation, but if you can make anything of it I would be glad to hear from you. There is a slight possibility I may be down your way in the Spring, & if so could look in on you.

Is Emory Fox now with you? I have heard conflicting stories. If so, please give him my best. Ralph Powell was up last Fall for a few days, in the midst of planning his next move.

Sincerely yours,

Frederic Lamber

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 18, 1958

Dear Harold,

The whole prospect is just plain exciting. As I understand, the Council wants to assemble, systematically, facts, materials & arguments directed at the self-interest of southern elites.

I'll write more, or at least again, when Peggy & I can get our plans clarified. But probably the family will not be with me - not, at any rate, unless you know of a house with its own lake or swimming pool. The kids would probably be happier staying here with familiar haunts and friends.

Give our best to Emory, with best wishes

Sincerely yours,

Polie

Enclosures: Pages 4, 5, and 6 of Rockefeller Bros. Fund Request - 12/13/57

Spoots Segregation article - Wall St. Journal 3/18/58

Wall St. Journal article - 12/17/57 "Segregation Costs..."

Wall St. Journal article - 2/14/58 "Religion & Race..."

April 23, 1958

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Department of Political Science
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Les:

I am very glad that you are going to be with us this summer.

Your summary of what we are after is exactly right. In order to amplify what I said on the phone, I am enclosing an excerpt from a foundation request and copies of several Wall Street Journal stories in which we assisted. I am sending the latter because they represent the kind of approach to vested self interests that we are thinking about.

If I can find any suitable recreational spot for you to house your family, you can be sure I will let you know. That is, if I don't snatch it up myself.

Do let us hear from you if there is any advance arranging within our power that we can do for you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL

May 23, 1958

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Les:

I was glad to get your letter letting us know you expect to reach Atlanta on June 2nd or 3rd.

Paul Anthony, of our staff, has talked with Donald R. Moore, Supervisor of Housing at Emory about the possibility of your occupying a faculty efficiency for the summer. While the school has a policy of renting only to people connected with it, Moore was very encouraged. In fact, he all but assured Paul that they could take care of you. However, Moore would like for you to write him directly requesting the efficiency and giving him your approximate arrival and departure dates. In writing him, note that there is no longer an Emory University post office; it is now changed to Atlanta 22, Georgia.

Since you gave this arrangement as your preference and since Moore sounded so sure that it would be worked out, we will assume that this one is solved unless some unexpected hitch should develop.

I am looking forward to having you with us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

HCE:

Talked with Mr. Moore, Supervisor of Housing at Emory. School has a policy of renting only to people connected with the school. However, xxxxxx rule is occasionally broken and supervisor feels it can be in this instance. Several faculty efficiencies are available June through August and Moore will attempt to arrange one for Dunbar. Moore requests that Dunbar write him, requesting efficiency and stating approximate arrival and departure dates. Dunbar should write:

Mr. Donald R. Moore
Supervisor of Housing
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia**

**Note: no longer an Emory Univ., Ga. P.O. has been made a branch office of Atlanta system.

DR3-1621

Rcd 5/19/58

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Mr. Harold R. Moore
Supv. of Housing -
Emory Univ. - Atl. 22, Ga.

May 17, 1958

Dear Harold,

After a preliminary check with the railroad, I expect now to reach Atlanta the morning of June 2; I may, however, have to stay here another day & not arrive until June 3.

A first problem will be to find shelter. I don't want to put you all to trouble, but if anything comes across your gaze please snatch it. Two possibilities occur to me. One, of course, a room. My standards are low, & the only non-essential which I would demand is a writing table. The closer to down-town the better, inexpensiveness valued more highly than attractiveness. The other possibility that I remember as existing is the sub-letting of one of the efficiency apartments Emory has for its faculty & graduate students. (which I might prefer)

Thank you for the memoranda etc. I hope to have them fully digested by the time I get down.

Best wishes

Pete

6-24-58

The Rockefeller Brothers grant enables the Council to undertake new or more ambitious activities intended to influence the course of race relations in the present critical confluence of forces. The concept of the grant and the program it is to support has been variously expressed as:

-operation law and order
-reaching the uncommitted
-influencing the decision-makers

A more clear concept of what is (or can be) done, as well as a more fertile approach to the selection of tactics, might result from a consideration of some pertinent questions, and the statements which follow, although without question marks, are meant to suggest the questions which might be discussed.

1. The Council should not regard itself as, or attempt to be, an agency contributing to change, helping to initiate and produce it. It has the more modest role of endeavoring to direct and facilitate change produced by other forces.

2. If southern liberals or "moderates" were politically articulate and active, the Council and similar agencies would still have a function. But certainly the function is different when liberals are dumb and inactive. I suspect that the Council tends to act as if liberals were alive, and that it thereby scatters its seed where the sun does not shine, or in another metaphor, that it is trying to hold up a house that a tornado has already nearly flattened.

3. But the Council can do little to fill the political vacuum. It seems to me therefore that its usefulness requires that it carefully, and maybe coldly, decide what are the decisive elements in the present vortex, and concentrate its efforts toward influencing them.

4. I think the dynamic factors are principally the following:
   a. emergence of effective Negro leadership
   b. authority of the federal courts
   c. the southern Negro's new image of himself
   d. national prosperity, which has carried the Negro with it
   e. increasingly close economic integration of South with rest of the country
   f. changed conditions in national politics; a result is that southern politicians are somewhat more sensitive to outside public opinion, or else are confronted by the prospect of radical political decisions which the old and long relied on skills and parliamentary experience can not longer evade
   g. a bolder southern clergy

5. Perhaps I have omitted some factors of importance or wrongly conceived others. The important thing is, I believe, that we do this sort of basic definition, and that we then consider what, if anything, the Council can do about each. Here, for example, are some suggestions.

6. Emergence of effective Negro leadership. Clearly, and I should think obviously, the mainspring, the efficient cause, of change. I hold it as axiomatic that everyone, and especially leaders, require criticism. Does the NAACP get it, and from where? (Not from the white South; denunciation and opposition are not the same as criticism). Would this be a function which the Council could perform? To observe steadily and as closely as possible NAACP

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

strategy and methods, and when and if it thinks criticism is needed to give it, quietly and privately.

7. Authority of federal courts. The Council can probably do little to augment or diminish it. But judges read, and are influenced (see Brown v. Topeka) by the prevailing climate of opinion. I think the Council ought to multiply its spawn of facts and authoritative analyses, directed principally at immediate problems. For example, in the wake of Judge Lemley's decision, I am reasonably sure that a sober two or three page analysis of "re-segregation", put out in the name of the Council as a press release, would get used, in full or in part, both in the North and South; I am also convinced that appellate judges need this sort of service, to keep up their confidence, and to give them the "feel" of southern situations. In the same way, the Council might anticipate legal cases. e. g., I would suppose that there is at least some likelihood that the " free choice" plan may come under attack. What is the Council's opinion of it(not, of course, as to its legality but as to its wisdom in race relations)? Why shouldn't the Council either have that opinion out, or have out the facts etc. on which others could base an informed opinion?

8. The southern Negro's new image of himself. I think the Council should deliberately do what it can to enhance it; e. g., to look for and publicize, in the most expedient channels and form, Negro accomplishments and leaders.

9. National prosperity. Here, of course, the Council is irrelevant

10. Increasingly close economic integration of South with rest of country. What this means is that the South can not again choose isolation from the nation in order to defend its own values. As a part of an industrial economy its prosperity will require, as does that of any industrial society, a highly productive workforce, an adequate supply of technological skills, a high and diffuse purchasing power, and a social atmosphere conducive to single-minded economic development. I assume two things: (a) that industrial and financial leaders know the facts as well as we could possibly know them; (b) that although those of them who are southern probably would prefer continued segregation, and those of them who are northern are probably indifferent, that nevertheless what they desire most of all is an end to the "disturbance." In the present tense South, industrial and financial leaders are hardly free to act or not, at any rate, to act decisively. I think the contribution the Council can make is not through working on them directly, but rather by attempting to get the race issue discussed throughout the region on a rational level, doing what it can to solve the "besetting problem," as Ashmore has called it, of reducing the issue to rational terms. Whatever techniques or media, the end should be to get open, public and calm discussion of the self-interest of all southerners, and thereby to put the issue on that level of debate.

11. Changed conditions in national politics. If I am right, that southern politicians are increasingly sensitive to northern public opinion, then doing what the Council can to inform northern opinion - accurately, factually - is a means of influencing the South. More of the sort of activity which led to the Terrell County story; but, even more important, reports on "situations" rather than "events".

12. A bolder southern clergy. I think the Council should set about to hold the preachers' hands, to give them the constant feeling that they have support for their professions of conscience. Maybe, e. g., put as many as the Council can afford on the free mailing list of NEW SOUTH.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

13. I have listed six areas of decision making which the Council could try to influence. Its approach should vary with the area. The techniques would have to be chosen and developed with professional skill. The Negro leadership; the federal judiciary; the southern Negroes generally; the industrial and financial managers - North and South; northern public opinion; and southern clergymen - these seem to me to be the decision makers.

14. In addition to influence, the Rockerfeller Brothers grant envisages service - to school superintendents and police departments primarily. I should think that this could be a field for close partnership between the Council and the state human relations' groups. The chief responsibility for setting the stage could rest with the state group; the provision of the requested technical consultation could be the responsibility of the Council.

15. From an organisational point of view, I should suppose that the sort of tasks proposed in paragraphs 6, 8, 12, 14 might be absorbed into already existing activities and staff. Those proposed in paragraphs 7, 10,11 could well be the field of the new staff member.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM July 15, 1958

TO: Harold C. Fleming

FROM: Leslie Dunbar

:

I have realized, especially since our conversations of the past couple of days, that I should offer some more clear recommendations as to what you may do with the materials I have now deposited with you.

First, I would like criticism on the scheme of it, and suggestions for strengthening it.

Secondly, I think its usefulness will be transient unless it is made the starter of a continuing research operation. The RBF program will need, during its three or more years, the support of continuous analysis, such as I have attempted. Organizationally, I don't know how you do this: how much Marge could contribute to it on top of her present work, is hard to say.

Thirdly, I think it can be used as a basis for a series of short studies. Whether these be backed by panels, or whether they have individual authors, certain things would be necessary: (1) designation of a general editor or panel director; (2) selection of topics; (3) distribution of studies. As to (1), you or John or the RBF appointee would be obvious choices, or you could go outside the staff; (2) I can see six or seven topics for studies within the scheme I have presented: from my 9 themes - nos. 1, 2, 3, could be combined into a single

study; nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, could be each a separate study; and nos. 4 and 6 could be separate studies or combined; (3) as to distribution, I think it is probably premature to be specific, though in general we ought to aim at coverage of the most influential media and organizations. While recognizing the merits of panel reports, I believe the idea of individually written pamphlets has some alternative advantages which can be considered: (1) avoids the organizational problem of bringing together panels (though of course there is somethin g achieved by doing so, perhaps); (2) obviates the problem of digging up businessmen or economists for the Council's Board; (3) is quicker; (4) may result in better studies.

Notes on hearings of the
House Un-American Activities Committee
Atlanta 7/29-7/31/58

July 29 - present: Reps Walters (presiding), Willis, Tuck, Jackson

A.M.

Opening statement by Rep. Walters - communist activity in the South is indirected from metropolitan centers of North.

Statement of welcome from Gov. Griffin, in person.

Witnesses

1. ARMANDO PENHA - undercover FBI agent within Party 1950-58. Resident now of New Bedford, Massachusetts. Described a trip to North and South Carolina in 1955 on organizational business. Described process of "colonizing" and named a number of "colonizers," including practically all subsequent witnesses. Names FANNY LICHT of New York as C. P. chief for South.

2. EUGENE FELDMAN - resident of Chicago, editor of Southern News-Letter. 5th Amend.

P.M.

Witnesses

1. IRVING FISHMAN - Customs Inspector from New York. Described quantity of mail received from Communist centers abroad. Named Georgia schools receiving it. (unsolicited)

2. PERRY CARTWRIGHT - southerner, native South Carolinian, now resident of Chicago, business manager of Southern Newsletter. Refused to discuss other people; answered questions about himself - no 5th.

3. CLARA (MRS. MITCHELL) SABA - office worker, Virginian and resident of Roanoke. Maiden name - Clara HUTCHERSON. Former FTA organizer. 5th Amend.

4. MITCHELL SABA - New Yorker, now resident Roanoke, unemployed. 5th Amend.

5. DON WEST - excused because of wife's health.

6. JOHN E. HESTER - Chicago student, resident of Georgia 1956-57. 5th Amend.

July 30 - present: Reps. Willis (presiding), Tuck, Jackson. (Tuck left during testimony of O'Dell)

A.M.

Witnesses

1. CARL BRADEN - field worker SCEF. Answered questions except those dealing with political opinion and associations: refused on grounds of 1st Amend, pertinence, vagueness of mandate. Charged repeatedly Comm. was after "integrationists."

2. FRANK WILKINSON - resident of Los Angeles, official of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Subpoenaed when he came to Atlanta to organize opposition to the hearings (so states Arens.) Refused answer any questions on grounds of "conscience and personal responsibility."

3. MADGE (SPURNEY) COLE - native New Yorker, A.B. Cornell, M.A. Syracuse, resident of Greensboro, N. C., textile worker. 5th Amend. (The only witness whom PENHA identified face-to-face.)

P.M.

Witnesses

1. WILLIAM JOSEPH ROBERTSON, III - Virginian, B. A. Univ. of North Carolina, now resident of Chicago. Former textile worker, FTA organizer. 5th Amend.

2. KARL R. KORSTAD - native Minnesota, A.B. ?, M. A. Syracuse, former FTA organizer, now a landscape gardener in Greensboro. 5th Amend.

3. JEROME VAN CAMP - North Carolinian, 2½ years at University of North Carolina, now resident of Philadelphia. 25 years old. 5th Amend. (This was the only witness to whom Arens proposed a grant of immunity; spurned.)

4. HUNTER PITTS O'DELL - resident of Montgomery. Matched Braden in pinning "harassment" charge on Committee. 5th Amend.

5. WILLIAM MATTHEWS - North Carolinian, now resident Brooklyn. 22 yrs. old. Categorically denied CP membership or discipline, part, present or future. 5th as to association.

July 31 - present: Reps. Willis (presiding), Jackson

A.M.

Witnesses

1. Name, residence undisclosed - Hungarian refugee, now living somewhere in the South.

Concluding statement by Rep. Willis-- (1) hearings had shown that pattern of CP activity in South similar to those in rest of country, (2) had added to the Committee's "fund of knowledge," (3) had shown that CP would increase southern efforts as southern industry grew.

M E M O R A N D U M

August 27, 1958

TO: Harold Fleming

FROM: L. W. Dunbar

Here is a final (speaking for myself only) proposal for an RBF pamphlet; a longer outline of the subject is set out in Section 6A, coming to you in the same mail delivery.

IV. The Price We Pay for Segregated Housing

Housing segregation in metropolitan areas can for at least some time yet to come probably be maintained legally; i.e. without ordinances or statutes. The question is, therefore, whether the white community values it highly enough to pay the price. For there is a price, and one that gets increasingly large. Segregated housing means overcrowding, and consequent tensions; means a high ratio of municipal expenditures to revenues; inefficient land use; deterioration of the central city; inflexible real estate values. These are some of the components of the bill for segregation which should be itemized before we continue to meet its payments.

At the risk of almost certain confusion, I think there might be somewhat more for you if I did not once again list in order the ten proposed topics:

I. Southern Manpower
II. Segregation, Income and Industrial Growth
III. Turmoil and Taxes
(new) IV. The Price We Pay for Segregated Housing
V. Realism about City Life
VI. Racial Relations and National Security
VII. Racial Relations and World Leadership
VIII. The Thin Grey Line
IX. Negroes Have Decided
X. Segregation and Politics

(Some academic names which might be considered for #VI are DRAGNICH (Pol. Sci. - Vanderbilt) and DOMAR (Econ. - John Hopkins). I am not acquainted with Domar's work; his name has been recommended to me. If a southern author cannot be found, there are numerous specialists at M.I.T., Harvard, Columbia etc., whom I could suggest. A really literate and persuasive pamphlet could be written by Frederick L. SCHUMAN of Williams, if he would take it on.)

September 16, 1958

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
100 College Street
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Les:

Your welcome note shames me; I had intended to write you first. Anyhow, belatedly, our thanks for your moral support and fine professional performance last summer. It was a very satisfying experience.

Things are remarkably as they were when you left. If anything the rat-race grows more feverish by the day. (To all the troubles has been added an outrageous case of police brutality in Atlanta.)

I'm glad to have word of the domestic scene. You'll be hearing from me.

Best wishes from the whole blooper-crew here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Tuesday,
9-9-58

Dear Harold,

Have been home long enough to get used to it ,and at least t to learn what household chores awaited me.I truly learned fr from this Summer with the Council;it was worth the separatio n from home.

I am eager to hear what befalls the pamphlets.Without any sp special attachmentfor my specific proposals,I think such a s series needs to be done.Be cause of the intense nation-wide interest,the thought occurs to me that a commercial publish-er might like the chance of ~~taking~~ promoting them for gener al and school sale.

Peggy and I have discussed the possibility of a return to At lanta .We haven't yet resolved it in our own minds,largely b because we both are reluctant to get ahead of events.I can t tell you,however,that a talk with her has not at all decreas ed my appetite ;she is spiritually more a southerner than I am.

The news from Arkansas and Virginia is damnable.Are you clos e to the Terrell County action?

Best wishes,and regards also to Emory,Fred,John,and Paul.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

file Les Dunbar

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

HCF
EFV
PA
JC
MET
MM
RHA

9-16 (1958)

return to

Fred —

I thought this report might interest you. Please return

Best wishes - Sorry I forgot to say good-bye.

Fechi

There is also a housing problem in Newark accentuated by the transfer of a chemical (?) plant there, caused by UTC, with appeal to workers in designed plant, many Negro, to move to new plant. Earl Henderson worked on this problem with some satisfactory solution.

(Excerpts from a letter to Leslie Dunbar, from Newark, Deleware)

9/8/58

Dear Leslie,

You are much in my thoughts these days and I must pass on to you some heartening information about integration, or rather desegregation, which I know to be an issue close to your heart.

At the risk of repeating, I'll remind you that Newark is below the Mason-Dixon line, and has enjoyed segregated schools until just now. True, the Junior and Senior High's were desegregated two years ago, but this didn't touch many, and was tainted by the fact that there were some All-Star footballers in the deal. Again the NAACP is very vociferous here, and cornered me, as then President of the Recreation Association, to announce publicly that we would drop the bar on swimming and social dancing, which are, of course, hypersensitive areas. So much for background.

This fall, to their everlasting credit, the School Board closed the colored elementary school, grades one through eight, and sent the kids to the other schools. Furthermore, they assigned the former principal of the colored school as supervisor for the handicapped children program.

But the stroke of genius was assigning the colored children <u>and</u> the colored teachers to the elementary schools where the pupils are from the top economic level of the town.

We now have <u>three colored teachers</u> teaching <u>all-white</u> classes, and the kids love them. It is my hope that when this base is firmly established, we will hire more colored teachers and locate them in the schools peopled by those who are economically less fortunate.

It <u>can</u> be done, Les, although I would be the first to agree that numbers can seriously complicate things. One is torn by the dilemma between the virtual inpossibility of changing a social pattern overnight, by feat, and the constitutional right, so ably expressed by our State Chief Justice, of "immediate remedy."

RECEIVED OCT 22 1958

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Monday,
10-20-58

Dear Harold,

I suspect my telephone response, inhibited somewhat by the library office wherein I was speaking, did not reveal my enthusiasm for your proposal.

I think the arrangement you have worked out is a sensible one. Let me offer a couple of thoughts which grow from reflecting I have done since leaving Atlanta. They represent the outlines of my conception of the job.

First, I believe the Research staff ought to be servicing every other operation of the Council. This would require keeping informed as to what is under way, and actively looking for points wherein research or a special report could be useful. Second, I believe the Research staff ought to be somewhat ahead of the rest of the organization in anticipating areas & questions on which the Council might well be active. Third, & most basic, I believe the Research staff has the obligation to see that the information which guides you & the field workers, as well as that which is published by the Council or made

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

available to the media, in sound & thorough.

I have never had much use for ~~position~~ job descriptions. Good working relationships develop more naturally if they are not spelled out with equitable, or the pretense of it, in advance. I work better when I have some authority to make decisions, & so I hope it will eventuate. But demarcation of job can be, as far as I am concerned, left to time.

Despite anything I may have said about anyone else last summer, I expect the Research director ought to be on the fourth floor, where the books & files & things are. Having said that, I abandon the nasty office-space problem to you.

Finally, alas, I have a comment about salary. As I told you last summer I would, I have tried to figure what my needs would be. I am a good poker player, but, maybe paradoxically, no bargainer. So I don't try. Let me just say that the figuring, which tried to take account of just the hard realities, led me to hope that there might be at least $8600. I won't even bargain enough to say that the salary question will be determinative with me. But if your pencil hasn't been worn to a nub, and you feel like sharpening

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

it up again, I'd value your effort highly.

Harold, so far as I know the answer will be yes. There is yet one hurdle I have to clear before I can make a final decision. But before the date of your Directors' meeting I'll be ready to answer you. I do feel a lot of gratitude for the despatch with which you have handled this, both because of my obligation to the College & because of the home problem.

But wishes, & good luck.

Julie

P.S. Have you read Tom Woodward's article in the September Virginia Quarterly Review? Superb.

December 9, 1958

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
100 College Street
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Les:

You will be dismayed to know that the survey of violence and intimidation has not yet been published. I thought I was long past the stage of learning anything about the complications of interagency cooperation, but each new day brings fresh horrors.

When and if we should get this worked out before you are here, I will certainly see that you get a copy.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

See PS

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

November 24, 1958

Dear Harold,

Your letter reached me today, & is fully satisfactory. I know that this will be a rewarding association for me, & shall do all that I can to make it a useful one for the Council as well.

The past week I informed our President & my department. All went smoothly. I had done some informal questioning earlier in the Fall to ascertain that there would be available replacements in the Valley, & so I can depart with a calm conscience.

I would not have waited for your letter in order to write my acceptance, if it were not that we are really at work putting together my manuscript. I have about concluded that there is more labor in proof-reading, etc a book than in writing one. Now that you have got in first, I am replying at once, with apologies for having waited.

My departure from here will be timed according to (a) house situation (b) my examination schedule; but early February will be the approximate time.

Best wishes, & a good Thanksgiving. We are about to be overwhelmed, I think. Peggy acquires guests the way the British were supposed to have obtained an Empire.

Have my congratulations to President-elect Ford.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

P.S. Could I have a copy of the violence & intimidation report as it was finally released?

December 16, 1958

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Department of Political Science
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Les:

Thanks for your letter regarding the November, 1958 Population Bulletin and the November Current History. We have ordered both.

Harold and Jane Fleming are thinking of buying a bigger and older house closer in to Atlanta. I don't know whether or not you would be interested in the house in which they now live. I have mentioned to Harold your interest in a house; I will let you two pick up correspondence on that issue.

We really look forward to having you back on the staff.

With the best of Christmas wishes,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Thursday,
12-11-58

Dear Fred,

Thank you for thinking to send me a copy of your memo re Freeman's paper, & also for mentioning the AAU article which, following your suggestion, I read. My hope is that we can further develop SRC as a leader in formulating serious reflective thought about the South, & to that end the widest sort of communication with researchers will be needed.

Not to indulge in any one-up exercise, but I have seen several interesting pieces lately in the good magazines, & have noted also a couple of things which, if SRC doesn't ~~already~~ already have, it probably ought to obtain. One is a reprint of an excellent paper on demographic trends of the Negro given by Irene Taeuber at the 1958 annual conference of the National Urban League. It can be had by ordering the Population Bulletin for Nov. 1958 from the Population Reference Bureau Inc, 1507 M Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.; price 50¢. The other item is the November issue of Current

history. The entire number is devoted to the Negro & the South. I have so far read only the first & articles, & I found but one of those (a piece on southern agriculture) of much interest, but I think, nevertheless, Marge should get it for the files & for general reading.

The "move" occupies our thoughts largely these days, though Peggy won't begin thinking about it concretely until she gets Christmas behind her. This morning at seven the temperature at my place was 3 below, & Georgia never seemed more attractive. I have written to John Gould & Bob Stewart, who will look out for a dwelling, & of course would be grateful for leads or advice from anyone. An initial period of renting seems probable, though the College has now graciously offered to buy our house at the price we paid, thus making it financially possible for us to buy at once in Atlanta. If anything were to develop which would seem to justify the expense, we might despatch Peggy & B to Atlanta after Christmas to look it over.

Give my best to the others

Sincerely yours,
Julia

January 28, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
100 College Street
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Les:

Last year a group of sociologists and practitioners including Dr. Mozell Hill and Dr. John Reed of Atlanta University's School of Sociology; Art Levin, Director of ADL; Dr. Dudley DeGroot of Emory's Sociology department, and I began the planning of a sociological profile of Atlanta. It was our intention then that the completed study - or a popularized version of it - would be printed by the ADL; similar to the field reports they have done on crisis communities. Unfortunately the project never got much beyond talking stage. Actually we did get as far as gathering much pertinent data together.

Recently John Reed and Bob Kohler (Atlanta ADL) and I have been considering this project again. We have had two meetings out at John Reed's office: Room 204, Administration Building, Atlanta University. The next meeting is scheduled for 2:30 on February 5th with an additional group being brought in about 5:30 for some general head-knocking before we undertake a final outline.

I recognize this is within the purview of SRC's Research Department and will gladly turn our participation in this over to you.

At the second session on February 5th we hope to involve such people as Earl Brewer, Dr. Reser (Oglethorpe), Phil Hammer, John Griffin, Bob Stewart, Ed Cahill (Unitarian minister), and Lamar Clements (Atlanta Council of Churches).

We are more and more anxious for your arrival and feel that your addition to the staff will strengthen our work in a vital area.

Best regards to Peggy and to you.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

June 2, 1961

Reservations Clerk
Belmont Plaza Hotel
Lexington Avenue & 49th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sir:

This will confirm reservation made by telephone today for Leslie W. Dunbar for the nights of June 6, 7, and 8; double room at single room rate, with bath. Mr. Dunbar will be coming into New York from Wilmington, Delaware and will arrive about 10:30 p.m. on June 6.

Please hold reservation for arrival; Mr. Dunbar has Diner Card, and we will be responsible for room.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary

L. W. Dunbar, New York trip - June 6-9, 1961

Appointments:

June 6: arrive New York at Newark airport 9:34 p.m.

June 7: 10:00 a.m. David Freeman
39 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5600

3:00 p.m. Leland DeVinney
111 West 50th Street, 42nd Floor

June 8:

3:00 p.m. Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
666 Fifth Avenue

June 9: 10:00 a.m. Maxwell Hahn
250 Park Avenue

Idlewild, 1:40 p.m. EAL #565 to Richmond

October 11, 1961

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Fifth Avenue
New York 28, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send your Calendar for 1962, Portraits and Masks, to the following address:

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

This calander is so beautifully done, and so very interesting that we are re-ordering it. My check for $ is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

Muriel Berger
Secretary to Director

5

file

220 Griffin Street N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
December 5, 1961

Mr. Lesly Dunbar
5 Forsyth Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar

Mrs. Thomas has asked me to extend an invitation to a select number of my personal friends, to be her Guests at a Birthday dinner for her husband Thursday evening (December the 21th) at 7 o'clock, at 220 Griffin Street N. W.

It would be appreciated if an acknowledgement of this communication should be received on or before December the 15th, 1961.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas

Ga 7-2338

March 26, 1962

The Barotaria Guest House
933 Bourbon Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

On March 19th I wrote you concerning reservations for Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Dunbar and their son for April 19 - 23. To date, I have not heard from you. If it is not possible for you to accommodate the Dunbars, would you be kind enough to inform me of this immediately so that reservations may be made elsewhere?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Les, have not heard from these folks - am writing follow up ltr today - 3/26/62 [illegible]

March 19, 1962

The Barotaria Guest House
933 Bourbon Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Dunbar and their son, Tony, will be vacationing in New Orleans from April 19 - 23. Would it be possible for them to secure inexpensive accommodations at your Guest House for that period? If so, would you make reservations for them and, by return mail, please send me your confirmation indicating the minimum rates per night for the three of them?

The Dunbars are interested in the Barotaria Guest House at the suggestion of Mr. Paul Rilling of our staff who was a recent guest there.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ/

Reservations for LWD to New York - Monday, March 19

(made & confirmed 3/15/62)

DELTA AIRLINES

Lv. Atlanta 11:55 am ~~5:55 pm~~ ..... ~~[illegible]~~ Flt. 822

Ar. New York ~~7:26 pm~~ 1:38 pm Tourist accommodations

UNITED AIRLINES - Friday, March 23

Lv. New York 6:45 pm ..... Flt. 741

Ar. Atlanta 8:57 pm Tourist accommodations

(Reservations made and confirmed for LWD at Hotel Beekman Tower, 3 Mitchell Place at 49th Street, Phone: Eldorado 5-7300)

Monday - Thursday, March 22, 1962

Will be staying on 16th floor

$200 2 RHA

Completed trip - file LWD.

Reservations for LWD to Washington, D.C. - March 29, 1962 *

EASTERN AIRLINES

Lv. Atlanta	7:30 AM	Flt.528)	
			) First Class
Ar. Washington	9:20 AM	)	

Lv. Washington	5:25 PM	Flt.349)	
			) First Class
Ar. Atlanta	7:31 PM	)	

* Confirmed: 3/26/62

Reservations for LWD to New York - Monday, March 19th

DELTA AIRLINES

Lv. Atlanta	11:55 am)	Tourist accommodations
Ar. New York	1:38 pm)	Flt. 822

~~UNITED AIRLINES - Friday, March 23.~~

~~Lv. New York~~	~~6:45 pm)~~	~~Tourist accommodations~~
~~Ar. Atlanta~~	~~8:57 pm)~~	~~Flt. 741~~

Eastern

lv. N.Y.	5:55	flt. 501
Ar. Pl	8:07	

1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia
April 2, 1962

Mr. Raymond A. Mullen
La Maison de Barataria
933 Rue Bourbon
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Mullen

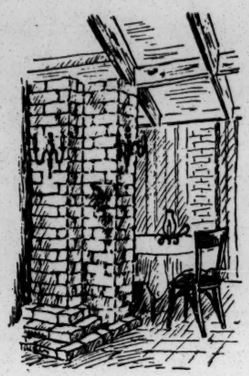
Thank you for your letter of March 27th. I am enclosing my check for $12.50 to hold my reservations. My wife, son and I will arrive late on April 19th and will leave before your check out time on the 24th. As we shall be driving, we will not get in before about 10:00 p.m. on the 19th.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check for $12.50)

Rec'd 3/29



Barataria

GUEST HOUSE and RESTAURANT

for delightful living and intimate dining

933 RUE BOURBON, NEW ORLEANS 16, LA.

TULANE 3701

523-3701

March 27, 1962

894-6845

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Madam:

Wed - Noon
Friday Noon

It will be an extreme pleasure to have Mr. and Mrs. Lester W. Dunbar and their son, Tony, with us April 19 to the 23.

In accordance with your request, we are booking these folks for arrival on the 19, at a rate of $12.50 per day for the three persons. The accommodations are superior. The house is being freshly done at the moment and they will thoroughly enjoy staying with us. Kindly send us at least a one day payment of $12.50 to guarantee this reservation. Also, let us know whether these folks are coming by car, plane, or train and their arrival time. This is essential in a small house where we have to be on hand to greet these folks and where every available space can be reserved every night.

Our kindest regards to you, your staff, and Mr. Paul Rilling.

Cordially yours,

Raymond A. Mullen

Raymond A. Mullen, Owner
La Maison de Barataria

RAM:sml

Enclosure

A courtesy card to the best food "private" dining club" is enclosed. Also, one for you, Mrs. Johnson and Mr. Rilling.

Completed Trip — File
LWD

LWD Reservations to Dallas, Tex and Return
April 26, 1962:

DELTA AIRLINES:

Lv. Atlanta	3:55 am	------Flt. #67 - Night Coach
Ar. Dallas	8:12 am	(Arriving at Ammon Carter Field in Ft. Worth)*
Lv. Dallas	3:00 pm	------Flt. #716 - Tourist
Ar. Atlanta	6:34 pm	(Leave from Love Field)

*Les,
I checked on transportation from Ammon Carter Field and found that they do have limousine service but it's only available upon request (fare $2.25), I've requested this service for you for the 26th.

May 16, 1962

Hotel Barbizon Plaza
106 Central Park, South
New York 19, New York

Dear Sirs;

Please reserve a single room in the name of Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar for one night, May 30. Mr. Dunbar will not be arriving at the hotel until after 8:00 p.m.

Confirmation by return mail will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

LWD personal

November 7, 1962

Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
1585 West Paces Ferry Rd., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

The day after your telephone call I went down with a flu bug such as I have never had before, and was at home for better than a week. I did, however, get to talk to a few people, chiefly on the Negro side of town, and may have done a little good. I was, incidentally, struck by the warmth of feeling which several Negroes had for your husband.

I do hope that Mr. Franklin will try another time, for the same or higher office.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

file
LWD - Personal

1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
April 5, 1963

Mrs. Helen West
Dagsboro,
Delaware

Dear Mrs. West:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Dr. Kenneth Morland of Lynchburg, Virginia. I visited him last summer when he was staying at Bethany Beach which seemed to me so attractive that I wish to come back.

Would you have a place for two families for either the first, second, or third week of July, in that order of preference? Friends of ours from Massachusetts would like to meet my family there and spend a week. My family consists of my wife and I, and a 14-year-old son. Our friends' family consists of husband and wife, 14-year-old son, and daughters age 11 and 1. We would need, therefore, at least four bedrooms. Our 19-year-old daughter might possibly join us for at least a couple days, and so another bedroom or a studio couch in the living room would be desirable.

We would very much prefer a common kitchen and eating space.

The Massachusetts family is that of Professor Curtis Smith, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

If you have no suitable place of your own, I would greatly appreciate you referring this request to some other handler of summer rentals at Bethany Beach.

I shall look forward to your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj
cc: Prof Smith

Mr. Seller
Read - personal

1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
July 23, 1963

Mr. Robert R. Richardson
Chief of Staff
Executive Department
State of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I have your letter of July 17, 1963 advising me that I have been commissioned as a member of The Governor's Staff.

This is a deeply appreciated, and entirely unexpected, honor.

Please convey my respects to the Governor.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Executive Department
Atlanta

Carl E. Sanders
GOVERNOR

D. Douglas Barnard, Jr.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

July 17, 1963

Honorable Leslie W. Dunbar
1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

At Governor Sanders' request, it is my pleasure to advise that you have been commissioned as a member of The Governor's Staff.

Enclosed you will find a wallet identification card evidencing your Staff appointment.

Under separate cover you will receive your formal Commission. Governor and Mrs. Sanders extend their best wishes and thanks for your loyal and dedicated friendship and support.

Cordially,

Robert R. Richardson

Robert R. Richardson,
Chief of Staff

August 12, 1963

Professor John Lobb, Chairman
Department of Economics and Sociology
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear John:

Thank you so much for your letter, and the news of your Linda's graduation. That is a very big occasion, I suspect, for parents as well as daughter. I'll know, hopefully, in a couple years.

I'ts hard for me to imagine Mt. Holyoke or South Hadley without Red and Kay. I can realize well what a jolt his leaving must be for you.

Peggy and the children are all fine. Linda has worked this summer in New York City, and the experience has been very exciting for her (us, too). Giverour best to Nancy, and our other friends in South Hadley.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

20 June 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I put Red and Kay on the plane on Tuesday for another trip to Indonesia. They will be there until September 1964...or so the present plan stands. This time, owing to Red's resignation, it was somewhat more sad since on his return he will take up his new post at Wisconsin.

Red has asked me to handle his mail and to reply where I can; I shall forward his letter from you in the next post. He should reach Djakarta by July first via London, Belgrade, Istanbul, Karachi, Bangkok and Singapore. His address will be:

C/o Ford Foundation, Taman
Kebon Sirih I/4; P.O. 2270
Djakarta, Indonesia

They were almost too tired to speak when I put them on the early plane and perhaps that was just a s well; after 27 years association this comes as a severe jolt to me personally and to the College and the Department. He was always a great strength. We shall miss him. But the job at Wisconsin is much too attractive to turn down. It will give him an opportunity, we hope, to concentrate on Indonesia material and to be free of most teaching requirements. In addition, he can be in Indonesia as much as he is needed. The large Universities are making frequent raids on the Colleges and we feel the pinch in Economics and Sociology.

Last week, Nancy and I drove out to Oberlin for our Linda's graduation. It seems a real milestone to us. We are pleased with her progress. Red came on from Wisconsin with Kay for Oberlin doings so we had a kind of family reunion. Red is a favorite of Linda's and we were glad he could be there.

It is good to hear from you indirectly. Nancy joins me in all the best to you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

John Lobb, Chairman

Handed to Watters as below

Statement by Leslie W. Dunbar
August 16, 1963

Well, of course, it's good to hear that the Negro children of Prince Edward, after 4 years, will have a school. They have sacrificed a lot, however, in ~~[illegible]~~ their search for non-segregated education, and I doubt that this Department of Justice plan will give it to them. Moreover, public education is a public responsibility, and it seems to me more than a little odd that the federal ~~attorneys~~ government became a fund-raiser for private money to assume this obligation of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Lord — personal

though it will, I understand, have the merit of an integrated faculty.

Les,

Just got Heslip Lee. He wants you to know that he agrees with you in principle but he disagrees with your statement which seems to infer that this will be an all-Negro school. He says that the school will be for both white and Negro (with an integrated faculty, integrated Board of Trustees.) He says that they in Virginia are trying to avoid any public statement which implies that the school will be solely for Negro children -- this, he says is not true.

He also says that he feels (even though it's a sad commentary that the Fed. Govt. had to raise the money for the school) that it will be a better school that would have been set up had the state of Virginia provided it.

Lee emphasized that he does not want to confuse you by his disagreements with some parts of your statement, but he says that he feels that a significant development has resulted since this is the first time that white leaders, Negro leaders and the power structure have been able to sit down together to negotiate fruitfully.

He wanted very much to talk with you -- I told him that you were tied up in a meeting and that was impossible. He says to tell you that if you think it feasible you can call him in Scarsdale at the number ~~which I have on my desk.~~

Scarsdale 3-1048

MMJ

LET ME KNOW WHAT TO DO ABOUT GIVING THE STATEMENT TO WATTERS in light of the above.

Les,

Patt Watters has just called to say that he's working on a round-up of the Farmville, Virginia school agreement and wonders if, sometime this afternoon, you could give him a statement of about 100 words .

I pass this message on to you now so that you can be thinking about it.-- that is, if you can.

MMJ

Les Calkins
Read me. What do you think?

Lwd - Statement for Pat Watters 9/6/63 — File Stoff Lwd - Personal

School desegregation came this Fall to a number of southern communities whose tradition and past records suggested entrenched hostility. But the thing has been done with good order and good spirit. This is one of the most encouraging weeks we have had in the South in years. Even in Alabama, the localities ~~resisted~~ resisted, not the Negro children, but Governor Wallace's provocation. All this means that southern governors, mayors, employers, and hotel and restaurant owners are slower than the public in willingness to change, that Washington should question whether southern Congressmen any longer truly represent sentiment back home, and that Negro leaders should find ways to put their demands clearly before local communities before ~~resorting~~ resorting to demonstrations.

bd 15

Lwd personal

September 17, 1963

Dear Mr. Cantrell:

Our table arrived today, and we are delighted with it. It is beautiful.

When we were in your shop six weeks ago you had a desk, made of curly walnut. When we wrote to you later we learned that we were too late, and that it had been sold.

We would be very grateful if you would let us know if you are able to find curly walnut again for a desk. I feel sure we would want to order it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
1399 Berkeley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

File
Staff - Pend

January 10, 1964

Mr. Jim Wood
News Director
Radio Station WAOK
110 Edgewood Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wood:

I am replying to your letter to Mr. Dunbar of recent date in which you inform him that his name has been placed on your roster from which Citizen Awards will be made. Enclosed is a vita sheet for Mr. Dunbar which should give you sufficient information about him.

Mr. Dunbar considers it an honor to be considered for one of your Awards.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

The Capitol Stations

WAOK

5000 WATTS — 110 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, N. E. • MURRAY 8-3773 — 1380 KC

Atlanta 3, Georgia

MJ plenty

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Regional Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW - Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

WAOK, under the direction of its News Department, will institute a program series starting in January, 1964, presenting Citizen Awards.

Many persons in our community give time, energy, and ability in various ways toward serving civic, welfare, social and other needs. The improvement of the community in general is made possible by these persons who, in most instances, make no effort to gain public acclaim or notice. Groups and organizations taking note of the service of such people cannot possibly include all or a substantial number of such deserving citizens. It is for this reason WAOK has instituted its Citizen Awards Program.

E. Pogue, Mem. Naacp aclu not against life + liberty

Your name has been selected and placed on a roster from which Citizen Awards will be made. We need, for our files, general information about you, your organizational affiliations, participation in projects, religious denomination, marital status and any other facts you feel will help us properly present to you a Citizen Award. These awards will be made and publicized by radio broadcast. We will be pleased to have you as a part of this community activity.

If further information is needed, please call me or my secretary, Mrs. Mildred Thorpe, at MU. 8-3773.

Amer. Le of Politics
J. Foreign Language of Foreign Eng

Very truly yours,

Jim Wood

Jim Wood, News Director

JW:mt

file
L.W. Dunbar
- general Corresp

January 16, 1964

Mr. Jackson Martindell
Publisher
Marquis-Who's Who, Inc.
210 East Ohio Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am honored by my selection for inclusion in Who's Who in American Women.

Unfortunately however, I cannot, basically, qualify.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN
(AND WOMEN OF CANADA)

AW, DA 2

PUBLICATION OFFICE: MARQUIS-WHO'S WHO, INC., 210 EAST OHIO STREET, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS—60611

Please fill out, using typewriter or printing clearly and return in enclosed envelope.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA FORM

Please Do Not Abbreviate.

You need not furnish all included data items, but only those applying to you.

NAME LESLIE W. DUNBAR
First Name, Middle Name, Maiden Surname, Last Name

STYLE IN WHICH PRINCIPAL VOCATION IS TO BE LISTED _____
(As for example: "educator," "librarian," "physician," "government official," "artist," "author," "business executive," "civic worker," etc.

PLACE OF BIRTH _____ DATE OF BIRTH (NOT REQUIRED) _____
(If born abroad, add date of arrival in United States or Canada and date of naturalization.)

FATHER'S NAME _____ MOTHER'S NAME _____
First Middle Last First Maiden Surname

EDUCATION (Names of schools with dates of attendance, degrees received with dates; honorary degrees, with names of schools and dates) _____

MARRIED _____ DATE OF MARRIAGE _____
Husband's Name Month Day Year

CHANGES IN MARITAL STATUS _____

CHILDREN _____

(In order of birth; if daughters are married, include full name of husbands.)

BRIEF CAREER SUMMARY (Give in chronological order with position, name of company, location, dates; location and dates of professional practice. Note—Actresses—list plays chronologically with dates; artists—list places of exhibits and where works are permanently exhibited.)

SEE OVERLEAF

PLEASE DO NOT ABBREVIATE

ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL OR COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES (Corporate directorships or similar positions, teaching, consulting, etc.)

_____

CIVIC, POLITICAL, PHILANTHROPIC, SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, ETC. (Include offices held and dates) _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

NON-BUSINESS DIRECTORSHIPS AND TRUSTEESHIPS (Such as foundations, hospitals, etc.) _____

_____

DECORATIONS AND AWARDS (Professional, public service, military) _____

_____

OTHER AFFILIATIONS (Fellowships and memberships in commercial, professional, scientific associations, societies, sororities, lodges, clubs; political party; religious affiliation (optional). Include offices held with dates.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

NOTEWORTHY SPECIAL WORK (Research, inventions, books published, outstanding architectural works, musical compositions, furnish dates)

_____

_____

ADDRESSES: HOME _____
Number Street City State Zip Code Country

BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL _____
Number Street City State Zip Code Country

DATE _____ _____
Authorized Signature

SEE OVERLEAF

THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF

MARQUIS—WHO'S WHO, INC.

PUBLISHERS OF

WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

ANNOUNCES PREPARATION

OF THE FOURTH EDITION OF

Who's Who of American Women

(and Women of Canada)

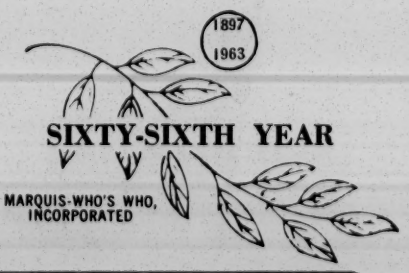
DURING COMPILATION OF WHICH

YOUR ASSISTANCE IS REQUESTED

IMPORTANT DETAILS OVERLEAF

"WHY YOU ARE LISTED BY MARQUIS"

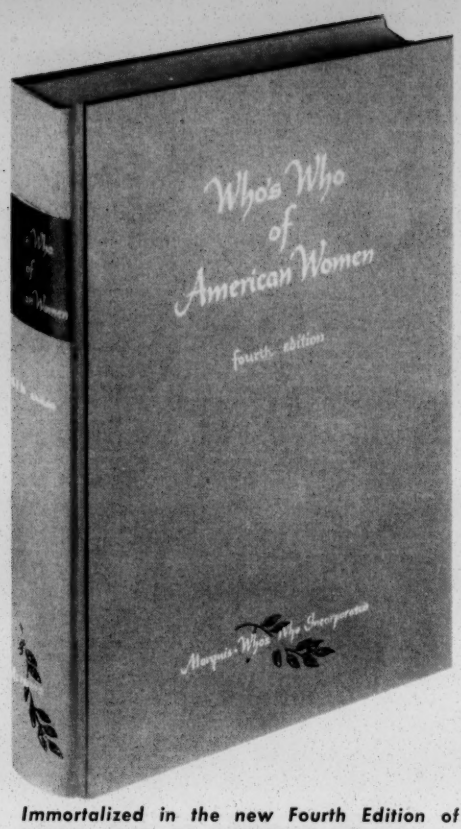
ON THE FOURTH PAGE



Who's Who of American Women

(and Women of Canada)

OVER 1100 PAGES FOURTH EDITION OVER 20,000 LISTINGS



Immortalized in the new Fourth Edition of WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN are more than 21,500 biographies-in-brief . . . beautifully type-set on more than 1,100 pages.

THE AIM: Inquiries from many individuals and organizations several years ago prompted the Editors of "Who's Who in America" to investigate the need for a biographical reference dictionary confined to notable women. Convinced by the investigation that a legitimate need existed, the Editors proceeded with the First Edition of WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN. The goal was to furnish reference-handy biographical data on women whose attainments, positions and creations had made them outstanding.

THE PROCEDURE: Because of the distinctiveness of the feminine career role, the Editors were confronted with the question: Who was to be listed? They assigned the richly experienced Marquis Research Department the task of finding out; also, they solicited recommendations from women's groups, reference centers and other sources of information.

THE RESULT: Quickly and comprehensively, so many names were produced that the first WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN went to press in 1958. It was greeted with greater success and acclaim (see below) than any of the several other Marquis biographical directories, save for "Who's Who in America" (first published in 1899). Within a few months the new book was a "must" in private and home libraries and reference centers throughout the nation. So great was the success and demand that the Editors decided to publish the book biennially.

THE FOURTH EDITION: This sparkling new edition consummates the selectivity and completeness that were successively developed in the three previous editions. Partly reflecting the avalanche of recommendations for inclusion, it will contain 6,000 to 7,000 listings never before published. It is being compiled in the crisp, to-the-point style of all Marquis directories . . . will be set in the same easy-to-read type and format of the Third Edition.

WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN is a permanent and honored member of the Marquis Biographical Reference Shelf. The Shelf—embodying more than 60 years of useful and successful publication—includes "World Who's Who in Commerce and Industry," "Who Was Who," the "Directory of Medical Specialists," and four sectional "Who's Who" books—for the East . . . Midwest . . . West . . . South and Southwest.

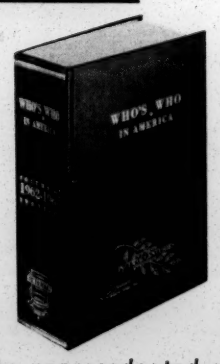
About an opportunity that concerns but fifteen in ten thousand

A woman whose accomplishments are worthy of reference interest has a broad responsibility as well as an opportunity to make personal data available . . . to revise them down-to-date periodically.

These data are essential to the distribution of knowledge . . . and thus to the democratic way of life. They are essential to the youngest pupils in our classrooms and the oldest solons . . . to journalists handling the day's news . . . to writers, lecturers and researchers . . . to librarians, historians and biographers.

These authentic, personally verified life synopses are of value for decades and centuries to come . . . and under innumerable normal circumstances.

The duty of Marquis Editors is entirely impersonal. Biographees are not listed because they wish to be, or because their friends or associates wish them to be . . . but because of carefully established, scrupulous standards, tested for three-score years.



The unprecedented scope, standards and objectivity of the original Marquis publication—"Who's Who in America"—are nobly maintained in its sister directories, including the newest: WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

Typical Comments that "Bear Witness"

—for WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN specifically

"Thank you for the First Edition of WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN. It is a masterpiece. I can understand the amount of time and work that a gigantic task like this would demand. So many folks are thankful to you—so again I say: Congratulations." *A business woman*

"WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN has proven to be of such inestimable value in the difficult work to which I am devoting my life that it (my inclusion) seems almost providential." *An association official*

"May I add that women's clubs everywhere, and I belong to many, will find this publication a blessing. It is much needed." *A clubwoman*

"The volume will be extremely helpful to those of us who seek to recruit volunteers as well as professional leadership for national organizations." *A civic leader*

"I congratulate you on the fine quality of the book . . . The format, the outside color, all of it is very fine indeed. Certainly every library in America should have one." *A state official*

"The book is beautiful—a real addition to any library. I feel, also, that it is a definite contribution to American life, particularly in view of the prominent part now being played by women in this country." *An association executive*

"There's no question but that this book will have tremendous importance in gaining further recognition for the accomplishments of women." *A business executive*

"I am sure that your monumental work will answer a long-felt need for this kind of reference book." *A government official*

Overleaf: "Why You Are Listed By Marquis"

WHY YOU ARE Listed by Marquis

Listed by Marquis—according to a copy of Merriam Webster—means:

"A person |who|. . . may be inquired about . . . as, one of the whos in Who's Who."

The Marquis compilative methods which have over the last 60-odd years created this meaning are here summarized.

They make clear **WHY** . . .

Listed by Marquis in the Marquis National Biographee Reference File is a distinction, a distinction that can not be obtained by request or by purchase, since it results solely from selection by Marquis Editors as "a person (who) may be inquired about" . . .

WHY published Marquis listings therefore supply a fundamental service to the reference needs of the modern world, a service that is in sharp contrast to buy-it-and-surely-be-listed-in-it books serving hardly more than the vanity of those who have selected themselves for inclusion in these publications by mailing the publishers information about themselves.

The Distinction of being Listed by Marquis

- Marquis biographical compilations have increased in number and scope for over a half century because they are expensively edited to provide listings selected to meet the user's reference requirements.
- They are—depending on the designated scope of each—general or specialized reference tools.
- They are not mere collections of individuals wanting to have information about themselves printed under the words "who's who" because Marquis has brought to these two words the distinctive meaning of having been carefully selected as actually noteworthy in some worth-while respect.
- Such collections of individuals desiring to see their biographies in print, regardless of the reference usefulness of the publication in which they appear, are popularly and accurately known as "vanity books."
- Strikingly in contrast, every biographee listed in the Marquis National Biographee Reference File—from which the compilers "draw" all the biographical dictionaries which make up the Marquis Biographical Library—has been selected under carefully established standards to assure that the compilers have available to them information—condensed to essentials—about those sufficiently subject, in the opinion of Marquis Editors, to reference interest—within the scope of any particular work which may be in compilation—to justify being considered for listing.
- Whether these selected biographees wish to be listed, or do not wish to be, is in no way connected with the decision of the Marquis Editors to list them or not to list them in the File. And the Editors' decision is based solely on whether or not the biographee in their opinion falls under the standards reflecting probable reference interest painstakingly established for the File against Marquis' over sixty years of experience in gauging that specific type of reference interest.
- A casual inspection will disclose the "vanity book" to even an inexperienced observer—the listing, often with "portraits" (at a "slight" extra charge!), of individuals obviously of no significant non-local reference interest, while many outstanding in respect to reference interest are not listed, always unveils the "vanity book."
- Because **Marquis** on the binding and title page has for over sixty years alone been sufficient identification thereof, it is even easier to identify the biographical reference compilation which actually is a serious reference work as the result of preparation under standardized and tested policies.

These are the qualities, the ingredients of lasting worth, which give **Listed by Marquis** its standing of distinction, which have brought into the pages of the dictionary itself the Marquis trade name as the lexicographers' definition of what that name has, over sixty years in two centuries, come to identify.

Marquis — Who's Who, Inc.

Marquis Publications Building • 210 East Ohio Street • Chicago, Illinois 60611 U.S.A.

Who's Who of American Women

Compiled and edited by the Editors of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

EDITORIAL OFFICES:
Marquis–Who's Who, Inc.
Marquis Publications Building
Chicago 11, U.S.A.

1897 - Our Sixty-Sixth Year - 1963

Dear Madam:

We have to ask your cooperation, and rather urgently, to the extent of supplying the data provided for on the enclosed card.

The data requested are for permanent placement in the Marquis National Biographee Reference File, from which appropriate selections are made from time to time for publication in Who's Who in America and our other biographical dictionaries.

The reason for requesting your immediate cooperation arises from the fact that data for the Fourth Edition of our reference work WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN are already being compiled, and information regarding you and your principal interests indicates you come within the scope established for consideration for inclusion in that publication.

The Fourth Edition of WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN will again be prepared for publication by the "Who's Who" editorial staff which has had over sixty years experience in the compilation of biographical reference dictionaries, and in whose hands rests final selection for inclusion in the book.

Every effort will be made to seek out and include biographical data about those women who stand out from their contemporaries by reason of their positions or achievements as women. National or international prominence, although given full weight by the Editors, is not a prerequisite. On the other hand, activity which makes the potential biographee noteworthy among women, is essential.

Never before, so far as we know, have such carefully defined coverage limitations been applied to a biographical reference dictionary of like scope, and we anticipate they will markedly enhance the serviceability of this extensively utilized reference work. (I refer you to the enclosed announcement of compilation of the Fourth Edition for further details.)

We shall, therefore, appreciate having in hand the information requested as quickly as possible, for the compilation of this Fourth Edition of WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN is now well under way. It goes without saying that there is no obligation whatsoever attached to extending the cooperation in connection with WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN requested in this letter -- or in connection with any other Marquis reference work.

Thank you for your attention and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Jackson Martindell

Jackson Martindell
Publisher

AW/DA
Three Enclosures

P. S. If you have any doubt as to your qualifications for listing in WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN WOMEN please, notwithstanding, fill out and return the data card, and let our Editors be the judges of your qualifications.

Dice
Lind - gen. corresp.

March 25, 1964

Hotel Park Sheraton
56th Street at 7th Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I should like to reserve a single in the name of Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar for the nights of April 12, 13, 14, and 15. The room should be in the price range of $10.00 or $11.00. Enclosed is a check for $10000 to be applied as a deposit against the room which you will hold for Mr. Dunbar.

A notice of confirmation would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1. (ck #2813; $10.00)

File: Run - Personal

May 28, 1964

Mr. Cecil Alexander
70 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Cecil:

Just to confirm the message I left with your secretary. I hope you, and Herme too, can come out Wednesday, June 3 at 8:00 p.m. to meet with Don Hollowell. The address is 1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.; the street lies off N. Druid Hills Road, first left past the radio towers after you leave the Expressway.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

May 28, 1964

Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
1585 W. Paces Ferry Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Phoebe:

Just to confirm. I hope you, and DeJongh too, can come out Wednesday, June 3 at about 8:00 p.m., to meet with Don Hollowell. The address is 1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.; the street lies off N. Druid Hills Road, first left past the radio towers after you leave the Expressway.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

May 28, 1964

Mr. George Goodman
First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

If you find that you can be with us next Wednesday night, fine. The action of the Senate yesterday may add a big, new wrinkle. The address is 1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.; the street is the first left off N. Druid Hills Road, past the radio towers after you leave the Expressway Time, 8:00 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

May 28, 1964

Mr. William Howland
Office of the Mayor
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

If you feel you could join us Wednesday night, June 3, I would be delighted. The address is 1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.; the street is the first left off N. Druid Hills Road, past the radio towers after you leave the Expressway. Time, 8:00 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

May 28, 1964

Mr. Robert Wood
Legal Counsel
Sears Roebuck & Company
Ponce de Leon Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

A small group of people are coming to my house Wednesday night, June 3, about 8:00 p.m., to meet with Don Hollowell for a discussion of his candidacy. I would be delighted to have you join in. The address is 1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.; the street is the first left off N. Druid Hills Road, past the radio towers after you leave the Expressway.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
FIFTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

VJ ✓
MJ - file
Look - gen. carrier
(attack to lead Dr. to
Weltner)

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

July 2, 1964

Dear Les:

Many thanks for your letter of June 29.

As you will see, it played a large part in my decision.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Charles Longstreet Weltner
Member of Congress

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
1529 Berkeley Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

File - Dunbar - Personal Corresp.

1529 Berkeley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 29, 1964

The Honorable Charles Weltner
United States Congress
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

When the civil rights bill comes back before the House the issues will be changed from those that were before you the first time. If I understood your position then, it was that you were in favor of all of the ends sought by the bill but were not in favor of using federal power to achieve some of them. The issue now is not whether federal power will be used, but whether it will be obeyed in good will.

As one of this region's elected leaders, I think you can make a large contribution to orderly compliance in good will with the law by voting now in favor of it. I am sure that after the bill's passage you will use your influence in behalf of orderly compliance. But no action taken after passage can equal in its effect votes by southern Congressmen for passage.

By voting in favor you would strength the leadership of President Johnson, just as you would indicate your rejection of the position taken by Senator Goldwater and others that the bill is unconstitutional. You would also bring great encouragement to a host of your constituents, of both races. I do hope that you will see your way clear to vote for the bill.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD/mmj

File
LWD - gen. corresp.

July 22, 1964

Mr. D. B. DeLaney
Regional Manager
Stouffer's Restaurant
240 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. DeLaney:

I have just returned from eating lunch at your restaurant at the Atlanta Merchandise Mart where, to my astonishment, I was served by a Negro waitress.

Stouffer's made a wonderful contribution to Atlanta when it opened here in 1961 on a non-segregated basis. The integration of your waitresses is almost an equal contribution.

You serve us with northern style, altogether inedible string beans, but except for this small failure you have brought us not only good food but good leadership, and I hope you will accept this word of appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Vernon Stouffer

Mr. D. B. DeLaney
Regional Mgr.
Stouffer's Food Distributors
240 Peachtree N.E.
Atl. Ga.

Mr. Vernon Stouffer
Pres.
Stouffer's Restaurants
1375 Euclid ave.
Cleveland, Ohio

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International ~~Letter~~ Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

606P EST SEP 15 64 AH537

A BHA237 (A LLU228) PD 5 EXTRA ATLANTA GA 15 350P EST

LESLIE DUNBAR

1529 BERKELY LANE NORTHEAST ATLA

BEST NEWS WE 'VE GOT IS THAT YOU ARE GETTING BETTER. KEEP IT UP

STAFF SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE CLARENCE D COLEMAN DIRECTOR

(55).

File

LOD - personal

VIA AIR MAIL

November 9, 1964

Manager
Holiday Inn West
U. S. 70 West
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please reserve for me a single accommodation for the period beginning Thursday, November 12, through Friday, November 13. I expect to arrive in Durham via Eastern Airlines at approximately 8:30 p.m. on Thursday.

Confirmation of the above, at your earliest convenience, will be highly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

Jack Tar Durham®
HOTEL AND MOTOR LODGE
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702

TELEPHONE
682-1101
AREA CODE 919

518
6:25

Th
Fri — eg. 1 8:30

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I regret to advise you the Jack Tar Durham Hotel and Motor Lodge is now completely booked to capacity for the Southern Political Science Association Convention.

May I suggest that you contact the Holiday Inn West which is located on Highway 70 Bypass for your reservation. This is a very nice motel and I am sure you will find the accommodations comfortable.

We look forward to serving your fine Association and if there is any way I can be of service, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Richard E. Arey
General Manager

Mr. L. W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

NOVEMBER 7, 1964

REA:mdl

Prepare to be Pampered

GRAND BAHAMA HOTEL & COUNTRY CLUB, West End, Grand Bahama Island, Bahamas
JACK TAR GROVE PARK INN, Asheville, North Carolina
JACK TAR DURHAM, Durham, North Carolina
JACK TAR WINSTON, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
JACK TAR POINSETT, Greenville, South Carolina
JACK TAR FRANCIS MARION, Charleston, South Carolina
JACK TAR HOTEL, Clearwater, Florida
JACK TAR KEYS MOTOR LODGE, Marathon Shores, Fla.
JACK TAR BEACH HOUSE, Destin, Florida
JACK TAR HOTEL, Lansing, Michigan
JACK TAR HOTEL, Orange, Texas
JACK TAR HOTEL, Galveston, Texas
JACK TAR CAPITOL HOUSE, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
JACK TAR HOTEL, San Francisco, California

US.70.West

File

March 8, 1965

Reverend Joseph L. Griggs
Minister
Gordon Street Presbyterian Church
1450 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reverend Griggs:

It was very good of you to give up a Sunday afternoon to speak to the Commission on Christian Social Concerns at Glenn Memorial. I think everyone there appreciated your telling us of the developments and changes in your area. You did a great deal to bring the issues of open housing before our group with clarity and realism. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

April 6, 1965

Professor Roy A. Pierce
Department of Government
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Roy:

Linda has apparently decided on spending next year, beginning this June, in Europe. She has no plans other than travel and finding a job some place. This shocks my sense of practicality, but apparently this is the kind of thing graduates of Winnie's Alma Mater are doing this year.

She'll have to earn some money over there if she does this, because I cannot and will not support her beyond passage. She has out a number of feelers, but I wonder if you have any suggestions of places or persons in England or France that she might approach about employment. She couldn't care less what she does.

I owe you a letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 6, 1965

Professor John Osgood
Department of Psychology
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear John:

It looks as though I am going to South Africa probably next February and March with possibly a little spill-over in the total trip in January or April, or both. We would like to take Tony with us and, that is apparently agreeable to his school year. There is a term in South Africa which runs from late January to late March.

Do you have any thoughts about this that we should consider before making plans and decisions? Do you know of a school in South Africa that might be specially interesting, either by character or by location for him (he'll be 16)? We would like, if possible, for him to join us occasionally on weekends.

Moreover, I, of course, would be interested in any suggestions you have as to what I should see or do over there. I don't really have any particular interest, and have told Frank Loescher I don't plan to be much of anything except a traveller.

My interest inclines, however, toward getting acquainted with the Transkei and its practicality and justice, though I am interested also in the present and probable future of the Bantu and colored in industry.

Give my best to Mary Alice.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

enclosed.
Separate mailing: ~~JANUARY 1964~~ Dec. 1964
~~JANUARY 1965~~ NEW SOUTH

April 6, 1965

Mrs. Sara Lee Grandes del Mazo
33 Dunkirk Road
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Sara Lee:

Thank you for your note. We have put you on our mailing list and you should shortly begin receiving some things.

I would write you a longer letter, except that you cannot get one by note as brief and uninformative as yours. So write me a longer letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MEMORANDUM APRIL 6, 1965

TO: NM & JS

FROM: MMJ

Nobbie, please put the lady listed below on our Mailing List - Category 7 (Research)

Janet: Please enter a 1-year subscription for the lady and bill LWDunbar for it. (At his request).

Mrs. Sara Lee Grandes del Mazo
33 Dunkirk Road
Baltimore 12, Maryland

~~thanx&mk~~

thanx, mmj

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

DEPARTMENT OF
THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

Dear Leslie -

Just time for a quick note.

I noticed that Bob is on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Conference and I wonder if it might be possible for me also to receive their literature. How does one go about it?

I hope you are well and that it will not be so long before we see you again.

Love to Peggy -

Sara Lee

(Cc Ly Lf
Sub.) b Sr. - C. Lind
Mc

[illegible] 1964 [illegible]
& [illegible] 1965

April 6, 1965

Dr. G. MacLeod Bryan
Wake Forest College
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Bryan:

Dr. D. J. Bosch suggested that I write to you. He told me that you had been in South Africa within the last year or so, and that you had put some of your children in school there.

I am going to South Africa next year for a couple of months as a participant in the U. S. - South Africa Leader Exchange Program. We think we would like to take our sixteen-year-old son, and apparently there is a school term running from late January to late March that he might get in. I would appreciate very much, however, any information you might be able to share with me regarding schools. I assume, of course, that there will be very little similarity of courses.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.**

Dr. G. MacLeod Bryan,
Wake Forest College,
Winston-Salem
N.C.

Dr. D. J. Bosch,
Madwaleni Mission,
ELLIOTDALE / Transkei
(Telephone Springhill 2)

April 15, 1965

Mrs. Henry Ollila
1992 Walthall Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Ollila:

My wife told me of your telephone call. The report in the Constitution was an accurate and fair account of my talk, but, of course, could not present it fully. The sort of problem which concerns you, and which you expressed to my wife, is exactly the thing which worries me deeply.

I think no one, neither Negro nor white, likes the experience whereby whole neighborhoods change from all-white to all-Negro residents. Yet, this has been the method our cities in the South and, for that matter, generally the cities of the North and West have followed.

As the Negro populations of our cities grow they have to find new living space. As more and more Negro families are able to afford better housing they look, as they should, for comfortable and pleasant surroundings. I know of only two alternatives. One is the transition of whole neighborhoods, and I think you are right in being concerned about this. As I said before, I think most Negroes

would share your concerns. In fact, I know of no one who benefits from this unless it be the real estate people, white and Negro.

The other alternative is free choice of housing by Negro families exercising individual preferences to live in whatever neighborhoods they want. This is a traditional American freedom which you and I have always taken for granted. It means also that the Negro population of our cities could be scattered about. This is not now possible because banks, lending agencies, real estate operators -- Negro as well as white -- and city governments join together and confine the Negro population in specific areas. As long as this continues, first one white neighborhood and then another, year after year, will be offered up to satisfy the very real needs of the growing Negro population.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
BC: Mr. Hal Gulliver

File
Dunbar - gen, 1965

June 18, 1965

Mr. & Mrs. Curtis Smith
Atwood Terrace
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Curt and Elaine:

It was great seeing you all last week.

We got home all right.

I learned when I returned to the office that the daughter of one of our secretaries will be at Mount Holyoke this summer in the ABC program. I'll appreciate it a lot (and so will her mother) if you would look her up soon. Her name is Janet Warner.

All the very best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File - Dunbar - gen. 1965

July 27, 1965

Mr. Robert Bihgham
The New Yorker
25 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

Thank you again for your offer of help in our housing problem. We may need it yet. We "bought" a house in Pelham from a man who doesn't yet own it. A phone call from our lawyer has got me suspecting that the deal may fall through.

It was a pleasure talking with you, and I hope to see you shortly after I get to New York in October.

I am enclosing a copy of Pat Watter's Encounter With the Future. We think it is a pretty solid piece of work.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

Ltr #1

List of recipients attached - all letters the same with appropriate date changes made.

Apgust 19, 1965

Mr. Ozell Sutton
Arkansas Council on
Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ozell:

Many thanks for your letter of July 7, and its good wishes. I am going to miss the South badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

August 19, 1965

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

I greatly appreciated your letter of July 14. Leaving SRC was a hard decision. Leaving Atlanta made for an even harder one. The Field Foundation offers me, however, one of the few available opportunities to continue to work at the problems that have absorbed me the last few years. (The Foundation has only two current interests; child welfare and what it calls intercultural relations, which means race plus an opening toward Indians, Puerto Ricans, etc.) Because of the Foundation's modestly heavy involvement in the South, I also do not feel that I am altogehher leaving the region.

Again, thanks for your letter. Though I now and then disagree with you about people, I seldom any more differ with you on the issues that specially concern me. All good wishes, and I hope that on some of your visits to New York you may have time to visit.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

August 19, 1965

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran
Associate Administrator for Program
Economic Opportunity Authority
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Tilman:

Many thanks for your letter of July 13, and its good wishes. I am going to miss Atlanta badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RADIO
WSB
TELEVISION
White Columns ON PEACHTREE
1601 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N. E., ATLANTA 9, GA. • PHONE 875-7221

File - Lwd - gen. 1965

Augsut 20, 1965

Miss Leslie W. Dunbar
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

READ ON FIVE STAR FINAL NEWS BROADCAST.....August 15, 1965

Saluting today's winner of the WSBeaver Award, Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

AND THAT'S YOUR FIVE STAR FINAL.....

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September 1, 1965

Dr. Frank Graham
The United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Frank:

It was mighty good of you to write from Nags Head. We spent our vacation there shortly after I took this job in 1961, and I should have been able to get some invigoration from the place.

It has been a wonderful 4½ years, and I hope I can take some of what it has meant to me to New York.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 3, 1965

Mrs. Paul Benjamin Furman
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Helen:

It was good of you to write to Peggy and me, and slppy of me not to have responded sooner. I don't think I shall ever in my life forget the summer of 1965. Perhaps you can make allowances.

We shall be moving toward the end of this month. I am afraid we will not be able to take you up on rhe Charlotte dinner invitation, so the next best thing is to hope that you and Paul will visit us after we get moved. Our address will be 56 Benedict, Pelham, New York.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Same ltr with appropriate date changes sent to:

Cabiroe, Henry

The Rev. W. Carroll Brooke
St. Elizabeth's Church
P. O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia 24015

Mr. C. Conrad Browne
Associate Director
Highlander Research and
Education Center
1625 Riverside Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee 37915

September 7, 1965

The Rev. Hubert S. Beckwith
The Congregational Christian Church
of Fairfax County
P. O. Box 288
Annandale, Virginia 22003

Dear "Beck":

Many thanks for your letter of September 1, and its good wishes. I am going to miss the South badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

September 7, 1965

Reverend Will D. Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

I never had a chance, not really. For that matter, how can anyone say anything witty in reply to a letter like yours, "Be of good cheer... I'll pray for you." How about that?

And, if you can't be taken out of context what hope is there for anybody? I'll miss you, but not, I trust, at 250 Park Avenue. Goddammit it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Same ltr, with appropriate date changes, sent to:

Dr. F. D. Patterson, Pres.
Phelps Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Morris Milgram, Pres.
Planned Communities
Suite 111
7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia 15, Pa.

Mr. A. Harold Murray
The American Jewish Com.
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

September 7, 1965

Mrs. Mary Alice Baldinger
Executive Director
National Civil Liberties
Clearing House
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mary Alice:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 11. I am leaving the Southern Regional Council with genuine regret. Your good wishes make it easier for me to tackle the new job.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

September 7, 1965

Mrs. W. T. Mason
2630 Chesterfield Boulevard
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Mason:

I was very moved by your letter of July 16. Thank you for it.

I am not given to exaggerated statements, but I did remark to my wife not long ago that my job at the Southern Regional Council had given me an opportunity to meet some very wonderful people, and that that had been the principle satisfaction of the job. The South can't be a lost cause when there are people like you making it move along.

Best wishes, and continued success.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 7, 1965

Reverend Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter of July 6. I have been wondering ever since what my "one or two notable lapses" have been. I can recall a lot more than that, but I am not sure which ones you recognized.

You have done a grand job in Alabama, and I hope that that gets recognized. Keep in touch with me and keep the Field Foundation on your mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 7, 1965

Mr. Elliott H. Levitas
Fulton Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Elliott:

I am finally getting around to answering letters. The number I have had is rather humbling, but none has been more welcome than yours. Good luck, and when you run for governor let me help raise money for you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 7, 1965

Mr. R. L. Hunt
Staff Associate
Church and Public Education
National Council of Churches of Christ, USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hunt:

Thank you for your letter of August 25, and its good wishes. I hope that we shall have a chance to visit.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 7, 1965

Mr. Clarence D. Coleman
Southern Regional Director
National Urban League, Inc.
Rhodes Building, Suite 417
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Clarence:

I want to thank you for your letter of August 26. It means a great deal to me.

Best wishes to you, and congratulations on the first-rate job you have done since becoming Regional Director.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 7, 1965

Mr. Ralph E. Purcell
115 Old Oak Road
Newark, Delaware

Dear Ralph:

I have noted the command which you and Duff sent to Peggy, and we shall see what the navigator permits -- or is it the captain? Actually, we don't even know when we are moving. The whole thing seems so unreal that neither of us has got down to specifics. I would imagine that we may be in transit through your neighborhood about September 29 or 30. I hope we can stop.

Well, I always said I would never move to New York or Washington. Now, I'll be damned if I ever move to Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 10, 1965

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
President
N. A. I. R. O.
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ruby:

Many thanks to you and Ken Crooks for your letter of September 7.

I have been of little help to the Atlanta chapter, but I am grateful to both of you for holding it together and building it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

cc: Mr. Kenneth Crooks

September 10, 1965

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 5. By this time I am sure you know that Max Hahn is retiring as of September 30. You will be glad to know that he has been elected to the board of the Foundation.

I want to do all that I can at the Foundation to maintain and further its friendship with Morehouse. Good wishes to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 10, 1965

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

Thank you so much for your letter of September 2. I feel more than a little bit chagrined at all the fuss the dinner planners are making. It would have been a real honor to see you there, but more pleasure, I'm sure, to see you in less confusion in New York. I hope you will let me know some time when you are in town, and perhaps we can have lunch. Even better, perhaps some time we could get you, and Coretta too if she is with you, out to our house. We shall be living in Pelham where another old friend of yours, Bill Peters, also resides.

Thank you for your good wishes.

Strangely enough, and sadly from my point of view, I have never visited Dorchester. Certainly now I must soon do so. Even though

I have never been there I have always thought of it as one of the finest contributions of your great leadership. You might be interested to know that a few days ago John Lewis was speaking to me about the value of Dorchester-trained people.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. D. John Heyman
40 Wall Street
New York, New York

Dear John:

You are a prince to call the clan together. I'll see you on October 5.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. Gerhard Loewenberg
Department of Political Science
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Jerry:

It was good to hear from you, and thank you for your good wishes. Peggy and I, on Sunday afternoon, went around for a drink with Erika (Myer) Shiver and Sam. The news from their latest visit to South Hadley filled us again with nostalgia. Peggy and I long ago decided that one of the attractions of the new position is that we should be able to come up to visit.

We also know that you and your family frequently get to New York and that this promises the chance of seeing you there. The Foundation's office is at 250 Park Avenue. Our home will be at 56 Benedict Place, Pelham. Craziely, at this point in our lives, we shall now have a house with five bedrooms; not by design: the bedrooms just seemd to come with the house. But it does mean that we have plenty of room for friends.

Our furniture goes off next Monday, and we shortly thereafter. We hope to move in on October 1, and I should be at work in New York on October 4.

I expect to like the job. I don't know, of course, but I don't believe that I would have wanted to accept any other foundation job. The Field Foundation interests are the ones I have been working at the last few years, so I can feel that this is a rather natural extension of what I have been doing. Moreover, the Foundation is just about, for my taste, the right size. There is enough money to be important, but not enough to require a staff of any size. My getting away from directing a fairly large staff is, frankly, something to be looked forward to. I was, of course, disappointed personally at Adlai Stevenson's death, because I had anticipated the association with him. The compensation is that a long time friend from Atlanta, now in New York, Morris Abram, will shortly be elected to succeed Mr. Stevenson.

As Roy or I may have told you, I go out to Ann Arbor in mid-October to give 5 lectures over a period of almost three weeks. This has been, as you may imagine, a hectic summer, and the lectures are far, far from being finished. Somehow I'll manage -- I usually do -- and expect to enjoy it. I intend to take with me the two biographies of Marshall Field, III that I know of and get them read. I was interested in your remarks about him. I don't have any opinion myself, from things I have heard since getting in his orbit, I do surmise that he was a personally attractive man.

Linda graduated in June, and after a summer in Europe is now taking evening classes in Education at Temple, and will do substitute teaching in Philadelphia schools. Tony will have to cope

with being a late entrant in the school in Pelham, but I suppose he may as well have his problems as long as everyone else is having theirs.

Best wishes to you all, and I hope we shall see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Miss Eleanor French
National Council of Churches
United Church Women
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Eleanor:

What a fine, undeserved letter! And, what a good think it is that there are some people like you in New York.

I hope we may see each other soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Executive Director
Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights
Under Law
Suite 1035, Universal Building North
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Berl:

Thank you for your letter of August 17. I hope too that my move to New York will provide more occasions to see you. I have been greatly interested in the plans of the Lawyers' Commiftee for Civil Rights Under Law, and I hope you will keep me up to date.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.
Director
Human Relations Commission
City of Phoenix
135 North 2nd Avenue
Suite 315
Phoenix, Arizona

Dear Henry:

Many thanks for your letter of August 16, and its good wishes. I am going to miss the South badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
2112 Castleway Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Nat:

In swapping me for you I think Atlanta comes out well ahead though Alabama is the loser; whom do you suggest that I export down from New York to the heart of Dixie?

Peggy and I both regret that we are leaving town just as you and Gloria arrive. We would have liked the opportunity to see much of you. I hope that you will both be very happy in Atlanta.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. David E. Estes, Chief
Special Collections
Emory University Library
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear David:

I have received a good many letters since news of my new job got out, many more than I deserve, but none more gratifying than yours. I am very glad to have known you this long, and if I can be of any assistance to you in the future, please let me know.

My new address in New York will be 250 Park Avenue, and if you are in the city I hope you can call me sometime.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Mr. John R. Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N. E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 17. Knowing you has meant a great deal to me. You have taught me a few things, and it's only my fault that I didn't learn more.

Peggy and I were moved that you and June got back to town for the dinner last Wednesday. I am sorry that there was not more time to talk with you there.

Our new address in New York will be 56 Benedict Place, Pelham. We shall have plenty of room, and I hope you all will visit us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 20, 1965

Miss Thelma Stevens
Assistant General Secretary
Section of Christian Social Relations
Board of Missions
The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Thelma:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 17. Now that I shall be in New York I hope we can see each other more frequently.

I don't know about this foundation business. It seems to me that about the most intelligent thing a person can do with money is to decide whose bills to pay; which means that the all important thing is having trust in people. You showed the same conviction a couple years ago when you saved Elbert Jean, for which I shall eternally admire you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Robert A. Thompson
Assistant to the Regional Administrator
for Intergroup Relations
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Room 645, Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Tommy:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 11. When you get to New York I owe you a couple of double drinks to compensate for the one you had when you heard I was leaving.

The South does, of course, export too many of its good people, and I am flattered that you put me in their company. The job I am going to, however, gives me the rare opportunity to continue to work with southern needs and issues; in fact, this was one of the reasons I accepted the job. So don't think of me as leaving; regard me rather as an ambassador sent off to the capital of the North.

It was awfully good of you to come to the dinner the other night.

Best wishes to you, Billie, and your daughter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Charles Silberman
110 Stuyvesant Plaza
Mount Vernon, New York

Dear Charles:

I don't know that I will ever, and I certainly don't now, agree that New York is a great improvement over Atlanta; I am fully expecting the worst. It will be good, however, to be around so many people I know and admire, among whom I expect to get a lot of instruction from you. Could I call you for lunch sometime after the first of November?

I say November, because from mid-October until then I am going to be in Ann Arbor giving some lectures at the University. I accepted this assignment over a year ago, but the lectures are hardly yet written. My life is hell.

Finally, I am glad to know that you will be living in the Mount Vernon area, which will make us practically neighbors. We have bought a house in Pelham; 56 Benedict Place. We

September 21, 1965

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Baxton:

Thank you for your letter of August 9, I think you have done a great job with the Tennessee Council, and I am genuinely sorry that I will not be around to be of some help to you from this end, because I don't think I have been of much so far. Keep at it, though. Keep the Field Foundation on your mailing list.

I saw Will down here last week, had letters from George, Elbert, and Martha Ragland, and it all reminds me that I have an awful lot of friends in the Tennessee Council. With people like these, and a director like you, you all should stop at nothing -- almost. Come to see me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 10. It's hard to leave down here, but I do look forward to working with Morris and his associates in the Field Foundation.

Although I shall be at work in New York on October 4, I'll be bogged down on a writing and lecture assignment for the next month. Sometime after the first part of November I would like to take you up on the lunch.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Curtis B. Gans
Director of Information
Americans for Democratic Action
1223 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Curtis:

Thank you for your letter of August 10. I had a better reason than Burton and Taylor for trying to keep a secret. Do you have any idea how many people there are who believe that the time to talk to the new director of the Field Foundation is before he gets there?

Good luck to you, and let's keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Harry Fleischman
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 10. One of the compensations for moving to New York (don't let that offend you) is being where I can see more of people like yourself.

All good wishes, and let's get together. I'll be on the job October 4, but more away than in until early November.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
2908 Noble Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

I shall always prize your letter. I have been very happy to have had the chance to work here in the last few years, and the greatest of its many satisfactions has been in coming to know so many great people. It has been a privilege to see something of you, to have you share thoughts and hopes with me, and to be a part of an organization that you as much as any person brought into being.

I was very glad to read the Post Script on your letter of August 10, which reported that you were in good health. I deeply hope that you may continue to be.

With all good wishes, and with urging that you will let me hear from you often.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Miss Katharine Taylor
41 Hawthorn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Katharine:

56 Benedict Place, Pelham.

That's where the Dunbar's will live and where you will sometimes soon be expected when you are overnight in New York on New World business or just plain pleasure.

Thank you so much for your letter of August 11, and for what you had to say about SRC. I leave it in good hands.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Art:

Thank you for your letter of August 12. I'm not so sure about that busines of SRC "gaining a donor." After all, I know everything that's under the rug. Paul will have his hands full, however, without being troubled with having to persuade the likes of me.

Come to see me when you are in New York, and the invitation extends to both office and home; the latter will be 56 Benedict Place, Pelham.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 21, 1965

Mr. Charles E. Silberman
110 Stuyvesant Plaza
Mount Vernon, New York

Dear Charles:

I don't know that I will ever, and I certainly don't now, agree that New York is a great improvement over Atlanta; I am fully expecting the worst. It will be good, however, to be around so many people I know and admire, among whom I expect to get a lot of instruction from you. Could I call you for lunch sometime after the first of November?

I say November, because from mid-October until then I am going to be in Ann Arbor giving some lectures at the University. I accepted this assignment over a year ago, but the lectures are hardly yet written. My life is hell.

Finally, I am glad to know that I will be living in the Mount Vernon area, which will make us practically neighbors. We have bought a house in Pelham; 56 Benedict Place. We

should be moving in about October 1.

I enjoyed very much your piece on the Community Action Program.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 22, 1965

Miss Helen G. Fuller
5 Hadley Street, A-4
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Fuller:

It was awfully good of you to write on August 6, and I must apologize for not responding sooner. I have been badly bogged down.

We are certain that we shall be able to get up to South Hadley for an occasional visit, and we want to very much. I hope that I may see you when we do.

Linda (that is her name) graduated in June from Swarthmore. After a summer in Europe she is now taking some Education courses at Temple and doing substitute teaching in Philadelphia.

Best wishes to you, and again many thanks for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 22, 1965

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director
Commissioners' Council on Human Relations
Room 208, District Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of August 9. What you say in it means a good bit to me.

I think Paul Anthony has a solid organization and a good staff, and SRC should have its best years ahead. Come to see me in New York, and let's keep in touch.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 24, 1965

Mr. S. Garry Oniki
United Church for Homeland Ministries
287 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York

Dear Garry:

Thank you so much for your letter of September 14. I am leaving the Southern Regional Council with genuine regret. Your good wishes make it easier for me to tackle the new job.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 24, 1965

Mr. Paul Johnston
Cooper, Mitch, Johnston & Crawford
1025 Bank for Savings Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of September 17 and for all that you say in it. Yes, I shall be leaving out of the South, but one of the attractions of the new job for me is that the Foundation is deeply interested in southern affairs. I promised Mozell Billingslee yesterday that I would get down to Birmingham in the not too distant future, and I hope that I shall be making frequent trips to the South.

Office: 250 Park Avenue. Home: 56 Benedict Place, Pelham. I hope we will see you at both places.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 24, 1965

Mr. Hobart Taylor, Jr.
Associate Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Hobart:

It was very good of you to write on September 16. Let me in turn wish you the very best success and happiness in your new and most important position.

My office in New York will be at 250 Park Avenue. It has been a pleasure to have had association with you the last couple of years, and I hope that it may continue.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 24, 1965

Mr. John Doar
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

There is more to moving out of a job than I could ever have believed or expected, and I have literally run out of time. I still very much want to have a talk with you by mid-October, and I shall phone you just as soon as I can get unpacked in New York and try to make a date.

Thank you so much for your letter of August 17. I wish I could act like you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 24, 1965

Rev. A. J. McKnight
Southern Consumers' Cooperative
425 General Mouton
P. O, Box 3005
LaFayette, Louisiana

Dear Father McKnight:

Many thanks for your letter of September 20, and its good wishes. I am going to miss the South badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 24, 1965

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur
Box 532, USL Station
LaFayette, Louisiana

Dear Father Sigur:

Many thanks for your letter of September 21 and its good wishes. I am going to miss the South badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. Paul Johnston
Cooper, Mitch, Johnston & Crawford
1025 Bank for Savings Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of September 17 and for all that you say in it. Yes, I shall be leaving the South, but one of the attractions of the new job for me is that the Foundation is deeply interested in Southern affairs. I promised Ozell Billingsley yesterday that I would get down to Birmingham in the not too distant future, and I hope that I shall be making frequent trips to the South.

Office: 250 Park Avenue. Home: 56 Benedict Place, Pelham. I hope we will see you at both places.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Miss Revelle Pergament
Eleanor Roosevelt Intern
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
Rhodes Building
Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Revelle:

Thank you for your letter of September 10. I never much liked being regarded as a "professional," but from an ex-philosophy major, it's all right. Let me assure you that your philosophy doesn't show any more, I hope, than the fact that I'm a political philosopher by trade.

Best wishes, and good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Lesle W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear John:

The movers are gathering up our belongings, and I am in the office for just a couple of hours to wind up. I do not, however, want to leave before acknowledging the very genuine pleasure I have had in working with you and under you. I don't think any staff head could have been more fortunate than I have been in having you, Mr. Dabbs, and Ray Wheeler as my corporation leaders. In particular, you have been a tremendous help to me. I shall always remember it and value your friendship.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Temple Emanu-El
P. O. Box 423
Longview, Texas

Dear Rabbi Mantinband:

Thank you for your letter of September 15. I have made not of the names of Albert Vorspan and Francis Stuart Harmon, both of whom I should have met before now.

It has been good for me to have had the opportunity to know and work with you. You are truly one of the South's finest. Will you call me when you are in New York?

The Annual Meeting is November 16 and 17; on November 15 there will be a preliminary session devoted to the state Councils.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file - Lind - gen, 1965

September 27, 1965

Dr. W. D. Weatherford
Director of Administration
Southern Appalachian Studies
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Weatherford:

Although we have never met, I have such a great regard for you that your good wishes are among those which I value mmost sincerely. Thank you very much for writing.

Best wishes to you in your continuing service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. John P. Nelson
Nelson & Nelson
701 Gravier Building
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Jack:

I can't tell you how many times I have attempted to answer your letter of August 6. This is my last day at the office, and my last chance to answer it. I give up except to say thank you.

Office: 250 Park Avenue. Home: 56 Benedict Place, Pelham. Come to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Wilton:

Welcome back to the South. I feel that I can still say this, because though I may be moving my body, I'm not moving my interest.

Thank you for your letter of September 8.

Best wishes, and come to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Miss Revelle Pergament
Eleanor Roosevelt Intern
Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
Rhodes Building
Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Revelle:

Thank you for your letter of September 10. I never much liked being regarded as a "professional," but from an ex-philosophy major, it's all right. Let me assure you that your philosophy doesnttsshow any more, I hope that it's the fact that I'm a political philosopher by trade.

Best wishes, and good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
2115 Yale Station
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Joel:

Thank you for your letter of September 8. I hope you will return to the South, and I wouldn't mind doing it myself.

John Ehle has been simply tremendous in what he has tried to do, this year, with the Ford Foundation. Come down and join me in a toast to him.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. James E. Youngdahl
Suite 1330, Tower Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter of September 10. I appreciate it very much.

Paul will have his hands full, but he'll do a good job. Give him all the support you can.

My office in New York is at 250 Park Avenue, and our home is 56 Benedict Place, Pelham. I am sure you get to New York once in a while. Pleace come to see us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. George E. Barrett
Stahlman Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear George:

Office: 250 Park Avenue. Home: 56 Benedict Place, Pelham.

Thank you for the letter.

What about that fellow Baxton Bryant? He's my boy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. Joe Louis Tucker
Georgia Field Director
N. A. A. C. P.
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Joe:

Thank you so much for your telegram. You are one of the people whom I shall miss a good bit, and I shall be interested always in following your advancement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Reverend Elbert Jean
Route 5, Pine Circle Drive
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Elbert:

For yours of September 13, thank you.

Don't ever come to New York without letting me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

September 27, 1965

Mr. Harold N. Arnold
Executive Director
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of September 15, and its good wishes. I am going to miss Atlanta badly and the people like yourself whom I have been with. I hope we shall have many chances in the future to see each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

The following messages were sent on your personalized memo pads:

Robert E. Baker

c/o Richmond Hotel
Richmond, Va.

You may be interested especially in reading"Police, Jails, Justice," Pages 25,26,27, and 28.

After all the adulation from Robert Kennedy et al, you may find this interesting and even possibly newsworthy counterpoint.

Mr. John Popham
Editor
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

I thought you might be especially interested in reading pages 25,26,27, and 28 (Police, Jails, Justice.)

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE
SOUTH HADLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

October 8

Harold,

Good to talk with you last night.

This is about it. The only other potentially noteworthy fact is that the book is finished, & is now in final typing. Where & when will it find a publisher?? I'll be gracious to it - & me.

Best wishes

Julie

MEMO: FROM LESLIE W. DUNBAR

TO: HCF
FR
JC
MRS. T.
PA

The Council owns a number of books, some of which are shelved in the libraries on the 4th floor, some of which are shelved in your offices.

There is an advantage in having books ready at hand for the people who most frequently consult them. There is also an advantage to having books in a central location.

This is to request that, when you see those books belonging to the Council accumulating dust on your shelves, you will return them to the 4th floor. A telephone call to Beverlyn Cooper will be all that is needed to get them moved.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

Michelle

Agric ~~Policy~~ Treasury + Prices

~~Grad~~ - Agric + Econ devel

~~Amer Agric Policy~~

~~Agric Relief + Prices~~

Joseph J Spengler

James B Duke Prof of Econ

at Duke since 1934

Population Problems + Resources

Econ Problems of Underdeveloped Areas

25

Econ Analysis

Hist of Pol Econ

Seminar in demographic, Population + Resource Problems

Seminar in Theory + Problems of Econ Growth + Change

R.S. Eckaus

NOTES ON THE ECONOMICS OF SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

Summary: When labor is a bottleneck factor in the economy, desegregation which improves labor supply is more likely to make everyone better off and hurt no one than when labor is not a bottleneck factor. In the latter case it is possible that desegregation may harm some elements of white labor. Even if that should happen, white capital could benefit from desegregation as well as Negro labor. In a dynamic economy adjustments may be easier than in a static economy because of the extra margin of output each year which acts as a cushion for any groups which may suffer from desegregation. The governmental tax costs of segregation are probably borne more heavily by whites than Negroes who would, therefore, in this respect, benefit more from desegregation.

I. Discrimination in a static economy

There is no point in denying that desegregation can carry an economic threat to some portions of the Southern white population, if it is, in fact, true. Self-interest is stubborn in asserting its reasons against specious argument. Rather, the special nature of the circumstances in which discrimination makes economic sense for whites should be emphasized. It is in an economy which is not growing, and which has certain other special characteristics, that the fear by whites of Negro labor, may be most justified. Precisely because of this, I choose to begin with this case. That will clear the ground for the economic case for desegregation under a wider variety of conditions.

It also seems to me that the pervasive mental "set" or attitude with respect to the general economic future is that it will be more or less like the past. I believe, that is, that the most widely held economic expectation is that the economic situation will be static. This, I would

argue, is true even in the U.S. If expectations of growth require either persistent propaganda or unusual performance, the ordinary U.S. growth rates of, say, three per cent per annum, on the average, may not have created such expectations due to the recurring business cycle. This could be particularly true of predominantly agricultural areas, such as the South has been. If the general expectation is that there will be a static economy, then, even though that may be an incorrect expectation it must be recognized as a factor which affects many attitudes.

This is not so much economic reasoning as it is reasoning about economic attitudes. On this latter I cannot claim expertise, but if this reasoning is correct, it is particularly important to understand the economics of discrimination in a static context.

A. When discrimination provides an economic advantage to (some) whites

Suppose we are dealing with a static economy; one in which there is no overall growth in output and income. That is a situation not much different from some parts of the South even now or from most of it in even the recent past. In such an economy, since the total supply of commodities is not growing, it is easy and may be accurate to conclude that one group can improve its economic position only at the expense of another. This is surely the simple, yet powerful kind of reasoning which creates for many whites the economic rationale of segregation, and the fear of desegregation.

In fact, what can possibly be wrong with this reasoning - at least in the context of a static economy. The opposite argument, that supplied by Gary Becker in his recent book, The Economics of Discrimination, goes like this. If there were no discrimination against Negroes, whites and Negroes would receive education, work together and with each other's property (including capital equipment) in optimal ways guided by the Invisible Hand of the price system. The result would be the maximum possible production

from the available labor and natural and capital resources. The economic results of discrimination, in which the labor and property of one group are not used with the labor and property of another, are to introduce "inefficiencies" in productions (departure from the optimum combinations of labor, land and capital) and thus to forestall the achievement of the maximum amount of output. Everyone becomes worse off as the consequence of discrimination and, vice-versa, everyone would be better off if there were an end to discrimination.

If this were the case the only, but formidable, problem, would be to explain to Southern white segregationists the error in their thinking. But there is another point which changes the impact of Becker's first conclusion. What is true for the region as a whole, is not necessarily true for everyone in it. Although discrimination reduces the aggregate of output and income, it also distributes the smaller amount available so that some people actually do better while others become much worse off. The qualified conclusion to which Becker comes - and which corresponds to the first conclusion of this section - is that the economic position of white labor, and Negro capitalists, is improved by discrimination while Negro labor and white capitalists suffer from it. This conclusion follows from reasoning of the following type. Discrimination against Negroes increases the scarcity of labor available for hiring by white capitalists so that the wages of white labor go up and the profits of white capital, conversely, go down. And, on the other hand, since Negro labor has its alternative employment reduced and is restricted to hiring by Negro capitalists, its wages go down and the profits of Negro capitalists go up.

These conclusions, however, are, in turn, subject to qualification which Becker does not provide because he adopts a definition of discrimination which is unduly narrow and undescriptive of reality. His definition of discrimination is a symmetric one: white labor and white capital both

are segregated from Negro labor and Negro capital. But this complete drawing apart is unusual, I believe. Economic discrimination against the Negro does not, typically, occur by the refusal to allow him to work with white-owned capital. It most frequently is the result of the refusal of white labor to work with Negro labor.

The relative lack of segregation of white capital from Negro labor means that as a whole neither is as badly off as they would be if there were discrimination in this respect also. However, as before, what is true of the whole may not be true of all the parts. It is logically quite possible that some white capital would be better off than if there were no discrimination at all, if it uses Negro labor whose supply is augmented rather than diminished by discrimination.

Becker objects to the widely held view that white capitalists benefit from discrimination (p. 13), but, unfortunately, they can. White capital which uses the kind of labor whose supply is increased by discrimination does indeed benefit by discrimination. White capital which uses labor whose supply is reduced by discrimination is correspondingly made worse off. Since one of the effects of segregation is to limit the opportunities of Negroes to move up the scale of labor skills, the skill requirements of the particular industry provide one possible criterion of whether white capital in the industry benefits or is made worse off by discrimination.

If there are any economic benefits to whites from discrimination in a static economy their appearance depends on the characteristics of the particular industry, the local labor supply, local segregation practices, etc. For even though the South in the past, and even now in some locations, might be approximated by the model of a static economy, it is imbedded in a dynamic economy. The greater opportunities for the Negro outside the South have a tendency to ameliorate his position in that they reduce the power of local capital, white or black, to take advantage of local labor surpluses

fostered by segregation.

It is not easy to determine without examining the particular situation in each industry, what the effects of segregation will be on costs and profits. Even within a single firm there may be opposite effects because segregation, itself, has opposite effects on the supplies of skilled and unskilled labor.

B. When desegregation breaks bottlenecks

Bottlenecks, in a sense, may exist in a static economy without anyone being aware of them, just because of some social institutions. Craft guilds which restricted development of larger and more efficient producer organizations were such a bottleneck in the Middle Ages. In certain industries now, segregation may also be such a bottleneck. For example, if a larger supply of skills is necessary for the expansion of an industry than is available from a segregated labor force, then segregation is a bottleneck. If desegregation permits the productivity of all types of labor to grow, then segregation hurts both white and Negro. This, too, however, is not a condition of which people are often aware. Nor, to be truthful, do economists themselves know much about its practical significance although we speculate about it a good deal (under the name of increasing returns).

C. The tax costs of segregation

The first two sections were concerned essentially with the effects of segregation and desegregation on the incomes, before taxes, of white and Negro. The "after tax" costs may be different just because of the effects of taxes required to maintain segregation.

It is difficult to imagine that the governmental costs of providing the various public services, "separate but equal," to a segregated society

are less than to an integrated society. Of course, if Negroes are discriminated against in this respect also, public expenditures might be less. But if equal and equally good public services are provided to a segregated society as to an integrated society, at best it would not cost less and, I believe, it would very likely cost more. Many governmental services are commonly believed by economists to be areas where costs fall as the size of the operation is expanded. Segregation by dividing the scale of the function would increase these costs.

It is also true that segregation generates a unique set of social costs which government must bear. If it increases crime and deliquency; it forces additional security expenditures on the community. If it generates health problems, it increases the total costs which must be borne. If segregation stimulates emigration, white or Negro, it creates losses for the South of the human capital it has formed and sustained during its unproductive years.

Who bears the additional costs of segregation? The tax system of the South, I would judge, is not so regressive or discriminatory as to force the Negro to bear all the additional costs of segregation. These costs may have been low in the past due to discrimination against the Negro in this area also. But national pressures will undoubtedly make them increase in the future even in those geographic areas which resist integration.

II. Discrimination in a dynamic economy

It would not be difficult to think up all sorts of special circumstances in which discrimination benefits white and hurts Negroes or even vice versa. These would amount to particular stories about particular instances. The objective of this survey is to provide a general framework

in which the special circumstances may fit. Some circumstances may be left out, however, because another objective is to be relevant and to concentrate on what seem to me to be the most pervasive features of the Southern economy.

Although lack of economic growth was a characteristic in the past and may still form the economic attitude of the South, relatively rapid growth has been widespread since the war period. As a result the absolute economic position of both white and Negro has, on the average, been improving.

Under the circumstances of growth it is even more unlikely that an end to discrimination would reduce white incomes absolutely. Growth also increases the probability that, although white labor incomes may rise less fast than Negro, if discrimination is reduced, white labor incomes will rise faster if discrimination is maintained. White capital which was benefiting from segregation may lose by desegregation even in a growing economy but even that would, at least in part, be the result of its own failure to adjust to changed circumstances.

A growing economy annually provides an extra margin of income and output which makes adjustments easier. Because of this white labor which may have been benefiting by discrimination would be less likely to be hurt by an end to discrimination. The same is true of white capital. The expansion of economic opportunities makes it possible for those elements, both white and Negro, which have suffered from discrimination to improve themselves without harming any other economic position.

It is in a growing economy in particular that the labor supply may become a bottleneck. Therefore, the previous argument that desegregation may break labor bottlenecks has even more weight in these circumstances. In particular, shortages of skills, both technical and managerial, may

become barriers to growth whose destruction would improve both white and Negro labor. Or, in another way of putting the proposition, an improvement in the number and quality of Negro labor skills would increase the likelihood of creating and sustaining economic growth in the South which would benefit both white and Negro.

It is not clear from general considerations whether or not Negro migration due to economic factors would be increased if his work skills were improved without desegregation. It would depend first of all on relative wage rates of skilled and unskilled Negro labor in the South as compared to other parts of the country. However, to the extent that lack of means is now a barrier to Negro migration, an improvement in the Negro's economic position, all other things remaining the same, would increase migration. Thus, it would be important for the South that "other things" did not remain unchanged.

It is also in the context of a growing economy that the argument makes sense for higher Negro incomes to create the savings necessary for investment to maintain growth. There is evidence that the marginal rate of savings of Negroes at the same level of income is higher than that of whites. Therefore, improving Negro income will generate more saving than the same improvement in white income.

where?

One cannot have it both ways, however. If there is a "saving argument" for desegregation, there cannot also be a "purchasing power" argument. If the argument of the preceding paragraph holds, then desegregation with higher incomes for the Negro will not increase consumption expenditures as much as if the increase were concentrated among whites.

The above discussion has concentrated on the more or less direct economic effects of segregation and integration which operate via changes in the labor force, population movements and saving patterns. There would

undoubtedly be more indirect economic effects which are more difficult to isolate and trace. For example, the changes in economic opportunity resulting from a shift in segregation patterns might particularly affect production in agriculture in certain areas. It might change urbanization forces, and so on. To work out these effects would require a more intimate knowledge of the South.

There are also bound to be indirect effects of integration operating through changes in the psychology and sociology of both white and Negro. These may influence labor quality, the direction of enterprise, and saving and investment. Analysis by an economist must await specification by some other social scientists of influences of this type.

Some Suggested Recipients
of RBF publications and
other materials

Although the distribution of RBF publications, releases etc. should certainly be especially planned for each item, the following might well be considered in drawing up each distribution list:

Newspapers

Christian Science Monitor
New York Times
New York Herald Tribune
Wall Street Journal
Baltimore Sun
Washington Post and Times-Herald
Southern state newspapers, at least one in each state, e.g. Richmond Times-Dispatch, Charlotte Observer, Columbia State, Atlanta Constitution
Southern School News

Trade periodicals

Manufacturers' Record

Magazines

Time
Newsweek
U. S. News and World Report
Business Week

Organizations

All state Chambers of Commerce
Chamber of Commerce of principal cities
All chapters League of Women Voters in the South
Human Relations Councils
Municipal associations (for complete list with addresses see the Municipal Yearbook)
Leading colleges of business administration (for a complete list see the College and Private School Directory of the U. S. - "the Yellow Book")

Officers and Officials

Research Departments, Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta, Richmond, St. Louis, Kansas City, Dallas

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Atlanta Office

Mayor or City Manager of principal cities

All state development boards (for a complete list see the appendix of the Book of the States 1956-57 under heading of "Commerce" and heading of "Planning and Development")

Glass Copy Stock Card
MADE IN U.S.A.

MEMORANDUM

TO: H. C. Fleming

FROM: L. W. Dunbar

Following your suggestions, I am proposing a second pamphlet topic on the general problem of the international effects of segregation, and a rewording of the final topic on politics. The former should be number VI in the scheme; this would raise the number of all later topics by one.

C. H. Parrish took me the other day to talk with Bob Thompson of the Urban League. I am now considering whether yet another pamphlet ought not to be planned around the theme of the economic effects of residential segregation. This is not my cup of tea, and I may seek more outside advice.

VI. Racial Relations and World Leadership

The position of the United States as a world leader. Its competition with the USSR for the confidence of the peoples of the old colonial territories. The need to maintain and encourage the respect of our allies--in Europe, Latin American, Asia, Africa--for our moral fitness. World interest in American race relations; world opinion about them.

Mark Ethridge, Ralph McGill; Ralph Purcell would be a natural; Richard Hocking of Emory has a professional interest in India, and has probably inherited his father's concern for this entire question (might be rewarding to have a pamphlet done by a philosopher); D. F. Fleming of Vanderbilt; R. Coulburn of Atlanta University.

IX. Segregation and Politics

What sort of a political structure is needed, both to fulfill democracy and to facilitate the national solution of our political problems? One in which (a) government is truly representative of the people, and the influence upon it of special interests ~~in~~ is minimized (unfairness of representation in Congress and state legislatures, and in counting of votes for executives); (b) a classless, open society provides for a free circulation of talents; (c) effective public opinion encourages, instead of impedes, the pragmatic formulation of policies and decisions; (d) political leadership is responsible, continuously subject to public criticism and appraisal (indispensability of an opposition party to representative government). The implications of segregation for each of these points.

I have re-examined the materials which I have assembled in the light of your remark about the desirability of prospectuses for the intended author. I think that what we have in its present form, will serve most of the need, though I would not use the term "prospectus." Instead, I would suggest that you speak of the material as data, etc. which indicates the general outlines of what seems to be a valid argument. As I see it, the suggested pamphlet titles shape up this way in relation to the research material:

I. Southern Manpower - sec. 1 of the materials seems adequate.

II. Segregation, Income and Industrial Growth - secs. 2 and 3 seem adequate.

III. Turmoil and Taxes - secs. 4 and 6 support this. Sec. 4 is light; however, we do have the interagency Violence report, and there is little more that I can do in documentation. Sec. 6 is very thin re costs to businessmen, but adequate I think on the schools problem.

IV. Realism About City-Life - I have done nothing about this topic suggested by C. H. I have assumed that he would work into it his personal slant.

V. Racial Relations and National Security - sec. 5 is light. However, this hardly could be researched without weeks of exclusive effort.

VI. Racial Relations and World Leadership - ditto

VII. The Thin Grey Line - sec. 7 is, in a sense, light. This is, however, pretty much an "opinion" topic; it seemed to me worthwhile to indicate, as sec. 7 does, the themes, but little else. Any writer will use the facts which help his own opinion.

VIII. Negroes Have Decided - sec. 8 seems adequate.

IX. Segregation and Politics - sec. 9 is, in a sense, light. But the same can be said here as above in regard to VII.

INSURANCE RESEARCH PROJECT, FILED ALPHABETICALLY BY AUTHORS, REARRANGED BY SUBJECT MATTER ON DUPLICATE CARDS.

1. Armed Forces

2. Business & Economic

   a. Agriculture & Farming
   b. Business Development (including Cooperatives & Credit Unions)
   c. Economic Boycotts
   d. Economic Status ~~& Markets~~
   e. Industrial Development
   f. Markets

3. Crime

   a. General
   b. Juvenile Delinquency: statistics & studies
   c. Law Enforcement
   d. Prisons & Parole

4. Education

   a. General
   b. Adult
   c. Colleges & Universities
   d. Elementary & Secondary
   e. Psychological Studies & Tests
   f. Teaching Profession

5. Employment

   a. Employment (general) & occupational statistics
   b. In the professions

6. Health

   a. General: and factors affecting health
   b. Diet
   c. Health Personnel: Doctors, Nurses & Dentists
   d. Hospitals & Facilities
   e. Mental & Emotional: Sociological Statistics & Studies
   f. Public Health
   g. Social Service & Welfare
   h. Tuberculosis
   i. Venereal Disease

7. History

   a. General
   b. Progress

8. Housing

9. Insurance

   a. Discrimination
   b. Investments

10. Legislation

11. Labor Unions

12. Miscellaneous

13. Population

   a. Migration
   b. Vital Statistics

14. Religion

15. Sociological

   a. General
   b. All Negro Communities
   c. Inter-group Relations

16. Voting

17. Yearbooks, handbooks, Enclycopedias, Bibliographies

(This is neither an outline nor a finished argument. It is rather an attempt, first, to define the major areas from which segregation can be critized, exclusive of the moral issue; and, secondly, to indicate the direction which analysis and criticism in each area might take. These pages represent then a selection of themes expressive of the case against segregation.

(The treatment of each area requires undoubtedly more body. Discussion may reveal that the selection of areas is not the best. The approach taken within each of the nine areas may be proved inadequate.

(The assumption, however, is that there is benefit in bringing areas of southern self-interest under critical, open inquiry. This is assumed to be so even if, in any particular area, a decisive case against segregation cannot be made.

(This is intended, therefore, as a basis for further and intense consideration, and as a possible framework of ideas within which the Rockefeller Brothers program can be usefully planned.)

Segregation in an Industrial Society

1. Continued growth of an industrial economy requires an abundant supply of varied skills in the working force.
2. Sustained industrial growth requires a rising level of purchasing power.
3. Sustained industrial growth requires adequate funds for capital investment.
4. Sustained industrial growth is not likely in a society where law and order are threatened by pers

serious challenge.

5. The competition between an American led West and the Communist bloc makes impermissively costly the waste of human and other economic resources in the United States.

6. Segregation patterns are an important added cost to taxpayers and businessmen.

7. Realism requires recognition that the forces attacking segregation are strong and probably too strong to be resisted. The South can choose the agony of struggle or the opportunity of providing local leadership in re-adjustment. In short, may choose whether again to be "reconstructed," or whether "to reconstruct."

8. Segregation henceforth must be enforced against unwilling Negroes, and no longer can be practised with their acquiescent cooperation. Does the South genuinely desire a social order based on continuous coercion?

9. Defiance and evasion of the law sets back again the emancipation, at national, state, and local levels, from "nigger politics."

Segregation and the Public Welfare

Segregation and the Public Interest

The Southern Search for Social Sanity

Segregation in an Industrial Society

Segregation and Urban Life

The Cases for Sanity

A Reasoned Study of (Inquiry into) Segregation

The End of Segregation

Outlines of a Mature Society

Race Relations and Maturity

Affirmations of Maturity

From Race Relations to Human Relations

I. Southern Manpower

A summary of present conditions: underutilization of labor, non-development of adequate industrial skills, migration losses, educational waste. Consideration of the probable duration of the South's pool of available labor.

The pamphlet should be done by an economist and, to avoid any connotation of special pleading, by a white man. Donald Dewey of Duke has already worked in this field, and writes well.

II. Segregation, Income and Industrial Growth

The relationship between (a) purchasing power and industrial expansion; (b) segregation and purchasing power.

The essay should be done by a businessman, if possible to obtain one who could do a good job. It would not seem to matter whether he or she were Negro or white. Hammer would be an ideal choice, and his company's study for us is already basic spade-work on the subject; the pamphlet could be done (and ought to be done) in an objective, matter of fact way that would not get him more than the normal criticism. What about Paul Williams? or one of the other businessmen on our board? or George Goodwin?

III. Turmoil and Taxes

Industry's need for law and order: can the South fulfill it? The high cost to business of separate facilities. An examination of Swanson's thesis that segregated school systems are not more costly than desegregated systems. Somehow this seems to invite a Negro economist.

*IV. Realism about City-Life

The swift growth of urbanization presents probably the major sociological problems of our era: the transformation of rural migrants into city people; the cancer of depressed areas; the tremendous burden placed on the schools by the variety of social and psychological environments of their pupils. The study would deal with the aggravation which segregation gives to this already immense problem.

The author should be a sociologist or social psychologist; C. H. Parrish perhaps would be willing to do it.

V. Racial Relations and National Security

The seriousness of U.S.S.R. economic competition; the thoroughness of the Russian utilization and development of manpower. American contrast. Could we try for some such person as Will Clayton, Mark Etheridge, Jubal Parten?

VI. The Thin Grey Line

A study of the strength of the forces arrayed against segregation: the consistency of the federal courts; the political realities of Presidential elections; the reduction of southern influence in Congress; alterations in southern public opinion; impersonal bureaucratic policies; secession of many of the southern clergy.

Ashmore, Marion Wright, Fleming, Morris Abrams.

*I owe the suggestion of this topic to C. H. Parrish

VII. Negroes Have Decided or, "Jim Crow Can't Live Without Uncle Tom"

The Negro's new consciousness of himself; his entry into the stream of national communication; his leadership and its popular support. This could be the "literary" germ of the series. A richly impressionistic, keenly intuitive piece would be more valuable than a sociological dissection. George McMillan, Dykeman/Stokeley, Paul Green, Ashmore, Benjamin Mays, P. D. East, James Dabbs, Marion Wright, Mrs. L. C. Bates.

VIII. Segregation and Southern Politics

The hopeful currents of 1945-5? (Arnall, victories of Kefauver and Gore, lack of appeal of the '48 Dixiecrats, etc.); the years since. The dampening of dissent, and the enforcement of public conformity. The sacrifice of statesmen to regional passion. Ronald Dugger, Ashmore, Fleming, Marion Wright, Morris Abrams, Frank Graham.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

William N Parker
Assoc Prof Econ, UNC
PhD Harvard
at UNC since 1951
Econ development in Western Europe
" " " US
" History: Pre-Industrial
" " : Industrialization
Seminar in Econ History

William D Marshall - Tulane
Asst Prof Econ - PhD
at Tulane since 1958
Schultz Bom Adam

William A Nicholls - Vanderbilt
Prof of Econ + Chairman
BA - Kentucky, PhD Harvard
Southern Econ development
American Agric Policy

Agric 41-5411

Cypress 2-6045

6-24-58

The Rockefeller Brothers grant enables the Council to undertake new or more ambitious activities intended to influence the course of race relations in the present critical confluence of forces. The concept of the grant and the program it is to support has been variously expressed as:

-operation law and order
-reaching the uncommitted
-influencing the decision-makers

A more clear concept of what is (or can be) done, as well as a more fertile approach to the selection of tactics, might result from a consideration of some pertinent questions, and the statements which follow, although without question marks, are meant to suggest the questions which might be discussed.

1. The Council should not regard itself as, or attempt to be, an agency contributing to change, helping to initiate and produce it. It has the more modest role of endeavoring to direct and facilitate change produced by other forces.

2. If southern liberals or "moderates" were politically articulate and active, the Council and similar agencies would still have a function. But certainly the function is different when liberals are dumb and inactive. I suspect that the Council tends to act as if liberals were alive, and that it thereby scatters its seed where the sun does not shine, or in another metaphor, that it is trying to hold up a house that a tornado has already nearly flattened.

3. But the Council can do little to fill the political vacuum. It seems to me therefore that its usefulness requires that it carefully, and maybe coldly, decide what are the decisive elements in the present vortex, and concentrate its efforts toward influencing them.

4. I think the dynamic factors are principally the following:
   a. emergence of effective Negro leadership
   b. authority of the federal courts
   c. the southern Negro's new image of himself
   d. national prosperity, which has carried the Negro with it
   e. increasingly close economic integration of South with rest of the country
   f. changed conditions in national politics; a result is that southern politicians are somewhat more sensitive to outside public opinion, or else are confronted by the prospect of radical political decisions which the old and long relied on skills and parliamentary experience can not longer evade
   g. a bolder southern clergy

5. Perhaps I have omitted some factors of importance or wrongly conceived others. The important thing is, I believe, that we do this sort of basic definition, and that we then consider what, if anything, the Council can do about each. Here, for example, are some suggestions.

6. Emergence of effective Negro leadership. Clearly, and I should think obviously, the mainspring, the efficient cause, of change. I hold it as axiomatic that everyone, and especially leaders, require criticism. Does the NAACP get it, and from where? (Not from the white South; denunciation and opposition are not the same as criticism). Would this be a function which the Council could perform? To observe steadily and as closely as possible NAACP

strategy and methods, and when and if it thinks criticism is needed to give it, quietly and privately.

7. Authority of federal courts. The Council can probably do little to augment or diminish it. But judges read, and are influenced (see Brown ~~and~~ v. Topeka) by the prevailing climate of opinion. I think the Council ought to multiply its spawn of facts and authoritative analyses, directed principally at immediate problems. For example, in the wake of Judge Lemley's decision, I am reasonably sure that a sober two or three page analysis of "re-segregation", put out in the name of the Council as a press release, would get used, in full or in part, both in the North and South; I am also convinced that appellate judges need this sort of service, to keep up their confidence, and to give them the "feel" of southern situations. In the same way, the Council might anticipate legal cases. e. g., I would suppose that there is at least some likelihood that the " free choice" plan may come under attack. What is the Council's opinion of it(not, of course, as to its legality but as to its wisdom in race relations)? Why shouldn't the Council either have that opinion out, or have out the facts etc. on which others could base an informed opinion?

8. The southern Negro's new image of himself. I think the Council should deliberately do what it can to enhance it; e. g., to look for and publicize, in the most expedient channels and form, Negro accomplishments and leaders.

9. National prosperity. Here, of course, the Council is irrelevant

10. Increasingly close economic integration of South with rest of country. What this means is that the South can not again choose isolation from the nation in order to defend its own values. As a part of an industrial economy its prosperity will require, as does that of any industrial society, a highly productive workforce, an adequate supply of technological skills, a high and diffuse purchasing power, and a social atmosphere conducive to single-minded economic development. I assume two things: (a) that industrial and financial leaders know the facts as well as we could possibly know them; (b) that although those of them who are southern probably would prefer continued segregation, and those of them who are northern are probably indifferent, that nevertheless what they desire most of all is an end to the "disturbance." In the present tense South, industrial and financial leaders are hardly free to act or not, at any rate, to act decisively. I think the contribution the Council can make is not through working on them directly, but rather by attempting to get the race issue discussed throughout the region on a rational level, doing what it can to solve the "besetting problem," as Ashomre has called it, of reducing the issue to rational terms. Whatever techniques or media, the end should be to get open, public and calm discussion of the self-interest of all southerners, and thereby to put the issue on that level of debate.

11. Changed conditions in national politics. If I am right, THAT southern politicians are increasingly sensitive to northern public opinion, then doing what the Council can to inform northern opinion - accurately, factually - is a means of influencing the South. More of the sort of activity which led to the Terrell County story, but, even more important, reports on "situations" rather than "events".

12. A bolder southern clergy. I think the Council should set about to hold the preachers' hands, to give them the constant feeling that they have support for their professions of conscience. Maybe, e. g., put as many as the Council can afford on the free mailing list of NEW SOUTH.

13. I have listed six areas of decision making which the Council could try to influence. Its approach should vary with the area. The techniques would have to be chosen and developed with professional skill. The Negro leadership; the federal judiciary; the southern Negroes generally; the industrial and financial managers - North and South; northern public opinion; and southern clergymen - these seem to me to be the decision makers.

14. In addition to influence, the Rockerfeller Brothers grant envisages service - to school superintendents and police departments primarily. I should think that this could be a field for close partnership between the Council and the state human relations' groups. The chief responsibility for setting the stage could rest with the state group; the provision of the requested technical consultation could be the responsibility of the Council.

15. From an organizational point of view, I should suppose that the sort of tasks proposed in paragraphs 6, 8, 12, 14 might be absorbed into already existing activities and staff. Those proposed in paragraphs 7, 10,11 could well be the field of the new staff member.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM July 15, 1958

TO: Harold C. Fleming

FROM: Leslie Dunbar

:

I have realized, especially since our conversations of the past couple of days, that I should offer some more clear recommendations as to what you may do with the materials I have now deposited with you.

First, I would like criticism on the scheme of it, and suggestions for strengthening it.

Secondly, I think its usefulness will be transient unless it is made the starter of a continuing research operation. The RBF program will need, during its three or more years, the support of continuous analysis, such as I have attempted. Organizationally, I don't know how you do this: how much Marge could contribute to it on top of her present work, is hard to say.

Thirdly, I think it can be used as a basis for a series of short studies. Whether these be backed by panels, or whether they have individual authors, certain things would be necessary: (1) designation of a general editor or panel director; (2) selection of topics; (3) distribution of studies. As to (1), you or John or the RBF appointee would be obvious choices, or you could go outside the staff; (2) I can see six or seven topics for studies within the scheme I have presented: from my 9 themes - nos. 1, 2, 2, could be combined into a single

study; nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, could be each a separate study; and nos. 4 and 6 could be separate studies or combined; (3) as to distribution, I think it is probably premature to be specific, though in general we ought to aim at coverage of the most influential media and organization. While recognizing the merits of panel reports, I believe the idea of individually written pamphlets has some alternative advantages which can be considered: (1) avoids the organizational problem of bringing together panels (though of course there is somethin g achieved by doing so, perhaps); (2) obviates the problem of digging up businessmen or economists for the Council's Board; (3) is quicker; (4) may result in better studies.

- : -

M E M O R A N D U M

August 27, 1958

TO: Harold Fleming

FROM: L. W. Dunbar

Here is a final (speaking for myself only) proposal for an RBF pamphlet; a longer outline of the subject is set out in Section 6A, coming to you in the same mail delivery.

IV. The Price We Pay for Segregated Housing

Housing segregation in metropolitan areas can for at least some time yet to come probably be maintained legally; i.e. without ordinances or statutes. The question is, therefore, whether the white community values it highly enough to pay the price. For there is a price, and one that gets increasingly large. Segregated housing means overcrowding, and consequent tensions; means a high ratio of municipal expenditures to revenues; inefficient land use; deterioration of the central city; inflexible real estate values. These are some of the components of the bill for segregation which should be itemized before we continue to meet its payments.

At the risk of almost certain confusion, I think there might be somewhat more for you if I did not once again list in order the ten proposed topics:

I. Southern Manpower
II. Segregation, Income and Industrial Growth
III. Turmoil and Taxes
(new) IV. The Price We Pay for Segregated Housing
V. Realism about City Life
VI. Racial Relations and National Security
VII. Racial Relations and World Leadership
VIII. The Thin Grey Line
IX. Negroes Have Decided
X. Segregation and Politics

(Some academic names which might be considered for #VI are DRAGNICH (Pol. Sci. - Vanderbilt) and DOMAR (Econ. - Johns Hopkins). I am not acquainted with Domar's work; his name has been recommended to me. If a southern author cannot be found, there are numerous specialists at M.I.T., Harvard, Columbia etc., whom I could suggest. A really literate and persuasive pamphlet could be written by Frederick L. SCHUMAN of Williams, if he would take it on.)

6A. <u>Housing segregation in metropolitan centers of the South is a heavy economic loss to all, except possibly the landlord.</u>

(A number of items on housing are included in the bibliography. Other than this, I haven't the opportunity to contribute to the research. From my reading and from discussions with Bob Thompson, John Gould, and Bob Stewart, I believe that the following outline does provide a useful approach, and that the various points of it can be documented.)

1. High cost of municipal services

   a. Segregated housing areas joined with heavy Negro population growth in the cities results inevitably in overcrowding and slums. The high cost of slums to the municipality, in terms of police, fire, welfare and other services, has been well established. Revenues received from such areas are low; expenditures high.

   b. Overcrowded housing means poor health, widespread delinquency, other sociological problems. These conditions are not only a measurable financial cost to the municipality; they weaken the whole structure of public order, morality, labor efficiency. Overcrowding results in weaker family control of individual behavior, and the slack has to be assumed in part by public agencies.

2. Indirect costs to municipal and other governments

   a. There is a question as to how public housing costs are affected by segregation. An open project for 200 families would almost certainly be cheaper than 2 segregated projects of 100 units each. On the other hand, there is a trend in public housing planning toward small, scattered projects.

   b. Segregation influences the location of public facilities, which would be more advantageously placed elsewhere; e.g. the route of the North-South access road, west of Hightower was selected in order that the road could serve as a housing boundary - good planning indicated another route. Public housing for whites is frequently located to provide (hopefully) a check to Negro expansion; e.g. Joel Chandler Harris homes.

   c. There is the large and involved question of the costs of suburbia. That the mushroom growth of suburbs has added to municipal costs and decreased municipal revenue seems well established. The connection between the growth and segregation is not difficult to make out, although there are other incentives as well which stimulate the exodus from the inner city.

3. Adverse effects on metropolitan development

   a. Conformity to segregated housing patterns immensely complicates the now well-accepted function of city planning.

b. More importantly, these patterns force an inefficient use of land. Much Negro housing is located on sites which are highly-desirable industrial property. This results not only in bad utilization, but in lower appraised values and hence less revenue to the city.

4. Adverse effects on private interests

a. Real estate values are not maintained by segregation, except possibly for high-price areas. "Exclusiveness" contributes less to value stability than does a wide, unrestricted market of potential buyers.

b. Whites who move from neighborhoods because of Negro penetration do so frequently at the price of exchanging a well seasoned mortage for a new commitment to many years of payments; and get less value in their new house. On the other hand, white neighborhoods not yet penetrated but lying in the path of Negro expansion are virtually worthless in terms of re-sale value; this hurts the white owner who has to move because of job, and hurts the real estate agent who can't turn over the property.

c. It is well established that rent levels for Negroes are higher than for whites in comparable housing. This means that more of the Negro dollar goes to rent, less available for other purchases.

d. There is a question as to whether the bad conditions of segregated Negro housing lessen demand for consumer durable goods. Probably does for such things as refrigerators, ranges, vacuum cleaners; also for furniture, rugs, house paint, etc. Probably increases demand for automobiles, TV sets.

e. Industrialists have accepted the principle, especially when establishing new plants, that personnel efficiency requires satisfactory community facilities - housing, schools, churches, shopping centers, etc. Provision of these is often complicated by the existence of residential color patterns; controversy, painful negotiation, and loss of managerial time result.

5. Political ill-health

A racially dominated political unit is bad, whether it be white or Negro. We are headed toward the time when the large cities will be substantially if not predominantly Negro. Annexation of suburbs or consolidation may alter this trend, and will certainly be attempted for that purpose (witness, Newport News and Warwick); but these are, however, clumsy and not always possible devices. City-state relationships are bad enough now; they would be intolerable if it were the Negro cities vs. the white country.

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4/6/59

To: Les Dunbar
From: R. S. Eckaus
These are the names I promised you.

CHARLES BAKER	Presently a graduate student in the Harvard Economics Department and in his second or third year; I believe he is close to his doctoral degree. I understand that Baker is also a reasonably competent economist. He is a southerner by birth and is reported to me to believe strongly in the importance of desegregation.
BILL PARKER	An economic historian at the University of North Carolina and also reported to be reasonably competent. I have been told that he writes well and also feels strongly on the subject of segregation.
DAVID MAXWELL	Now at Tulane University, a former Johns Hopkins graduate student and a southerner by birth. One of his Johns Hopkins professors reported to me that Maxwell would be sympathetic to the work of the Southern Regional Council.
WILLIAM NICHOLS	Vanderbilt University
and	
JOSEPH SPENGLER	Duke University
	Both of these men are full professors. Nichols is a respected agricultural economist. Spengler is mainly interested in population and economic development work. I don't know anything about these men's views on this issue but I would be inclined to respect their judgment if they would care to recommend someone if they themselves were not able to do something for you.
MRS. BEN RUSSELL	Mrs. Russell is on the Counseling Committee on Social and Economic Action of the United Presbyterian Church, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia. I am told she is very active in the work of this Committee and social problems in general. She has a master's degree and is a southerner. Whether or not she could do anything for you, she may be a source of recommendations.
JAMES FIEBLEMAN	Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Tulane University, has been recommended as a liberal minded, outspoken individual. If he cannot work for you himself along economic lines, he may be able to recommend someone. I was told by Professor Edwin Kuh, who recommended Fiebleman, that his name could be used if you contact Fiebleman.

BENJAMIN HIGGINS

Visiting professor of economics at the Center for International Studies, M.I.T., he is a Canadian by birth but will be chairman of the department of economics, University of Texas beginning in the fall of this year. Higgins is a widely known economist and has recently been quite active in economic development work for the United Nations and has been running the Center's Indonesia Project. I have talked with him and he is quite interested in the research projects you propose. He plans to visit the University of Texas later this month and will explore the interest of economists there in your proposed work.

To: G. Dunlop 4/6/59

From: R. S. Eckaus

These are the comments on your notes

1. Population Changes

p. 3 Ginzberg data will always need checking
#2 not to any point
#3 Perhaps due to fact white labor force growing as proportion of that total labor force.
Last para. of E.G. quotes does not follow.

p. 4 Argument must be made tighter to demonstrate that there is little hope for Negro to advance in segregated work groups.

The quotations on p. 4 and 4 A need to be reconciled to each other and previous statement of more rapid growth of White ~~unemployment~~ labor force as compared to the Negro.

p. 5 The Ashmore quote gives a totally wrong view of how the effects of population movement would work out.

agree

p. 6 (top) Surely Negro migration represents a major cost both actual and potentia to South. This is a result, perhaps, of unequal educational opportunity but also of comparatively unfavorable job opportunities.

But how is white migration related to segregation.

p. 6 (bottom) Comparison of gains and losses should also take into account different age and labor characteristics of migrants in and out. Retirement in Florida of northerner may raise average educational level but contribute little to labor force in South.

? Para. at bottom of p. 7 does not appear to make point obvious.

The point must be made that regional movement is more than equalization of uneven, overall wage differentials and is the result of segregation. This might be done by comparing white and Negro movements.

Population changes such as on Table 7A need working out with clarity, and with white -Negro distinction, if possible, as these are basic data.

p. 8 The means are interesting but so is the part of the distribution which is "inadequate". And would future be different from past conditions?

p. 9 (top) Conclusion may not have general validity, as stated but something along those lines probably is true.

p.11 (top) Seems questionable to me.

p. 12 This kind of data can be elaborated and should be convincing.

p. 14 (top) The line of reasoning is not clear.
Point #7 may be in doubt also.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

2. Purchasing Power.

p. 5 Point #2 seems, in part, questionable.

p. 7 The kind of argument given on this page must be thoroughly buttressed with facts. It is not obvious to me that the conclusions are warranted in the form in which they are given.

p. 8 The market attraction of the South as the reason for industrial location is not an obvious conclusion to me, although I may seem to disagree with students of the southern economy." Anyway, it is not a conclusion to be taken for granted. It may be rather important for the argument on the economic effects of segregation. Suppose the southern economy has grown for "internal" reasons, i.e. growth of southern purchasing power. Then the existence of adequate labor skills may be less important for the attraction of industry than if southern industrial growth was in sectors producing primarily for a northern or national market. This relates to the argument of Part I of these notes.

It seems to me also that the argument on this page on the effects on industrial growth of the relative availability of southern labor is confused. If, in fact, Southern labor was "extremely" mobile there would have been no reason for new plants to move south "to tap the labor supply."

p. 9 The statement here may not be consistent with previous statements about the character of Southern industrialization.

p. 13 The effects of segregation in a growing economy are probably different than in a static economy. I think I could make a case for the hypotheses advanced here in the context of growth but perhaps not in static situations. Such distinctions are important and can and should be thrashed out.

3. Growth, Saving and Investment

p. 1 There is a good insight in that paragraph but it is not clearly stated. Capital formation is necessary for improvement in wages in most situations, abstracting from unionisation and technical change. The level of the "given real wage" is crucial as are the reasons for the "conviviality" of rural life.

? p. 6 The first statement in the second paragraph is probably not true.

Much of the argument in this section is that southern savings are low because income is low, with consequent effects on investment. To related this to segregationone has also to argue that income is low partly because of segregation.

One might, however, argue that the existing level of savings is not "efficiently" allocated because of segregation. While this is true for the Negro, it may not be true for the white. In any case, it is a point worth thinking on.

4. Industrial Growth and Social Disorder

There can be no doubt of the correctness of the argument advanced here. The problem is to make it convincing. Few plants will be closed and equipment moved because of social disorder. It is just that fewer plants will be opened. But ordinary people, never seeing the plants which do not arrive, may be hard to convince with logic alone.

Perhaps an argument could be made along these lines:

a. New industrialization in the South will require the importation of specialists given the technical superiority of the North. However, technical specialists are in scarce supply and, to a considerable degree, their locational preferences must be taken into account. They will be very reluctant to move into areas of social disorder. A survey might turn up evidence of such attitudes.

b. Southern location has been encouraged by local tax and other concessions. If Northern business comes to have a lack of faith in the commitment of Southern authorities to legality, those concessions will be discounted.

A relative preference for western as compared to southern sites in recent years would be at least partial evidence of the above attitudes.

6. Segregation Costs

p. 2 I can hardly believe in the truth of the view reported in the second paragraph. In particular I would have thought that most of the data on past costs would not be relevant to such a conclusion.

If truly "equal" though separate facilities were provided for Negroes in the South, it would take some very special conditions to make the conclusion true. These conditions would have to do with the distribution of population and the variation of education costs with school size. I would doubt if the conditions were exactly met.

In any case, it is my impression that facilities have not been "equal" so past data would be uninformative on this issue.

p. 6 Though the Maclachan study may not be adequate, I would think an investigation along these lines would be fruitful.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

April 2, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Just a note to explain why I am later with my report to you than I had expected to be.

Upon getting into the subject, I found that the major analytical issues as treated, for example, by Gary Becker in his recent book did not seem to be clear. I am writing a brief note of clarification which I am going to send to you with the other material which I promised. I expect to finish all of it by the end of this week and hope to have it in your hands next week.

I hope this delay is not seriously inconveniencing you.

Sincerely,

Dick

RSE:mob

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

April 7, 1959

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

I have gone over your notes of the economic aspects of segregation carefully. On the whole I believe they are quite suggestive and indicate a number of fruitful lines of research. I am, in fact, impressed by your versatility in being able to put together a set of notes on economic issues which is so promising.

Let me indicate how I am responding to your request for advice on the feasibility of research on the issues described:

(1) I have prepared a brief, overall survey of the economic issues involved in segregation and desegregation. This was prompted by the need I personally felt to put your notes in a framework satisfactory to a professional economist. This is being sent to you under separate cover. The organization of this survey is not, I would hasten to add, necessarily the best organization of research and publication for the purposes of your organization.

(2) For research purposes I have prepared a tentative list of projects or research areas. You, of course, will be a much better judge than I of the appropriateness of such studies.

(3) I am enclosing detailed comments on your notes which I made as I went through them. These should generally be read as adjuncts to your manuscript. In addition to critical observations I have occasionally emphasized lines of argument which I thought could be profitably pursued. In some cases I have given off-hand judgments of data and arguments based on my acquaintance with the individual quoted (e.g. Eli Ginzberg) or my first impressions of the data. Since all these are tentative statements, I would prefer that they not be widely circulated. By the way, I do not have a Part 5 of your notes. I hope I did not lose them. Or did you send it?

(4) I am enclosing a list of southern economists who were

recommended to me as being reasonably well qualified people. Where there was some particular reason to believe these economists would be willing to undertake work for you, I have also indicated that. I have, as well, added some names of persons, economists and otherwise, who would possibly be able to recommend people to you.

I hope these reactions are of the sort you wanted and will be useful to you. I am pleased that you asked me to help with this. Should there be any questions about this material I am sending to you, feel free to ask for clarification.

Sincerely,

Dick

R.S.Eckaus,Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Economics

rse/bg

P.S. I am returning your notes under separate cover.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY
WALTHAM 54, MASSACHUSETTS

March 19, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Department of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I was very pleased to hear from you and to learn of your new activities. I have a great deal of sympathy for what the Southern Regional Council is trying to do and I am more than willing to be of whatever assistance I can.

I shall read your notes carefully and send you my comments in a week. My first impression is that they suggest very clearly some lines of inquiry which are quite feasible and quite important.

I am also making some discreet inquiries about southern economists who might possibly author the pamphlets you suggest. My own acquaintance with this area is limited but I am trying to obtain suggestions from a number of people who have wider acquaintanceships. I should be able to send you a list of men with whom you could start at the same time I send you my comments on your notes.

As for an honorarium, if you have money, fifty dollars seems to be quite appropriate. This is the amount I usually receive for reviewing a book manuscript. On the other hand, if you need to conserve your funds, I am more than willing to do an occasional job like this for an enterprise such as yours.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

rse/sg

March 10, 1959

Professor Richard Eckaus
Department of Economics
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

Dear Richard,

I don't believe that at our last meeting I mentioned my personal plans to you. The story is brief: I left Mount Holyoke at semester's end to come here and to grips with a long time preoccupation. In my new capacity I make to you an old request: help.

We have a responsibility to emphasize to the South the economic costs of segregation, and in a measure we have done this by reprinting and disseminating as widely as we can articles that appear in the press and journals, speeches that come to our attention, etc. The Montgomery pamphlet which is enclosed is a fair sample. Actually, though, you economists have pointed damn little light in this direction and the journalistic materials with which we work are the only choices available. This bothers us for two reasons: (a) the terrific importance of encouraging realistic consideration in the South of the economic incentive for changed racial relations; (b) the fact that we have in hand a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers which beckons <u>us</u> to do such encouragement.

Neither heavy research nor scholarly presentations is our function. We would, however, be interested in introducing some more systematic analyses than are now available. It is as to the feasibility of this that I would like your opinion.

Last Summer, on a special assignment for the Council, I worked out some notes which indicated the general outlines of what seemed to me valid arguments. These had to do with the effects of segregation on manpower utilization, purchasing power, capital investment,

business "climate", and costs of doing business. The notes are sketchy and probably superficial; no matter. Their use was only to satisfy us that incisive arguments could be marshalled, on sound facts and analyses, which would (or should) appeal to the self-interest of the economic leadership down here.

Would you be willing to look them over and advise us, not whether the notes themselves are well selected, but whether the theses they maintain can be authoritatively supported? In the event you are willing, you'll find the notes enclosed.

My plans for using them are not fixed or clear. Tentatively, I have thought in terms of three studies of pamphlet size. One on southern manpower. A second, covering the theses numbered 2 and 3, on segregation, income and industrial growth. The third, covering the theses numbered 4 and 6, on business "climate" and taxation. But pamphlets need authors. Remembering a remark you once made about southern economists, I pessimistically ask for suggestions. The qualifications would be: competence (not necessarily a monopoly of academicians), ability to write effectively, some recognizable affiliation with the South. The last requirement can be waived, but only as a last recourse.

It seems to me that these problems can be most helpfully tackled from the points of view of development economics, that analytical methods similar to those you fellows are perfecting for the study of under-developed countries should be useful here. That is why I am writing to you for advice, rather than to some one immersed in southern facts and figures. I see that another big investigation, a la Ford money, is underway down here headed by B. U. Ratchford. If the result is a volume like Ratchford and Hoover, Economic Resources and Policies of the South, we will have another handbook good til next year's figures come in. In a modest way, I would like something more perceptive.

I am still inexperienced at this entrepreneurial role, and don't know what honorarium to offer you as a consultant. Would $50.00 be wrong? Tell me plain.

Nuclear power seems very remote (as, in fact, it is). I intend to keep up, but just out of lingering interest.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. The "notes" I'll need back. A stamped envelope is enclosed.

R.S. Eckaus

NOTES ON THE ECONOMICS OF SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

Summary: When labor is a bottleneck factor in the economy, desegregation which improves labor supply is more likely to make everyone better off and hurt no one than when labor is not a bottleneck factor. In the latter case it is possible that desegregation may harm some elements of white labor. Even if that should happen, white capital could benefit from desegregation as well as Negro labor. In a dynamic economy adjustments may be easier than in a static economy because of the extra margin of output each year which acts as a cushion for any groups which may suffer from desegregation. The governmental tax costs of segregation are probably borne more heavily by whites than Negroes who would, therefore, in this respect, benefit more from desegregation.

I. Discrimination in a static economy

There is no point in denying that desegregation can carry an economic threat to some portions of the Southern white population, if it is, in fact, true. Self-interest is stubborn in asserting its reasons against specious argument. Rather, the special nature of the circumstances in which discrimination makes economic sense for whites should be emphasized. It is in an economy which is not growing, and which has certain other special characteristics, that the fear by whites of Negro labor, may be most justified. Precisely because of this, I choose to begin with this case. That will clear the ground for the economic case for desegregation under a wider variety of conditions.

It also seems to me that the pervasive mental "set" or attitude with respect to the general economic future is that it will be more or less like the past. I believe, that is, that the most widely held economic expectation is that the economic situation will be static. This, I would

argue, is true even in the U.S. If expectations of growth require either persistent propaganda or unusual performance, the ordinary U.S. growth rates of, say, three per cent per annum, on the average, may not have created such expectations due to the recurring business cycle. This could be particularly true of predominantly agricultural areas, such as the South has been. If the general expectation is that there will be a static economy, then, even though that may be an incorrect expectation it must be recognized as a factor which affects many attitudes.

This is not so much economic reasoning as it is reasoning about economic attitudes. On this latter I cannot claim expertise, but if this reasoning is correct, it is particularly important to understand the economics of discrimination in a static context.

A. When discrimination provides an economic advantage to (some) whites

Suppose we are dealing with a static economy; one in which there is no overall growth in output and income. That is a situation not much different from some parts of the South even now or from most of it in even the recent past. In such an economy, since the total supply of commodities is not growing, it is easy and may be accurate to conclude that one group can improve its economic position only at the expense of another. This is surely the simple, yet powerful kind of reasoning which creates for many whites the economic rationale of segregation, and the fear of desegregation.

In fact, what can possibly be wrong with this reasoning - at least in the context of a static economy. The opposite argument, that supplied by Gary Becker in his recent book, The Economics of Discrimination, goes like this. If there were no discrimination against Negroes, whites and Negroes, would receive education, work together and with each other's property (including capital equipment) in optimal ways guided by the Invisible Hand of the price system. The result would be the maximum possible production

from the available labor and natural and capital resources. The economic results of discrimination, in which the labor and property of one group are not used with the labor and property of another, are to introduce "inefficiencies" in productions (departure from the optimum combinations of labor, land and capital) and thus to forestall the achievement of the maximum amount of output. Everyone becomes worse off as the consequence of discrimination and, vice-versa, everyone would be better off if there were an end to discrimination.

If this were the case the only, but formidable, problem, would be to explain to Southern white segregationists the error in their thinking. But there is another point which changes the impact of Becker's first conclusion. What is true for the region as a whole, is not necessarily true for everyone in it. Although discrimination reduces the aggregate of output and income, it also distributes the smaller amount available so that some people actually do better while others become much worse off. The qualified conclusion to which Becker comes - and which corresponds to the first conclusion of this section - is that the economic position of white labor, and Negro capitalists, is improved by discrimination while Negro labor and white capitalists suffer from it. This conclusion follows from reasoning of the following type. Discrimination against Negroes increases the scarcity of labor available for hiring by white capitalists so that the wages of white labor go up and the profits of white capital, conversely, go down. And, on the other hand, since Negro labor has its alternative employment reduced and is restricted to hiring by Negro capitalists, its wages go down and the profits of Negro capitalists go up.

These conclusions, however, are, in turn, subject to qualification which Becker does not provide because he adopts a definition of discrimination which is unduly narrow and undescriptive of reality. His definition of discrimination is a symmetric one: white labor and white capital both

are segregated from Negro labor and Negro capital. But this complete drawing apart is unusual, I believe. Economic discrimination against the Negro does not, typically, occur by the refusal to allow him to work with white-owned capital. It most frequently is the result of the refusal of white labor to work with Negro labor.

The relative lack of segregation of white capital from Negro labor means that as a whole neither is as badly off as they would be if there were discrimination in this respect also. However, as before, what is true of the whole may not be true of all the parts. It is logically quite possible that some white capital would be better off than if there were no discrimination at all, if it uses Negro labor whose supply is augmented rather than diminished by discrimination.

Becker objects to the widely held view that white capitalists benefit from discrimination (p. 13), but, unfortunately, they can. White capital which uses the kind of labor whose supply is increased by discrimination does indeed benefit by discrimination. White capital which uses labor whose supply is reduced by discrimination is correspondingly made worse off. Since one of the effects of segregation is to limit the opportunities of Negroes to move up the scale of labor skills, the skill requirements of the particular industry provide one possible criterion of whether white capital in the industry benefits or is made worse off by discrimination.

If there are any economic benefits to whites from discrimination in a static economy their appearance depends on the characteristics of the particular industry, the local labor supply, local segregation practices, etc. For even though the South in the past, and even now in some locations, might be approximated by the model of a static economy, it is imbedded in a dynamic economy. The greater opportunities for the Negro outside the South have a tendency to ameliorate his position in that they reduce the power of local capital, white or black, to take advantage of local labour surpluses

fostered by segregation.

It is not easy to determine without examining the particular situation in each industry, what the effects of segregation will be on costs and profits. Even within a single firm there may be opposite effects because segregation, itself, has opposite effects on the supplies of skilled and unskilled labor.

B. When desegregation breaks bottlenecks

Bottlenecks, in a sense, may exist in a static economy without anyone being aware of them, just because of some social institutions. Craft guilds which restricted development of larger and more efficient producer organizations were such a bottleneck in the Middle Ages. In certain industries now, segregation may also be such a bottleneck. For example, if a larger supply of skills is necessary for the expansion of an industry than is available from a segregated labor force, then segregation is a bottleneck. If desegregation permits the productivity of all types of labor to grow, then segregation hurts both white and Negro. This, too, however, is not a condition of which people are often aware. Nor, to be truthful, do economists themselves know much about its practical significance although we speculate about it a good deal (under the name of increasing returns).

C. The tax costs of segregation

The first two sections were concerned essentially with the effects of segregation and desegregation on the incomes, before taxes, of white and Negro. The "after tax" costs may be different just because of the effects of taxes required to maintain segregation.

It is difficult to imagine that the governmental costs of providing the various public services, "separate but equal," to a segregated society

are less than to an integrated society. Of course, if Negroes are discriminated against in this respect also, public expenditures might be less. But if equal and equally good public services are provided to a segregated society as to an integrated society, at best it would not cost less and, I believe, it would very likely cost more. Many governmental services are commonly believed by economists to be areas where costs fall as the size of the operation is expanded. Segregation by dividing the scale of the function would increase these costs.

It is also true that segregation generates a unique set of social costs which government must bear. If it increases crime and deliquency; it forces additional security expenditures on the community. If it generates health problems, it increases the total costs which must be borne. If segregation stimulates emigration, white or Negro, it creates losses for the South of the human capital it has formed and sustained during its unproductive years.

Who bears the additional costs of segregation? The tax system of the South, I would judge, is not so regressive or discriminatory as to force the Negro to bear all the additional costs of segregation. These costs may have been low in the past due to discrimination against the Negro in this area also. But national pressures will undoubtedly make them increase in the future even in those geographic areas which resist integration.

II. Discrimination in a dynamic economy

It would not be difficult to think up all sorts of special circumstances in which discrimination benefits white and hurts Negroes or even vice versa. These would amount to particular stories about particular instances. The objective of this survey is to provide a general framework

in which the special circumstances may fit. Some circumstances may be left out, however, because another objective is to be relevant and to concentrate on what seem to me to be the most pervasive features of the Southern economy.

Although lack of economic growth was a characteristic in the past and may still form the economic attitude of the South, relatively rapid growth has been widespread since the war period. As a result the absolute economic position of both white and Negro has, on the average, been improving.

Under the circumstances of growth it is even more unlikely that an end to discrimination would reduce white incomes absolutely. Growth also increases the probability that, although white labor incomes may rise less fast than Negro, if discrimination is reduced, white labor incomes will rise faster if discrimination is maintained. White capital which was benefiting from segregation may lose by desegregation even in a growing economy but even that would, at least in part, be the result of its own failure to adjust to changed circumstances.

A growing economy annually provides an extra margin of income and output which makes adjustments easier. Because of this white labor which may have been benefiting by discrimination would be less likely to be hurt by an end to discrimination. The same is true of white capital. The expansion of economic opportunities makes it possible for those elements, both white and Negro, which have suffered from discrimination to improve themselves without harming any other economic position.

It is in a growing economy in particular that the labor supply may become a bottleneck. Therefore, the previous argument that desegregation may break labor bottlenecks has even more weight in these circumstances. In particular, shortages of skills, both technical and managerial, may

become barriers to growth whose destruction would improve both white and Negro labor. Or, in another way of putting the proposition, an improvement in the number and quality of Negro labor skills would increase the likelihood of creating and sustaining economic growth in the South which would benefit both white and Negro.

It is not clear from general considerations whether or not Negro migration due to economic factors would be increased if his work skills were improved without desegregation. It would depend first of all on relative wage rates of skilled and unskilled Negro labor in the South as compared to other parts of the country. However, to the extent that lack of means is now a barrier to Negro migration, an improvement in the Negro's economic position, all other things remaining the same, would increase migration. Thus, it would be important for the South that "other things" did not remain unchanged.

It is also in the context of a growing economy that the argument makes sense for higher Negro incomes to create the savings necessary for investment to maintain growth. There is evidence that the marginal rate of savings of Negroes at the same level of income is higher than that of whites. Therefore, improving Negro income will generate more saving than the same improvement in white income.

where?

One cannot have it both ways, however. If there is a "saving argument" for desegregation, there cannot also be a "purchasing power" argument. If the argument of the preceding paragraph holds, then desegregation with higher incomes for the Negro will not increase consumption expenditures as much as if the increase were concentrated among whites.

The above discussion has concentrated on the more or less direct economic effects of segregation and integration which operate via changes in the labor force, population movements and saving patterns. There would

undoubtedly be more indirect economic effects which are more difficult to isolate and trace. For example, the changes in economic opportunity resulting from a shift in segregation patterns might particularly affect production in agriculture in certain areas. It might change urbanization forces, and so on. To work out these effects would require a more intimate knowledge of the South.

There are also bound to be indirect effects of integration operating through changes in the psychology and sociology of both white and Negro. These may influence labor quality, the direction of enterprise, and saving and investment. Analysis by an economist must await specification by some other social scientists of influences of this type.

Segregation and the Public Welfare

Segregation and the Public Interest

The Southern Search for Social Sanity

Segregation in an Industrial Society

Segregation and Urban Life

The Case for Sanity

A Reasoned Study of (Inquiry into) Segregation

The End of Segregation

Outlines of a Mature Society

Race Relations and Maturity

Affirmations of Maturity

From Race Relations to Human Relations

I. Southern Manpower

A summary of present conditions: underutilization of labor, non-development of adequate industrial skills, migration losses, educational waste. Consideration of the probable duration of the South's pool of available labor.

The pamphlet should be done by an economist and, to avoid any connotation of special pleading, by a white man. Donald Dewey of Duke has already worked in this field, and writes well.

II. Segregation, Income and Industrial Growth

The relationship between (a) purchasing power and industrial expansion; (b) segregation and purchasing power.

The essay should be done by a businessman, if possible to obtain one who could do a good job. It would not seem to matter whether he or she were Negro or white. Hammer would be an ideal choice, and his company's study for us is already basic spade-work on the subject; the pamphlet could be done (and ought to be done) in an objective, matter of fact way that would not get him more than the normal criticism. What about Paul Williams? or one of the other businessmen on our board? or George Goodwin?

III. Turmoil and Taxes

Industry's need for law and order: can the South fulfill it? The high cost to business of separate facilities. An examination of Swanson's thesis that segregated school systems are not more costly than desegregated systems. Somehow this seems to invite a Negro economist.

*IV. Realism about City-Life

The swift growth of urbanization presents probably the major sociological problems of our era: the transformation of rural migrants into city people; the cancer of depressed areas; the tremendous burden placed on the schools by the variety of social and psychological environments of their pupils. The study would deal with the aggravation which segregation gives to this already immense problem.

The author should be a sociologist or social psychologist; C. H. Parrish perhaps would be willing to do it.

V. Racial Relations and National Security

The seriousness of U.S.S.R. economic competition; the thoroughness of the Russian utilization and development of manpower. American contrast. Could we try for some such person as Will Clayton, Mark Etheridge, Jubal Parten?

VI. The Thin Grey Line

A study of the strength of the forces arrayed against segregation: the consistency of the federal courts; the political realities of Presidential elections; the reduction of southern influence in Congress; alterations in southern public opinion; impersonal bureaucratic policies; secession of many of the southern clergy.

Ashmore, Marion Wright, Fleming, Morris Abrams, The Hill.

*I owe the suggestion of this topic to C. H. Parrish

VII. Negroes Have Decided or, "Jim Crow Can't Live Without Uncle Tom"

The Negro's new consciousness of himself; his entry into the stream of national communication; his leadership and its popular support. This could be the "literary" germ of the series. A richly impressionistic, keenly intuitive piece would be more valuable than a sociological dissection. George McMillan, Dykeman/Stokeley, Paul Green, Ashmore, Benjamin Mays, P. D. East, James Dabbs, Marion Wright, Mrs. L. C. Bates.

VIII. Segregation and Southern Politics

The hopeful currents of 1945-5? (Arnall, victories of Kefauver and Gore, lack of appeal of the '48 Dixiecrats, etc.); the years since. The dampening of dissent, and the enforcement of public conformity. The sacrifice of statesmen to regional passion. Ronald Dugger, Ashmore, Fleming, Marion Wright, Morris Abrams, Frank Graham, McNeil

8-20

Harold -

Re an author for the pamphlet on world opinion.

Since writing the memo, I have been reflecting on the effectiveness of commissioning a foreign author, & the idea intrigues me more & more. What would you think? Might be expensive to get someone of stature, who also knows the U.S. But maybe less than might be feared: American dollars are coveted. Some rather obvious names: Denis Brogan, A.L. Goodhart (native U.S.), Raymond Aron, Andre Siegfried, Jacques Maritain (lives in U.S.), Charles Malik, Carlos Romulo, Luigi Sturzo

MEMORANDUM

TO: H. C. Fleming

FROM: L. W. Dunbar

Following your suggestions, I am proposing a second pamphlet topic on the general problem of the international effects of segregation, and a rewording of the final topic on politics. The former should be number VI in the scheme; this would raise the number of all later topics by one.

C. H. Parrish took me the other day to talk with Bob Thompson of the Urban League. I am now considering whether yet another pamphlet ought not to be planned around the theme of the economic effects of residential segregation. This is not my cup of tea, and I may seek more outside advice.

VI. Racial Relations and World Leadership

The position of the United States as a world leader. Its competition with the USSR for the confidence of the peoples of the old colonial territories. The need to maintain and encourage the respect of our allies--in Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa--for our moral fitness. World interest in American race relations; world opinion about them.

Mark Ethridge, Ralph McGill; Ralph Purcell would be a natural; Richard Hocking of Emory has a professional interest in India, and has probably inherited his father's concern for this entire question (might be rewarding to have a pamphlet done by a philosopher); D. F. Fleming of Vanderbilt; R. Coulburn of Atlanta University.

IX. Segregation and Politics

What sort of a political structure is needed, both to fulfill democracy and to facilitate the national solution of our political problems? One in which (a) government is truly representative of the people, and the influence upon it of special interests ~~in~~ is minimized (unfairness of representation in Congress and state legislatures, and in counting of votes for executives); (b) a classless, open society provides for a free circulation of talents; (c) effective public opinion encourages, instead of impedes, the pragmatic formulation of policies and decisions; (d) political leadership is responsible, continuously subject to public criticism and appraisal (indispensability of an opposition party to representative government). The implications of segregation for each of these points.

I have re-examined the materials which I have assembled in the light of your remark about the desirability of prospectuses for the intended authors. I think that what we have in its present form, will serve most of the need, though I would not use the term "prospectus." Instead, I would suggest that you speak of the material as data, etc. which indicates the general outlines of what seems to be a valid argument. As I see it, the suggested pamphlet titles shape up this way in relation to the research material:

I. Southern Manpower - sec. 1 of the materials seems adequate.

II. Segregation, Income and Industrial Growth - secs. 2 and 3 seem adequate.

III. Turmoil and Taxes - secs. 4 and 6 support this. Sec. 4 is light; however, we do have the interagency Violence report, and there is little more that I can do in documentation. Sec. 6 is very thin re costs to businessmen, but adequate I think on the schools problem.

IV. Realism About City-Life - I have done nothing about this topic suggested by C. H. I have assumed that he would work into it his personal slant.

V. Racial Relations and National Security - sec. 5 is light. However, this hardly could be researched without weeks of exclusive effort.

VI. Racial Relations and World Leadership - ditto

VII. The Thin Grey Line - sec. 7 is, in a sense, light. This is, however, pretty much an "opinion" topic; it seemed to me worthwhile to indicate, as sec. 7 does, the themes, but little else. Any writer will use the facts which help his own opinion.

VIII. Negroes Have Decided - sec. 8 seems adequate.

IX. Segregation and Politics - sec. 9 is, in a sense, light. But the same can be said here as above in regard to VII.

1. Continued growth of an industrial economy requires an abundant supply of varied skills in the working force.

POPULATION COMPARRISONS

	Rank 1940	Rank 1950	%increase 1940-1950	Net civilian migration 1940-50	Net civilian migration 1950-54
United States	--	--	14.5	+1,976,000	+1,233,000*
Virginia	19	15	23.9	+ 109,000	- 48,000
North Carolina	11	10	13.7	- 261,000	- 170,000
South Carolina	26	27	11.4	- 230,000	- 67,000
Georgia	14	13	10.3	- 290,000	- 147,000
Florida	27	20	46.1	+ 568,000	+ 330,000
Kentucky	16	19	3.5	- 362,000	- 176,000
Tennessee	15	16	12.9	- 117,000	- 128,000
Alabama	17	17	8.1	- 313,000	- 277,000
Mississippi	23	26	- .2	- 425,000	- 231,000
Arkansas	24	30	-2.0	- 389,000	- 247,000
Louisiana	21	21	13.5	- 131,000	- 30,000
Oklahoma	22	25	-4.4	- 413,000	N A ~~N.a.~~
Texas	6	6	20.2	+ 42,000	N. A ~~N.a.~~

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1954. Selected Materials on the Economy of the South.

Comment: 1. The South has participated in the ~~material~~ national population increase, but only three of its states gained more than the ~~material~~ NATIONAL average.

2. The South continues to export people.

*Net total composed of -1,191,000 for South, +2,424,000 for rest of U.S., Oklahoma, and Texas included in "rest of U.S."

The proportion of inhabitants migrating to other states is not markedly larger for the Southern states than for non-Southern states. ~~Probability~~ Mobility is a national characteristic at present. The South loses in comparison with other states not by emigration, but by failure to attract comparable numbers of immigrants.

POPULATION TRENDS

1. Relative decline in rural population

2. Relative decline in Negro population

3. Emigration of both Negroes and white to other regions

4. Large numbers of immigrants from other regions, but net migration loss in most states

5. State population increases tend to be concentrated in metropolitan areas

6. Although Negro population shifting from predominantly rural to predominantly urban, Negro ratio to whites in metropolitan areas declines

7. Because most migrants have completed school, net migration loss not proportionately felt in school enrollments, and South loses production manpower

"Negroes represent approximately one-fourth of the population of the South. It is indeed questionable whether the South will be able to keep pace with the rest of the country if it continues to lose ~~the~~ its most competent and best-trained Negroes." E. Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, p. 122.

From Ginzberg, op. cit., pp. 20-22, 38.

1. Ratio of Negroes to whites in southern (undefined) cities from 1900 to 1950 fell steadily from 41 per cent to 25 per cent in 1950.

2. Thus, the urban Negro must compete for jobs against a constantly growing number of whites.

3. Total Negro labor force not expanding as rapidly as total white labor force, because of:

A. Northern migration

B. Smaller proportion of Negroes working (staying in school longer, retiring sooner, fewer women working).

"Studies of migrants (studies of Negro migrants?) have found that the very poorly educated are less mobile than the better educated. The low percentage of illiterates among Northern Negroes confirms the conslusion that the functionally illiterate Southern Negro generally remains in the South." p. 45.

From Donald Dewey, "Negro Employment in Southern Industry," The Journal of Political Economy, Aug., 1951.

"...since migration is largely a phenomenon of population displacement through areas of ascending wage scales, it

seems probable that Negro workers who left the urban South for the North and West were superior in economic competence (mainly through better education) to the whites who poured into the southern towns behind them. .... So long as able Negroes cannot be fitted into predominantly white work groups, they are strongly tempted to head North and West." pp. 288-9.

The following statement by T. C. Cothran,"Integration and Educational Standards," New South, May, 1950, while not contradictory of the above interpretation of Ginzberg and Dewey, does suggest a qualification:

"It has been argued that Negroes with superior intelligence are the ones most likely to leave the South, and that the educational achievement of Negro children in Northern schools is a result of the character of Negro migration to the North. However, the studies of KLIENBERG, LAPIDUS, YATES and MARUS fail to support the selective migration hypothesis. In fact, these research studies found that in general, test results of Negro children improved in proportion to the length of time which the children lived in the Northern environment." p. 10 (The last sentence, of course, says nothing re relative quality of Negro migrant.)

lower case

rec'l

"More alarming than their numbers is the caliber of the white emigrants. They are largely in the productive age group from 18 to 35.---Left behind are a disproportionate number of the very young and old, and a growing excess of women. More jobs await men in the North, and many of the South's new industries employ mostly women.

"The emigrants are, on the whole, better educated than the average of those who stay at home. Most of them have attended high school.---And polls of colleges throughout the Deep South show that at least half the advanced and professional graduates don't expect to remain in their home states." Hodding Carter, "The Shrinking South," Look , March 4, 1958.

Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely in Neither Black Nor White, (New Nork, 1952) quote H. S. Ashmore:

"One thing that's occurring to many of the powerful men who can look into the future at all is that one of our chief assets here for many years has been cheap labor. When immigration laws blocked European labor from streaming in, the South was the next big source.

"We've been exporting labor to all the big centers for years now .... Of course, we've been aware of the Nggro migration, but perhaps not so much of the white Southerners who make up large colonies in some centers.

"Well, our labor reservoir is going to run dry one of these days. And when the white labor supply is all used up we'll have to depend on the Negroes, and we'll find that we have been frittering away an asset as valuable as our water or timber or any other resource." (p. 123)

Dykeman & Stokely quote also from the Nashville Tennessean in April 1957:

"One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennesseee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

"In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, and wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them." (p. 124).

This last statement is documented by Swanson and Griffin, op. cit.:

"...states receiving interstate migrants are affected proportionately by the level and quality of education in the states of origin. .... the same states, by furnishing education for their emigrants, have expended a proportionate amount of their effort on residents of the states to which the emigrants move. That the effects will 'wash out' for a given state or region is not necessarily true.

"The investments which Southern states made in the 7,344,125 persons reported in 1950 as having left the South in the decade was certainly sizable, for migration is essentially an adult affair and migrants have usually completed their education by the time of migration. An unfounded guess ... can be calculated by multiplying the number of migrants by a median number of years of school completed and by an average expenditure per child for these years. Such calculation yields an estimated total cost to the Southern states of two to three billion dollars. To be compared with this figure would be the cost to the other parts of the nation of educating the three million persons who migrated to the South. This investment is no doubt larger per person ... but it was borne by thirty-five states instead of thirteen." (p. 32).

How long will the relative abundance of the southern labor supply last, considering the two factors of continued migration plus continuing industrialization?

~~(more)~~ see page 7A

Also suggestive of an approaching inelasticity of labor supply are some statistics on southern farm ownership and labor. In the South* between 1940-54, number of farms hiring labor increased by 28 per cent, while in the other 37 states there was a 13.5 per cent decline. In the South in 1954, 54 per cent of the farms were operated by their owners as compared with 44 per cent in 1940. The operator was a part owner of 12.4 per cent of the farms in 1954, 6.2 per cent in 1940.

Selected Materials on the Economy of the South, pp. 15, 19.

*does not include Texas, Oklahoma.

PROJECTED POPULATION CHANGES*

	1955 - 1960		1955 - 1970	
	% Change	Net Migration (1000's)	% Change	Net Migration (1000's)
U. S.	6.8 - 8.6	....	18.9-26.8	....
Northeast	5.3 - 6.7	331 - 238	14.3-20.9	886 - 731
North Central	6.1 - 9.0	140 - 639	16.8-27.3	286 -1448
West	13.1 -15.5	1508 -1623	38.4-49.4	4311 -4826
S. Atlantic	7.6 - 9.3	149 - 96	21.1-28.3	345 - 187
Delaware	11.4 -17.9	19 - 36	33.5-52.3	54 - 89
Maryland	10.9 -14.4	123 - 171	31.8-44.7	354 - 478
D. of C.	7.0 - 7.8	11 - 12	19.6-24.6	35 - 34
Virginia	6.8 - 7.8	3 - 9	19.2-24.7	10 - 29
W. Virginia	(-0.1)- 3.5	(-167)- (-78)	1.6-10.8	(-437-(-228)
N. Carolina	5.7 - 6.6	(-87)- (-88)	15.0-20.3	(-278)-(-277)
S. Carolina	5.7 - 7.6	(-73)- (-76)	14.5-21.7	(-231)-(-260)
Georgia	4.8 - 5.8	(-99)- (-99)	12.0-17.4	(-313)-(-312)
Florida	14.8 -22.1	329 - 513	43.3-65.2	942- 1369
East S. Central	1.8 - 4.3	(-814)-(-411)	5.7-12.8	(-2289)-(-1276)
Kentucky	1.5 - 3.6	(-173)-(-110)	3.2-10.3	(-544)-(-353)
Tennessee	5.0 - 5.9	(- 48)-(- 47)	13.2-18.2	(-152)-(-151)
Florida	1.8 - 4.2	(-230)-(-125)	5.3-12.0	(-654)-(-398)
Mississippi	(-2.4)- 2.9	(-265)-(-129)	(-6.3)-8.9	(-714)-(-374)
West S. Central	5.4 - 6.8	(-292)-(-370)	14.4-21.9	(-863)-(-1091)
Arkansas	(-7.3)-(-0.9)	(-273)-(-140)	(-20.4)-(-3.1)	(-726)-(-407)
Louisiana	7.3 - 8.5	(- 27)-(- 50)	20.0 - 25.9	(- 89)-(-164)
Oklahoma	(-2.6)-(-1.0)	(-187)-(-152)	(-8.1)-(-3.4)	(-537)-(-443)
Texas	8.0 - 11.2	17 - 131	22.8 - 34.3	76 - 313

*Derived from Current Population Reports, Population Estimates, Bureau of the Census, August 9, 1957. These estimates present four forecasts, each based on different assumptions. For each area, I have selected those pertaining to the lowest and the highest 1955-70 per cent change; consequently, there are two figures in each column.

Comment: Generally, the estimated southern increase 1955-70 is well below the U. S. forecast. The exceptions are:

7-A - continued

1. Florida, even by comparison of least to most favorable estimate.

2. Louisiana and Texas (it should be noted that highs and lows for these two states and Florida are yielded by the same sets of assumptions which indicate U. S. highs and lows; then they are directly comparable. Most other southern states are not: their highs are projected from different assumptions than those which yield high estimates in the rest of the country.)

3. Virginia, by comparison of its low with U.S. low

4. North Carolina and South Carolina, by comparison of their highs with U. S. low

Arkansas and Oklahoma are regarded as certain to have an absolute population decrease, and Mississippi as a possibility.

rec'd

The most recent estimates of population mobility show that the South between 1953-57 lost an average 175,000 people each year in migration out of the region. But in the one year ending in April 1957 it gained 140,000 persons. (Source: Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Bureau of the Census, July 21, 1958). As there is no state breakdown, and as the Census Bureau includes West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia in additions to the states of the old Confederacy, it is hard to appraise this shift. Has migration from the usual net losers slowed? Has migration to the usual net gainers increased? Has there been an overall improvement?

For analysis of 1950 census data as they apply to migration and the labor force, see J. M. MACLACHLAN & T. S. FLOYD, This Changing South, Gainesville, 1956, chs. 4 &5.

A questionnaire submitted by the school of business administration of the University of Georgia to firms whose home offices were outside of Georgia and which had, within recent years, located plants in Georgia asked, among other things, "how have you found the local labor supply?" The replies were as follows:

	No Answer	Plentiful	Adequate	Inadequate
Supervisory	0	3	26	18
Skilled	2	2	20	24
Semi-skilled	1	11	28	8
Unskilled	1	36	11	0

J. P. Gill and A. L. Cobb, "Factors Affecting Industrial Location in Georgia," Georgia Business, April 1956.

From the modes of these replies, Georgia would appear to have an adequate supply of supervisory personnel, at least for the type industry participating in the survey, inadequate skilled labor, adequate semi-skilled, and plentiful unskilled.

It will be noted below that the consumer market, and not the labor supply, has been the chief southern inducement for new industry. According to Hammer & Co., op. cit, those firms which have been primarily motivated in choosing a southern location because of the labor supply have tended:

1. To be marginal industries looking for cheap labor.
2. To go into rural areas
3. To be traditionally employers of white labor (p. 3.)

The conclusion seems clear that only if the South has a skilled labor force will it attract highly productive industry not primarily interested in supplying the southern consumer, or using southern raw materials. Work skills will not be developed unless work opportunities exist.

In 14 southern states in 1952, Negroes constituted 20 per cent of the population, but only 10 per cent of the enrollment in vocational schools. Even more important, the training provided was in traditionally Negro jobs: almost 30 per cent of the Negro trainees were learning building trades; 40 per cent were learning auto repairs, barbering, hairdressing, domestic service, practical nursing, sewing, tailoring. The most commonly taught of the skilled occupations were machine shop and drafting; in all 14 states, there were only 263 students in the former and 80 in the latter.

National Manpower Council, A Policy for Skilled Manpower, (New York: 1954), p. 191.

"...some note must be taken of the factors which are usually cited as major obstacles to Negro upgrading in industry - the personal race prejudices of employee, their fear of giving offense to what they believe to be community (i.e., white community) sentiment, and the ignorance of the unused skills and abilities of the Negro labor force.

"Again, if I may generalize from personal experience, cases where employers deliberately sacrifice profits in order to indulge an animosity toward Negroes are extremely rare. (One learns to discount the virulent anti-FEPC ~~[sic]~~ and anti-NACP tirades...) Examples of racial employment practices which are both unnecessary and uneconomic are more likely to be found in state and local government...

"The force of community sentiment (as interpreted by employers) in conditioning the use of Negro labor is harder to gauge. And the estimate is rendered especially difficult by the fact that employer incentive to upgrade Negroes and the local white public's willingness to accept them as clerks, errand men, etc., rise and fall together. When upgranding occurs in a manpower crisis, it is usually accepted without comment; when in 'normal' circumstances upgrading does not occur, it would lead (287) to raised eyebrows if attempted and possibly to falling sales as well.

"For my own part, I believe that individuals acting on their own will pay virtually nothing for the satisfaction of being served by a white clerk or of rebuking an employer who is known to have upgraded Negro workers. The weight of opinion, however, is against their view....

per!

"Even in the North, it is not yet fully recognized that the real issue is not how much education Negroes and other minorities can get in a segregated system, but how to improve the education of all American youth; not how racial minorities can be gradually and cautiously insinuated into industry and labor organizations, but how to increase and improve the total manpower potential of the nation for maintaining our productive capacity." C. S. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," The Journal of Negro Education, Winter 1957 (reprinted from the N. Y. Times Magazine, 9/23/56).

"Nevertheless, I believe that, of these three factors, the last — employer ignorance of Negro skills and abilities — is the most serious obstacle to Negro advancement in the southern economy .... The necessity of securing upgrading mainly through marginal management is yet another Negro disability."(288)

Donald Dewey, "Negro Employment in Southern Industry," The Journal of Political Economy, Aug, 1952., ~~p.288~~.

In regard to Professor Dewey's last paragraph, this statement by H. S. Ashmore is pertinent:

"The fact is that the two races in the South have been growing apart for a generation. Although still living side by side Negroes and whites have had less real communication in the past twenty-five years than ever before in the region's history."

The Negro and the Schools, p. 136.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell said at Nashville in 1955:

"The South will soon have to realize that its remarkable industrial growth is being threatened by the loss of many of its best-educated and best-trained Negroes, who represent one quarter of the Southern labor force. Unless this area starts now to train its Negro workers, it is going to find that its possibilities for industrial expansion will be sharply curtailed."

Quoted by Dykeman & Stokely, op. cit., p. 325.

Economists seem agreed that the best measure of industrial efficiency is the value added per employee by manufacturing. In productivity of its workers, reflecting largely the nature of southern industries, the South is well behind the rest of the country.

VALUE ADDED PER EMPLOYEE, BY MANUFACTURING

	1954	Per Cent of U. S. Average
United States	$ 7,189	100
South*	5,956	82.8
Rest of U.S.**	7,393	102.8
Alabama	6,102	84.9
Arkansas	5,785	80.5
Florida	6,390	88.9
Georgia	5,264	73.2
Kentucky	8,374	116.5
Louisiana	8,096	112.5
Mississippi	5,132	71.4
North Carolina	5,145	71.6
South Carolina	4,739	65.9
Tennessee	6,429	89.4
Virginia	6,781	94.3

*does not include Oklahoma and Texas

**Includes Oklahoma and Texas

The Senate Report from which these figures are taken further notes that (1) only 15 per cent of the total labor force of Kentucky and Louisiana is engaged in manufacturing, as against 26 per cent nationally; and (2) the high Louisiana value is "mostly due to the high productivity of the petroleum industry in the State."

Selected Materials on the Economy of the South, Table 24.

That there can be no optimism regarding better utilization of Negro skills and ambitions is suggested by Professor Donald Dewey, op. cit. His analysis may be abstracted as follows:

1. Re Negro employment in the South, there are two virtual laws:
   A. Negro workers seldom hold jobs which require them to give orders to whites;
   B. Negroes and whites do not ordinarily work side by side at same job.
2. There is a declining proportion of Negroes in the total labor force.
3. Given 1 and 2, a marginal productivity analysis suffices to explain why the relative occupational gains of Negroes have been negligible.
4. But, 3 also in part accounts for 2
   A. Able Negroes, because of 1, emigrate

5. Therefore, the superior Negro work groups needed to crack the color line do not come into being.
6. "At present the social cost of the southern employment pattern lies mostly in the export of Negro ability."
7. "Given the high rate of replacement in the white labor force, the high elasticity of the white labor supply available to southern industry (especially among white women), and the continuing loss of above-average Negro labor to other areas, the southern employment pattern will persist in the foreseeable future."
8. But, note, conclusion depends (see his footnote on page 283) on the existence of a "high rate of replacement in the white labor force."

Professor C. A. Becker by a quite different mode of analysis in a new book (The Economics of Discrimination, Chicago, 1958) , comes to a like conclusion. It is interesting to note that both these economists conclude that the primary cause of under utilization of Negro labor is the discriminatory attitude of white employers and workers, but especially the latter; neither writer is optimistic

over the ability of strictly economic considerations to change this subjective barrier to Negro employment.

Professor Becker, after analysis of employment data, further concludes that between 1910-50, the occupational position of Negroes relative to whites has been stable: a small improvement in the North, a slight worsening in the South. Between 1910-40, little change in the North, a worsening in the South; between 1940-50, a small improvement in both regions. Therefore, he deduces that almost all the occupational advance of Negroes since 1910 has been caused by forces which improved the position of whites as well, and that neither the long run advance since 1910 or the more marked improvement since 1940 can be attributed to any notable decrease, North or South, in discrimination. Professor Dewey had noted the same lack of change, confining his analysis, however, to the South:

> "...the weight of evidence is conclusive. In the fifty years before World War II, the relative position of Negro workers in southern industry actually deteriorated; they did not share proportionately the expansion of urban employment, and they were not upgraded as individuals into jobs previously held by whites.... Since 1940 Negro workers have at least held their own in the South." (pp. 282-3)

see!

For another discussion of the incentives which the white community has for discrimination, see J. M. Dabbs, Southern Heritage, N. Y., 1958, pp. 108-114.

The following passages stress another aspect of the utilization of Negro talents and skills:

"Negroes have made substantial gains with respect to job opportunities and, even more important,---these gains are only beginning. If prosperity and high employment continue, the gains will be faster and bigger in the near future.--- Negroes will not be able to take full advantage of these opportunities unless they improve their preparation for work...it is often harder to find a Negro who is fully qualified for a job requiring skill and training than it is to find employers who are willing to employ qualified Negroes.---The more the Negro is integrated into the national economy, the more he will lose the protection from competition with whites which segregation provides.---integration means competition.---

"Just how good is the Negro's preparation to compete in an integrated economy? The simple answer is that his preparation is usually inadequate.

---The deficiencies in Negro education are qualitative as well as quantitative,--- to go back still further,---The most serious and far reaching of the conditions which retard the development of Negro potential are to be found, not in the schools, but in the Negro family, the Negro home, and the Negro community.---

"But there are even broader and more general problems than this. From long experience, Negroes have learned that it is best to be prepared for the absence, rather than the presence of opportunity.---

"The development of high ambition and firm self-confidence among Negro youth is one prerequisite for the fuller development of Negro potential.---

the inadequate Negro youth to a world

"In spite of all the difficult problems involved, school integration is a necessary part of expanding economic opportunity. Segregated schools cannot prepare young people adequately for work in an integrated economy. Indeed a truly integrated economy cannot exist in a society which is segregated in most other ways." R. W. Smuts, "The Negro Community and the Development of Negro Potential," The Journal of Negro Education, Fall, 1957, pp. 458-63.

"For many years, Negro colleges could train students on the assumption that America would force all but a very few of them to live their lives and make their careers in a segregated Negro community. This is no longer a valid assumption.---the Negro student, no less than the white, must be prepared to live and compete as a mature and responsible member of a free society.

"At the same time, we are recognizing how very difficult it is to train in a segregated environment for competition outside of the segregated area." W. H. HASTIE, "Some Pains of Progress," The Journal etc. Spring 1958, p. 157.

In regard to the same problem - the willingness of whites to work beside Negroes, a rigorously scientific public opinion study in Guilford County, North Carolina found that:

> "The greatest readiness for desegregation is expressed with regard to having the Negro as a co-worker. It is not clear that this implies equal-status for the Negro in the situation of co-work."

M. M. Tumin, "Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer 1957, p. 250.

That employee reluctance to take orders from or to work beside, Negroes is not an immutable condition or an insuperable wall has in fact been demonstrated by a few private firms. One of the latter in the International Harvester Company. The following statement is by Mr. I. L. Willis, Vice-President of that company:

> "The problems at Memphis have not been too serious and most of the incidents there arose in cases where Negro employees were upgraded. It is clear at Memphis <u>that firm determination of the executive management to give unswerving support to the company policy, even in the face of some difficulties, has, together with the cooperation of the union and right-thinking employees, brought about increasing harmonious acceptance of our policy of non-discrimination</u>."

(From an article in <u>A Fair Chance for All Americans</u>, National Council of Christians and Jews)

2. <u>Sustained industrial growth requires a rising level of purchasing power</u>.

The following table shows the per capita income in southern states, compared with the rest of the country:

PER CAPITA INCOME

	1946	Rank Among All States, 1946	1950	1955	%Change 1950-55	%Change 1954-55	Rank Among All States, 1955	1956	Rank Among All States, 1956	%Change 1946-56	%US 1946	%US 1956
U.S.	1249	..	1440	1847	24	5	..	1940	..	55	100	100
South	855	..	1025	1292*	29*	6*	..		..			
Restof US	1352	..	1597	1991**	23**	5**	..		..			
Ala.	744	46	847	1181	36	12	45	1229	46	65	59.6	63.4
Arks.			821	1062	32	8	47	1088	47			
Fla.	1137	28	1201	1654	28	5	24	1762	24	55		
Ga.	844	42	967	1334	31	10	38	1400	40	66	67.6	72.2
Ky.			913	1238	29	3	43	1324	42			
La.			1049	1333	22	3	38	1444	37			
Miss.	605	48	703	946	30	11	48	964	48	59		
N. Car.	858	40	949	1236	22	5	44	1305	45	52		
Okla.			1077	1506		4		1561	35			
S. Car.	763	45	844	1108	26	5	46	1133	47	48		
Tenn.	856	41	967	1256	26	5	41	1317	44	54		
Texas			1273	1614		3		1686	26			
Virginia			1147	1535	26	4	32	1647	30			

Sources: "Selected Materials on the Economy of the South" Senate Report, 2830 (Committee on Banking and Currency, July 26, 1956. News Release, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Atlanta Field Office, May 29, 1958. H. S. Ashmore, <u>The Negro and the Schools</u>, Chapel Hill, 1954. <u>Statistical Abstract of the United States</u>, 1954 and 1957. <u>The Book of the States</u>, 1958-59. C. F. Schwartz and R. E. Graham, Jr., <u>Personal Income by States Since 1929</u>, U. S. Govt. Printing Off., 1956. Swanson, E. W., and Griffin, J. A., <u>Public Education in the South</u>, Chapel Hill, 1955, p. 99.

*does not include Oklahoma and Texas

**includes Oklahoma and Texas

The South's post-war advance in personal income is shown by the preceding figures to have been both absolute and relative. Its relative improvement, however, has chiefly represented a narrowing of the gap between it and the rest of the country. Further comparisons for 1955 are shown below:

Median Total Income by Persons
1955

	Male			Female		
	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White
U. S.	$3354	$3542	$1868	$1116	$1250	$654
Northeast	3597	3686	2903	1413	1453	1160
North Central	3701	3738	3295	1120	1139	991
West	3712	3833	2590	1385	1415	m. a.
South*	2470	2962	1197	840	1056	462

*Includes Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, West Virginia, in addition to the 13

Source: Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Bureau of the Census, November, 1956.

Two factors principally depress southern income and purchasing power:

1. the lower income of Negroes
2. the lower income of rural residents

As the South has more of each in ratio to its population than have any other regions, its overall economic prosperity is closely tied to the status of these two groups.

Median income families 1955

	U. S.			Northeast	North Central	West	South*		
	Total	White	Non-white				Total	White	Non-white
Total	4421	4605	2549	4714	4753	4812	3586	4079	1874
Urban	4840	5069	3118	4812	5295	5112	4176	4563	2448
Rural Non-farm	4328	4451	2029	4578	4571	4396	4108	4325	1980
Rural farm	2111	2339	972	n.a.	2471	3462	1667	1967	948

* includes Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, West Virginia in addition to the 13.

Source: Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Bureau of the Census, April 1957

NEGRO POPULATION OF STATES
WITH OVER 500,000 NEGROES, AND ALL SOUTHERN STATES

	Population 1940	Rank	% Total Population	Population 1950	Rank	% Total Population
N. Carolina	1,003,988	3	28.1	1,078,819	1	26.6
Georgia	1,085,445	1	34.7	1,064,005	2	30.9
Miss.	1,077,469	2	49.3	990,485*	3	45.5
Texas	927,279	5	14.5	984,963	4	12.8
Alabama	983,864	4	34.7	982,243	5	32.1
New York	599,596	9	4.4	958,246	6	6.5
Louisiana	852,141	6	36.0	886,968	7	33.1
S. Carolina	815,496	7	42.9	823,624	8	38.9
Virginia	662,190	8	24.7	737,038	9	22.2
California	.....	..	....	671,025	10	6.3
Illinois	.....	..	....	666,154	11	7.6
Pennsylvania	.....	..	....	644,170	12	6.1
Florida	515,428	10	27.2	605,258	13	21.8
Tennessee	508,935	11	17.5	531,468	14	16.1
Ohio	.....	..	....	518,413	15	6.5
Arkansas	483,303	12	24.8	428,003*	17	22.4
Kentucky	214,202	21	7.5	202,876*	21	6.9
Oklahoma	232,206	18	9.9	200,796*	22	9.0

*Absolute decreases 1940-50

Source: Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1952.

Comments:

1. The Negro proportion of the total population declined in every southern state.

2. The steady growth of Negro population outside the South, while not approaching southern Negro-white ratios, has undoubted importance for national politics. Other states with large Negro populations in 1950 include: New Jersey (324,513); Michigan (453,925); Missouri (299,066); Maryland (388,014).

3. Every indication is that a new census would show continued Negro gorwth outside the South with all that means for the political forces which the South must combat if it persists in resistance.

Population Comparisons:
Per-cent Urban

	1930	1940	1950 old definition	1950 new definition
United States	56.2	56.5	59.0	64.0
Virginia	32.4	35.3	40.3	47.0
North Carolina	25.5	27.3	30.5	33.7
South Carolina	21.3	24.5	28.8	36.7
Georgia	30.8	34.4	40.1	45.3
Florida	51.7	55.1	56.5	65.5
Kentucky	30.6	29.8	33.5	36.8
Tennessee	34.3	35.2	38.4	44.1
Alabama	28.1	30.2	40.1	43.8
Mississippi	16.9	19.8	27.6	27.9
Arkansas	20.6	22.2	32.3	33.0
Louisisan	39.7	41.5	50.8	54.4
Oklahoma	34.3	~~30.6~~ 37.6	49.6	51.0
Texas	41.0	45.4	59.8	62.7

Comment: 1. Continued urban growth should contribute to growth of income.
2. But continued export of people, and slow improvement of conditions which cause emigration, are not likely to enlarge total personal income and total purchasing power, nor in the long run help increase per capita income.

Employment
% Distribution by Industry, 1950

	Manufacturing	Durable goods industries	Agriculture
United States	25.9	13.8	12.2
South a/	19.8	7.4	23.1
Rest of U. S.	27.4	15.3	9.6
North Carolina	28.0*	7.4	24.9***
Florida	10.7**	4.5**	12.2**
Virginia	20.5***	7.8***	14.5
Kentucky	15.8	7.8***	25.8
Alabama	21.8	11.6*	24.3
Mississippi	12.6	6.7	42.1*

a/ does not include Oklahoma and Texas, considered here part of "rest of U. S."
* highest % in South **lowest % in South ***median for South

Source: "Selected Materials on the Economy of the South"

Comment: 1. Whereas more than half of the manufacturing employment of the U. S. was in durable goods industries, proportion in South was much less. Other than Kentucky, Alabama and Mississippi, only Arkansas (13.8% in mfg., 8.2% in durables) had a concentration of manufacturing employees in durable goods industries comparable to that nationally.

2. The proportion of its workers engaged in agriculture was still nearly twich the national percentage. Only one state - Florida - was as low as the national average.

from E. W. Swanson and J. A. Griffin, Public Education in the South, Chapel Hill, 1955:

"The income to individuals in the South has grown at a faster rate than that of the non-South since 1929.---The sources of income of particular significance in portraying the change are agriculture, manufacturing, and government. In 1929 the South was deriving one-fifth of its income from agriculture, one-eighth of its income from manufacturing activities, and only one-twelfth from government sources. But by 1952 agriculture as a source had been cut in half, manufacturing had increased by half, and government had increased two and one-half times." p. 100.

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Though manufacturing employment and payrolls have increased, too little of either, as shown in the preceding table, is in high-pay durable-goods industries.

A study completed in 1956 indicated that 4 out of 10 plants newly established between January 1, 1946 and December 31, 1955 were in traditional industries - textiles, apparel, lumber, furniture and petroleum -, all except the latter being low pay industries. Three of 10 were in "new type" industries: paper, chemicals, primary and fabricated metals, machinery and transportation equipment. The remaining three were in "service" and miscellaneous industries. Hammer and Co., op. cit., p. i.

Clearly, the enlargement of purchasing power to national levels will be facilitated by the multiplication of "new type", high paying, durable goods industries, and will perhaps not be possible without it. Such industry typically requires skilled labor, working in large groups.

Students of the southern economy seem generally agreed that the principal factor in post-war industrial growth was the existence of new and large purchasing power:

"At war's end, the South offered a large cash market for the first time in history - and it was virtually untapped. - - - The new consumer market was undoubtedly the biggest single factor in the South's industrial expansion in the immediate post-war years.

"In addition, the high post-war level of national economic activity created a huge demand for Southern raw materials. The demand for certain resources in particular (notably petroleum and natural gas) was further stimulated by new technological advances. Hundreds of new plants were developed in the South to compound, process, and manufacture finished products at locations fairly close to the sources of raw material supply.

"The Southward movement of new plants to tap the labor supply was also great. The South offered no 'absolute' advantage with respect to labor resources, however. Labor was extremely mobile - - -. The South's markets and raw materials were more or less pegged at Southern locations, but the South's labor - although abundant in the region proper - was available anywhere in the country. ---

"One other important factor should be noted here. This is the unprecedented post-war prosperity that marked the U. S. economy as a whole. ---

"In both physical and dollar terms, the South's industrial development was not taking place faster than in the rest of the country---. However, the impact of industrialization was much more profound on the South's economy, the very nature of which was changing from 'colonialism' to maturity. It is this 'qualitative' change in the South's economy that was the most significant development of the region's post-war economy." Post-War Industrial Development in the South. Hammer & Company, Atlanta, 1956. pp. 2-4.

"In recent years, manufacturing expansions has been particularly marked in production processes involving large amounts of capital outlay. Some of the new expansion is accounted for by the gains accruing to the South from war industry, but the South did not gain in this area as significantly as did other parts of the nation. The industrial growth is more accurately explained in terms of the market opportunities, the resources available for development, the large labor force, and the low comparative costs". Swanson & Griffin, op. cit., p. 100.

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Mr. B. D. Segal has pointed out some other factors of consequence in the post-war development of the South:

"There are varied reasons for this new burgeoning. Some have existed right along. There is nothing new about the rich profusion of natural resources in the South, or about its good land and river transportation facilities, its excellent harbors, etc. It has low power costs, due in significant measure to the existence of the T.V.A.

"Other factors, however, are relatively new. Thus in recent years it has become official policy in Washington to press for the dispersal of defense facilities.---Another factor has been the Supreme Court decision on basing points.---The court's ruling---put the South at less of a disadvantage, as have other agency rulings which diminished rail-rate differences.

"The attraction of industry to particular states or localities has become a highly formalised science.---aggressive public relations are an integral part.---

" Among the South's resources about which some of its public relations men brag is 'cooperative' or 'loyal' labor.---

"Interestingly enough, the South's climate is an important asset in the race to attract investment. ---

"The influx of federal folding money - direct or through the hands of defense contractors - is playing a crucial part. ---

"Summing up, then, the progress in the South has been marked---. The rate of increase has, at times, been greater than the rate of increase in the nation as a whole. Today that rate is not ahead---but is holding its own.---it is the first time that this has been true during a period of peacetime expansion.

"Also, while the heavy predmination of old-type low-pay industries has continued, the recent development of metal fabricating, instrument, electronic and other new-type operations in the South angurs well for the future.---"

B. D. Segal, Accent on the South, pp. 11-22.

Statement of G. A. Price, president of Westinghouse:

"Our company is also interested in new markets. The Negro market is presently estimated at $15 billion a year. Greater utilization of the skills of Negroes in manufacturing will concurrently raise their standard of living and the size of the market. It will enable them to buy greater quantities of our consumer products and thus help build the load upon which our utility business depends."

Merit Employment, American Friends Service Committee
June, 1956

"To wholesalers and retailers of consumer goods, to those who operate the service trades, to professional men and women, it(cheap labor) has meant a local market far below the potential indicated when national income averages are measured against Southern census figures. And it has added to the general burden, since those with marginal incomes contribute little in the way of tax support for public services, yet draw heavily upon them." (H. S. Ashmore, Epitaph for Dixie, N. Y., 1957, p. 122.)

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The impressive rise of income for urban Negroes, as well as the continuing great disparity between Negro and white incomes, is illustrated by the following table:

NEGRO FAMILY INCOME
FULTON AND DEKALB COUNTIES, GEORGIA

	Number of Families 1949	1956	% Change, 1949-56
Under $1000	1,283	695	-45.8
$1000-1999	17,899	12,086	-32.5
$2000-2999	12,297	12,627	2.7
Under $3000	31,479	25,408	-19.3
$3000-3999	4,683	10,995	13 4.8
$4000-4999	1,835	4,608	151.1
$5000-6999	1,175	4,184	256.1
Over $7000	396	2,305	482.1
Over $3000	8,089	22,092	173.1
Median Negro	$2,046	$2,869	40.2
Median White	$4,336	$5,887	35.8

1949-79.5% Negro families had incomes under $3000, 20.5% over

1956-53.5% Negro families had incomes under $3000, 46.5% over

Source: Hammer & Co., Marketability Report, Atlanta Urban Renewal Program, University Area Project, Sept., 1957, pp. 62,63,65.

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Studies of the correlation between segregation and regional purchasing power are practically non-existent. Some hypotheses that seem probably true on their face and that might be investigated include:

Segregation retards regional purchasing power:

1. by holding Negroes in low-income jobs. Although the jobs may well be economically necessary, the assignment of a whole "caste" of workers to them is uneconomic, in that the jobs could be done by fewer people. Thus, a large number of Negroes is prevented from moving upward to higher-paying jobs.
2. by inducing Negroes to emigrate from the region
3. by diminishing the incentives of many white workers, who derive a satisfaction from simply being in a "white job"
4. by contributing to the general underemployment of southern labor, and thus helping to attract a large number of marginal industries
5. by maintaining a circular effect: purchasing power is the principal attraction for "new type" industries; segregation retards purchasing power and thus also "new type" industries; "new type" industries are strongest stimulants to purchasing power.

3. Sustained industrial growth requires adequate funds for capital investment.

(What follows is, I think, not much good. The point it seeks to illustrate is that the South doesn't save enough money, and that low savings correlate with low income. The further point partially hidden in the figures is that savings are farther below national averages than are incomes; this would be expected: incomes have to reach fairly high levels before any savings is possible. The large number of southern workers with subsistence or less incomes constitute a loss to purchasing power, and an even greater loss to funds for capital investment.)

"In an industrial system with an overpopulated agriculture attached, the reserve army of the underemployed is invariably present. Below a given real wage in industry, a sizable fraction of the employable population will choose wretched but convivial underemployment on the land or, in the case of women, about the home.---Within this institutional framework a 'good' utilization of labor must wait upon capital formation." Dewey, op. cit., p. 283.

Much of the southern industrial expansion has been in the form of branch-plants of non-southern firms. Growth through southern investment itself has been slow due to the traditional shortage of capital. Capital accumulation depends on savings, and this in turn requires an income level high enough to encourage saving, or (what is much the same in terms of economic function) a re-investment of earnings. That the South still lags considerably behind the rest of the country, and that low savings are in close correlation with low income, is shown in the following tables:

1952	Ala.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	Tenn.	All six	Southeast*	U.S.
Per capita income	$1012	1319	1137	1206	818	1126	1118	1112	1639
Per capita long-term savings	$ 539	775	652	648	380	672	624	N.A.	1269

*includes Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas in addition to six listed.

Source: Statistics on the Developing South, Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Feb. 1954.

1956	Ala.	Fla.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	Tenn.	All six	Southeast*	U.S.
Per capita income	$1229	1762	1400	1444	964	1317	1387	1365	1940
Per capita long-term savings (1956)	664	1030	806	810	493	828	798	n.a.	1470
ditto (1957)	719	1132	843	864	513	870	855	n.a.	1524

Source: Statistics on the Developing South, Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, June, 1958.

For 1952, per capita income in these 6 southern states was 67.6% of U.S., but per capita savings only 49.2%; in 1956, the percentages had risen to 71.5 and 54.3.

In commercial banks only, the average personal and business deposit per person as of June 1955 was $487 for the South,* and $1111 for the U.S. The southern figure represented 44% of the national average, whereas twenty years before it was only 32%.

*does not include Texas and Oklahoma

Selected Materials on the Economy of the South. p. 38.

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Department of Commerce statistics show a 45% increase between 1946-57 in bank deposits in the southeastern states* and a 61% increase in the west south central states;** the national increase was 39%. The southeastern average obscures, however, the fact that only one state equalled the national average; that was Florida, with an increase of 119%. State figures for the west south central states are not given, but it would be surprising if Texas were not the pulling factor for the whole region. The statistics show further that two regions comprising eight states-had more bank deposits than the ~~next~~ rest of the country;*** that the ~~huddle~~ MIDDLE Atlantic states (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) have 2½ times the deposits of both southern region; and that this ratio was not much less in 1946.

*Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.

**Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas

***An un-documented inference, because the Department of Commerce's summaries inexplicably omit Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia and Kentucky. In view of the size of the discrepancy, however, the above statement is probably correct anyhow.

These comparisions obscure also, because they are based solely on deposits in commercial banks, the relative unimportance of savings banks in the South. "---there are practically no savings banks in the region; the functions of such banks, to the extent that they are afforded at all, are performed by commercial banks, the postal savings system, and building and loan associations.---The most striking feature of southern bank deposits is the high proportion of demand deposits and the corresponding low proportion of time deposits.---(a) considerable pool of savings accumulates in savings and loan associations. Normally such funds are employed in financing local residential building, but during the war,---the

ACCRUING ~~ocouring~~ funds were invested in securities, principally U. S. Government obligations." Hoover and Ratchford, op. cit., pp. 167, 177, 185. (I am not sure that these three comments are still strictly true, particularly the second. The point of the third comment is that savings and loan associations, which play a rather larger role in the South than elsewhere, are usually restricted from industrial financing.)

Bank Deposits
Rank Among All States

	1946	1957
Alabama	29	28
Florida	21	13
Georgia	19	22
Mississippi	35	34
North Carolina	19	23
South Carolina	37	38
Tennessee	18	20

Source: News Release, U. S. Department of Commerce, Atlanta Field Office, May 29, 1958.

Expenditures for
New Plant and Equipment
(for comparison, below each southern state is listed that northern state closest to it in 1950 population; dollars in thousands)

	1947	1952	1954
Virginia	$ 112,383	$ 88,642	$ 109,887
Wisconsin	162,787	183,118	169,422
North Carolina	137,583	141,109	129,622
Indiana	302,104	379,394	301,247
South Carolina	61,743	94,489	62,865
Connecticut	116,223	147,039	125,591
Georgia	84,320	103,666	173,066
Wisconsin	162,787	183,118	169,422
Florida	50,052	87,475	105,078
Iowa	64,686	59,783	77,666
Kentucky	77,135	129,302	152,947
Minnesota	82,800	55,559	87,069
Tennessee	83,792	110,854	156,058
Wisconsin	162,787	183,118	169,422
Alabama	72,362	102,831	82,248
Minnesota	82,800	55,559	87,069
Mississippi	22,713	29,399	37,008
Connecticut	116,223	147,039	125,591
Arkansas	30,262	53,286	42,715
Kansas	36,787	56,264	53,017
Louisiana	97,210	233,655	174,396
Iowa	64,686	59,783	77,666
Oklahoma	25,504	38,272	51,740
Oregon	61,669	80,154	67,811
Texas	304,944	619,116	479,349
Ohio	498,254	747,744	770,606

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1954 and 1957.

Comments:

1. Alabama in 1952, Georgia in 1954, Florida and Kentucky in 1952 and 1954, and Louisiana in 1947, 1952 and 1954 exceeded the expenditures of their population peers.

2. The combined expenditures in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois exceeded those in all southern states in 1952 by $425,068,000. Combined expenditures in Ohio and Illinois exceeded those in all southern states exclusive of Texas by $128,646,000. Expenditures of $915,538,000 in Pennsylvania were only $3,854,000 less than those in all southern states exclusive of Texas and Louisiana.

"In both industry and agriculture, and perhaps in other fields as well, much additional capital equipment will be required if southern income is to be raised to a level approaching the national average. With the low income now prevailing--- the South can 'catch up' in this respect only very slowly, if at all, if that equipment has to be provided for out of southern savings.---

"---by far the largest part of any capital expansion is provided in the form of additional plants built by existing large companies---. To the extent that southern plants are built in this way, only a part of the funds come from the South. This is the easiest and quickest way for the South to become industrialized. But this way depends upon the initiative and decisions of companies outside the region.---

"The thousands of smaller concerns in the South must depend almost entirely upon local financing. For them a shortage of indigenous capital funds would be a serious handicap.---

"---the South does indeed not have indigenous funds sufficient to finance the capital equipment which it needs, and must have, to raise its income, but---this fact alone is not necessarily serious,---funds come in from the outside to finance the large plants---. The real problem lies in providing the necessary funds to finance the many small-and medium - sized companies.---Here the savings may be adequate, but the South does not have the necessary facilities for making them available." C. B. Hoover and B. V. Ratchford, Economic Resources and Policies of the South, N. Y., 1951, pp. 72-4.

The following statements are from the Senate Report, Selected Materials on the Economy of the South, pp. 34-6, 47,50; italics supplied

"The growth of income has brought increased savings. The investment of these savings as equity capital in the formation of productive enterprises both brings progress and further tests the capacity of financial institutions to provide additional funds needed for growth.---

"While savings are used to purchase stock in new and established local corporations, they are invested also in the stocks of national corporations.

"Investment in the growing number of corporations and the comparatively large volume of financing through stocks have not yet made stock ownership as common as in the United States as a whole. Southern ownership of stocks, in per capita terms, falls below the national level by a greater margin than the differences in income.

"Purchases of corporate stocks have moved funds from the South to other regions. But a reverse flow occurs when corporation with home offices elsewhere open branches in the South.---Because local financial resources are limited, reflecting the comparatively low level of incomes in the South, funds from outside of the region are needed to supply the capital for larger enterprises.---

"The savings held in lending institutions other than savings and loan associations may be loaned outside the South. ---The commercial banks hold balances outside of the region. In return for these balances the banks gain the participation of outside banks in loans used for local development. ---Residents' savings in insurance companies go in part into other areas where the home offices of the large companies are concentrated. But insurance companies invest in this region more than the savings accumulated from it.---

"In addition to savings flowing in from other regions, new money may be created from credit created by the banking system.---

"The question is frequently raised whether sufficient bank credit is available in the South to meet business needs at reasonable terms. Bankers generally maintain

that borrowers who are able to repay do not get credit on the terms they need and that more fundamental problems in the development of business are insufficient equity capital and inefficient management.---- If adequate business credit is to be supplied and at the same time demands are to be ~~meet~~ MET for longer term farm credit and for comsumer credit, loans will have to be expanded in relation to deposits and total deposits and capital will have to be increased.---although the 11 Southern States have one-fifth of the Nations population, their total bank resources are less than one-ninth of the national total."

4. <u>Sustained industrial growth is not likely in a society where law and order are threatened by serious challenge.</u>

Over the past several years there has been widespread discussion of the effect of the recent disorders in the South on prospects for continued non-southern capital investment in the South. Governors, business spokesmen, newspaper dolumnists - all have expressed opinions in some variety but clustering about the poles of "business is" or "business isn't" deterred by Little Rock and the atmosphere of violence which it represents. Similarly, discussions have centered on the reaction of northern businessmen to the threat of closed public schools. It is futile at the moment to guess who will prove more correct on this issue. A perhaps significant observation, drawn from a rather extensive reading of statements, may, however, be worth noting: Those who have contended that the South is not being hurt industrially have been invariably of two categories: (1) southerners, who also identify themselves with policies of resistance; or (2) northerners speaking to southerners.

Probably the soundest comment which can be made now is the following from an article titled "Despite Tensions, the South Keeps on Gaining", <u>Business Week</u>, Oct. 26, 1957, p. 105:

"The fact that there have been no plant changes so far may not be significant; substantial time and money go into any decision on a new plant location, any any later revision of plans can be prohibitively costly.

"Where plans for new plants have advanced too far for changes, factories will be built, racism or none, and companies will yield, albeit reluctantly in many cases, to local traditions on employment and race separation.

"The showdown for the South will come on decisions now being considered, to be announced later. Undoubtedly, despite its optimism, the South will lose some plants that it might have won if Little Rock and other incidents hadn't worried top management somewhere."

The Atlanta Constitution for July 25, 1958, reported difficulty in selling $12 million of bonds for the university building program of Georgia. State Auditor B. E. Thrasher was quoted as saying that the "bugaboo of segregation" had made insurance companies reluctant to buy, because they were "afraid of controversial issues". The University System Building Authority had withdrawn the bond offer about two months earlier after being advised that there would be no bidders; "maybe we could sell them if we would pay the legal maximum of 4.5 percent." In June, 1958, SRC was informed that about half the total had been sold.

(more)

"Not merely have they lost before the courts. There was a time when they claimed the endorsement and support of organized religion - surely the very limit of audacity. Here again they have been repudiated.---They appealed to pseudo-science to support their claims of racial superiority- and have been overwhelmed by the conclusions of biologists, geneticists, authropoligists and students of human behavior.---They turn to the only fields of combat left to them-the Gestapo-like tapping of telephones and raw slander.---

"Now, our political leaders, without exceptions deplore violence....But my contention is that they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condemn. What they advocate, in essense, is disrespect for law.---when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as limited infection.

---I am sure that these politicians could not have foreseen that their advocacy should have led to a state of public mind which would in certain parts of the South result in substantial curtailment of the right of free speech and opinion." M. A. Wright, Public Ethics and the Integration Question (SRG, 1957)

For a similar comment, see Ralph McGill, "Abuse of the Confederacy," Atlanta Constitution, May 10, 1958.

For a comment on business leaders' interest in preventing disturbance, see J. M. Dabbs, Southern Heritage, N. Y. 1958, p. 114.

An agricultural society, with its individualistic manner, leisured pace, and long off-seasons, may indulge the sport of violence. But an industrial and urban society cannot.

An industrial economy, expecially under free enterprise conditions, demands a singleness of mind of owners and managers. Its production processes demand a disciplined, attentive work force. Its opportunities for profit making require an open market for its goods. Its continued prosperity depends on its freedom of action in supplying that market through mass production. The keynote of an industrialized economy is an intricate, complex articulation of functions: no type of economy is more vulnerable to disruption, because it is pervaded through and through with interdependence.

Furthermore, the southern economy is today, as never before, integrated with the nation's. It has entered into the national articulation of processes and function. The price of this is the sacrifice of the old freedom to order its social arrangements as it saw fit.

5. The competition between an American led West and the Communist countries makes impermissively costly the waste of human and other economic resources in the United States.

"In a time of international tension, such as now confronts the United States, and is likely to continue for a long period, wastage of national resources can only result in a more vulnerable security position."

Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, (New York: 1956), p. 116.

"What has until recently been thought of solely in terms of an abrogration of moral principle takes on even additional meaning in a society in need of talent. The denial of opportunity to the Negro results in the loss of potentially creative and skillful manpower."

Rockefeller Brothers Special Studies Project, The Pursuit of Excellence, 1958

(MORE)

6. <u>Segregation patterns are an important added cost to taxpayers and businessmen</u>.

The <u>Wall Street Journal</u>, December 17, 1957, carried a report titled "Segregation Costs" over the byline of Cal Brumley. Added costs were decribed for the construction of service stations by oil companies or by individuals; for the building of southern manufacturing plants; for movie houses; and for bus terminals. Vance Greenslit, president of Southeastern Greyhound Lines was quoted: "It frequently costs 50 per cent more to build a terminal with segregated facilities." The report also noted the handicap which the segregation policy puts on both in attracting convention business.

To these extra costs can also be added the annoyance and the risk which business undergoes in having to walk a tightrope in advertising.

Depressive effect of residential segregation on real estate values.

Effects of segregation on Latin American trade

(MORE)

Do segregated schools add to educational costs? Wherever capital expenditures are fairly independent of enrollment, costs certainly are higher if facilities have to be duplicated. This is clearly the case in most fields of graduate and professional schooling. The typical American university intertwines graduate and undergraduate facilities and faculties. It is therefore prima facie evident that separate and equal universities will be substantially more expensive than integrated ones.

What, however, of elementary and secondary schools? The authoritative view because of the unequalled research which supports it, is that of Professor E. W. Swanson, economist of Emory University. On the basis of his study, the Ashmore volume on The Negro and the Schools stated that "...contrary to popular argument, segregation has not been an important separate factor in school costs until now and is not likely to be in the immediate future." (p. 125). See also Mr. Swanson's "Some Economic Effects of the Supreme Court Decision", Journal of Public Law, Spring 1954; and Swanson and Griffin, op. cit., pp. 96, 131-2, wherein is noted, however, that the question is unsettled because of the lack of actual experience. The Ashmore study does likewise add a qualification:

> "As the South continues to build its total school system, however, and as emphasis is placed upon qualitative rather than quantitative improvement, these factors will change. The continuing migration

from rural to urban areas, with its resultant reduction in the proportion of Negroes to whites in many rural counties, will likewise tend to make the maintenance of separate but equal schools increasingly expensive in many districts, and shifting population patterns in the cities will produce the same result in 'fringe' areas where white and Negro communities overlap. Thus, a real economic pressure toward integration will buildup.... The shift in the population base is so rapid that schools built to serve present concentrations of Negroes might be wholly or partially empty within a decade." (p. 126).

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A. S. STEPHAN, "Population Ratios, Racial Attitudes and Desegregation," The Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1957.

1. In Arkansas, counties with sparse Negro population spent more per pupil (ADA) on Negro education than white.

2. Conversely, the higher the proportion of Negroes, the lower are per-pupil expenditures for Negroes.

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Trends in School-Age Population

(Unless otherwise noted, information derived from J. M. Maclachlan, "Population Factors Affecting Education in the South," Journal of Public Law, Spring 1954.)

Migration from South heaviest in 20-60 age bracket. Ratio of school-age to adult population thus increasing. (p. 113)

CHANGES IN WHITE AND NEGRO SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION FOR THE SOUTH*

Age group	White				Negro			
	1940-50	% change	1950-60 estimated	% change	1940-50	% change	1950-60 estimated	% change
5 - 19	54,994	0.7	2,639,881	31.6	-164,076	-5.4	1,127,318	38.8
5 - 9	452,280	17.0	1,068,013	34.3	57,662	5.6	561,721	52.1
10 - 14	-125,890	-4.5	1,054,625	39.3	- 68,568	-6.6	361,829	37.5
15 - 19	-271,387	-9.5	517,243	20.1	-153,170	-15.2	203,768	23.7

the white increase 1940-50 = -1,333,341 farm +1,388,154 non-farm

the Negro decrease 1940-50 = - 486,738 farm + 322,662 non-farm

The 1940-50 decreases were obscured by several factors:

1. increase in school attendance
2. urban migration
3. farm population decreases were widesprad and general, thus representing little relief for school facilities.

*South = 13 states. 1950-60 estimates make no allowance for migration.

"...it seems clear that the approaching educational crisis in the South may be one of the gravest proportions, without any regard to changes in the legal basis of biracial education in the region. ...With these increases coming after a decade in which the educational burden increased greatly, despite a very slight increase in the white group and an actual decrease in the non-white, the purely quantitative and financial problems come first." (pp. 114-5)

"...if the projected increases for the 1950-60 decade are even approximated, the resulting demands on the regional school systems will be enormously greater than those of 1940-50. ...the net projected white change for the present decade would be in the order of fifty times that of the preceding one for the ages 5-19...

"The projected gain of 1,127,000 non-white pupils, much more likely than the white to be reduced by emigration..., nevertheless presents the same order of contrast with the past ten years. Since 920,000 of these would be of an age between 5 and 14, much of the release of regional pressure which might be anticipated, if the projected increase were in older age groups, cannot be expected." (p. 120)

An analysis of the 1957 estimates of the Georgia Department of Public Health provides some tests of Professor Maclachlan's estimates:

Age group	White				Negro			
	1950	1957	Increase	% Increase	1950	1957	Increase	% Increase
Under 1 Yr.	57,711	65,100	7,389	12.8	30,108	32,500	2,392	7.9
1-4	223,610	248,700	25,090	11.2	116.057	127,900	11,843	10.2
5-9	232,201	294,100	61,899	26.7	123,007	142,000	18,993	15.4
10-14	199,757	245,000	45,243	22.6	111,536	118,000	6,464	5.7
15-24	385,584	408,700	23,116	6.0	182,415	200,600	18,185	10.0

Source: Estimated Population, By Race, Sex & Age, Georgia, July 1, 1957. U. S. Census 1950, General Characteristics, Georgia.

So far as Georgia may be representative of the region, Professor Maclachlan's estimates for 1960 would seem high, except in the white 5 - 9 age group, and possibly in the white 10-14 age group. Professor Maclachlan's estimates did not, of course, make allowance for migration. Nevertheless, the 1957 Georgia estimates do indicate a substantial increase of rate over 1940-50.

Negro education becomes in an ever-increasing measure a task centered in the cities of the South. At least this is the Atlanta experience. The Atlanta Constitution for June 13, 1958 quoted W. W. Thomas, chairman of the Metropolitan Study Committee of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce as follows:

"The influx of Negroes to Atlanta is having a more radical effect on our local school system than is generally realized. During the three years since 1955, enrollment in the Atlanta School system increased only 500 white pupils but 8,400 Negro pupils. During that same period the number of white

teachers decreased by 111, but the number of colored teachers increased by 350."

Mr. Thomas further noted that the ratio of white to Negro pupils was now about 60-40, that it will be 50-50 in the elementary schools by 1961, and in the entire system soon after.

Negroes represent ### a large segment of the South's city population. In the 1950 census, eleven southern cities had more than 50,000 Negro residents, and all of these showed increases over 1940, ranging between 45.2 per cent (Houston) and 13, 4 per cent (Dallas). The increase of Negroes was substantially higher than whites in:

New Orleans, (22.0 % - 12.5%)

Atlanta, (16.1% - 6.2%)

Louisville, (22.4% - 14.5%)

Nashville, (15.6% - -.4)

Was about the same as the white increase in:

Birmingham, (19.4% - 23.5%)

Richmond, (19.2% - 19.4%)

Jacksonville, (17.3% - 18.6%)

and was substantially lower in:

Memphis, (21.2% - 45.1%)

Houston, (45.2% - 57.9%)

Norfolk, (37.7% - 52.7%)

Dallas, (13.4% - 54.4%)

Source: <u>Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States</u>

But these are municipal figures: one of the important sub-trends in southern population change is the movement of whites beyond the city-limits to the suburbs. In the Standard Metropolitan Area of Atlanta in 1958, Negroes are only 22.5 per cent of the population - the lowest proportion since 1900. Within the city-limits of Atlanta, however, Negroes are about 35 per cent of the total.

~~(NEED MORE DATA)~~ see page 8A

The following table shows the ratio of whites to Negrees increasing <u>both</u> in the urban South <u>and</u> in the rural farm areas between 1940-50.

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN URBAN, RURAL NON-FARM, AND RURAL FARM POPULATION FOR UNITED STATES, NON-SOUTH, SOUTH, AND SOUTHERN STATES BY RACE, 1940-1950

	Urban*		Rural Non-Farm		Rural Farm	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
United States	17.3	43.5	43.4	40.4	-22.5	-29.8
Non-South	12.9	60.7	41.7	59.6	-19.4	-30.9
South	43.4	26.2	47.8	34.5	-26.4	-29.7
Alabama	51.2	30.4	38.5	32.4	-25.4	-33.3
Arkansas	45.4	35.2	23.3	9.4	-25.7	-33.7
Florida	57.4	29.8	97.7	18.4	-20.0	-29.0
Georgia	32.0	22.6	70.3	35.7	-26.1	-34.9
Kentucky	17.6	6.3	36.4	-4.7	-21.9	-39.1
Louisiana	41.4	34.3	38.7	46.5	-29.0	-38.3
Mississippi	45.3	30.1	38.9	32.6	-19.5	-23.3
N. Carolina	31.3	17.6	57.6	39.5	-19.0	-11.7
Oklahoma	27.3	13.0	8.0	9.1	-39.5	-47.4
S. Carolina	37.2	19.4	51.6	62.8	-21.5	-24.6
Tennessee	25.4	17.0	69.0	19.5	-19.5	-23.4
Texas	62.1	36.8	31.7	45.9	-38.4	-47.0
Virginia	46.5	26.6	69.0	58.4	-23.4	-31.4

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950

*Old urban definition.

The two following tables illustrate the relative downward trend of Negro population for metropolitan areas, and the upward or stable trend within some municipalities:

ATLANTA STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREA

	Total Population	% White	% Negro
1900	189,108	64.0	36.0
1910	262,577	68.5	31.5
1920	336,847	71.4	28.6
1930	451,166	71.9	28.1
1940	529,755	72.4	27.6
1950	694,669	75.6	24.4
1958	924,000*	77.5	22.5

*716,300 white = increase 36.4 % since 1950
207,700 Negro = increase 22.5 % since 1950

Source: Preliminary Estimates Population-Housing, DeKalb-Fulton Metropolitan Area, Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission, April 1,1958

CITY OF ATLANTA

	Total Population	White	Negro	Negro as % Total
1930	270,366	181,981	88,385	32.7
1940	302,288	197,686	104,602	34.6
1950*	437,785	301,369	136,416	31.2
	(331,314)	(209,898)	(121,416)	(36.6)
1957*	505,300	333,200	172,100	34.1

*as of 1957 city limits; figures in parentheses are as of 1950 city limits.

Source: Hammer and Co. Marketability Report, etc., Sept. 1957, Appendix Table A. U. S. Census of Population, 1950

The concentration of Negroes within central cities of metropolitan areas is summarized in the following passage and percentages:

"---a dual trend-the more rapid growth of white population in the suburbs against the more rapid growth of the nonwhite group inside the cities....In some of the states the contrast is much more definite than for the region as a whole. Particularly in Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee the proportions inside the central city are much larger for the nonwhite than for the white group...Six states show almost 80 per cent or more of the nonwhite metropolitan population inside the central city---Mississippi was the only state where the percentage of the white population inside the central city significantly exceeded that of the nonwhite population...."

Population Inside Central Cities
of Standard Metropolitan Areas
1950

	White	Negro
Alabama	58.7	63.6
Arkansas	74.8	73.0
Florida	51.1	74.0
Georgia	46.1	66.3
Kentucky	59.5	85.2
Louisiana	80.4	81.4
Mississippi	74.2	62.9
North Carolina	54.2	72.6
Oklahoma	73.2	80.4
South Carolina	42.1	52.0
Tennessee	52.8	82.5
Texas	73.3	81.7
Virginia	63.9	79.7

J. M. Maclachlan and J. S. Floyd, This Changing South, Gainsville, 1956, pp. 60-62.

The Georgia estimates of 1957 population furnish another interesting insight into population distribution, and into the nature of the problem of maintaining segregated schools. The following ratios, derived from these estimates, show a much higher concentration of Negroes in the schoolage group.

Age	Ratio of White to Negro Population, Ga., 1957
All	2.41-1
Under 1 yr.	2.00-1
1 - 4 yrs.	1.94-1
5 - 9 yrs.	2.07-1
10 - 14 yrs.	2.07-1
15 - 24 yrs.	2.04-1
25 - 34 yrs.	2.67-1
35 - 44 yrs.	2.94-1
45 - 54 yrs.	2.92-1
55 - 64 yrs.	3.16-1
65 - 74 yrs.	3.17-1
Over 85 yrs.	1.31-1
Urban population	2.16-1
Rural population	2.66-1

SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES

(Data, derived from H. S. Ashmore, The Negro and The Schools, shows the southern record of financial support for public schools as of 1950. Non-southern states were selected for comparison in various categories.)

	Public School expenditures as % total personal Income	Rank Among States	Per Capita Income	Total Income (Millions)	Amount Spent on Schools (Millions
Louisiana	4.0	3	$1,049	$ 2,848	$ 112.8
N. Carolina	3.9	5	949	3,859	151.3
Oklahoma	3.6	7	1,077	2,406	87.6
Arkansas	3.4	9	821	1,578	54.4
S. Carolina	3.3	10	844	1,763	59.0
Tennessee	3.3	11	967	3,203	104.4
Alabama	3.1	19	847	2,581	79.0
Texas	3.1	20	1,273	9,853	303.0
Florida	2.8	24	1,201	3,387	95.0
Virginia	2.8	25	1,147	3,551	100.2
Mississippi	2.7	27	703**	1,527	40.8
Georgia	2.6	31	967	3,336	88.9
Kentucky	2.4	36	913	2,688	64.5
Arizona (5,11)	4.5*	1	1,233	931	41.5
Rhode Island (10)	1.8**	48	1,542	1,217	21.5
Delaware	2.1	45	1,956*	628	13.1
New York	2.2	43	1,872	28,381*	610.7
Nevada	2.6	32	1,882	303**	8.8**
California	3.3	12	1,750	18,621	623.4*
W. Virginia (1)	3.3	14	1,050	2,115	69.7
New Mexico (1)	4.3	2	1,133	775	33.5
Maine (1)	2.4	37	1,157	1,067	25.1
Kansas (2)	2.8	26	1,349	2,577	72.4
Washington (3,7)	2.9	23	1,627	3,875	112.8
S. Dakota (4)	3.2	18	1,275	835	27.1
Vermont (5)	2.6	33	1,162	438	11.5
Michigan (6)	2.7	29	1,596	10,242	274.5
Ohio (8)	2.3	42	1,584	12,620	291.1
Massachusetts (9)	1.9	47	1,602	7,535	144.8

*Highest
**Lowest

1. cf Louisiana per capita income
2. cf Louisiana total income
3. cf Louisiana amt. spent on schools
4. cf Texas per capita income
5. cf Florida per capita income
6. cf Texas total income
7. cf North Carolina total income
8. cf Texas amt. spent on schools
9. cf. N. Carolina amt. spent on schools
10. cf. Mississippi total income
11. cf Mississippi amt. spent on schools

As Professor Maclachlan has pointed out, the financial burden of education has increased and will increase drastically. The strain on tax payers is great and will likely become greater. It seems not possible to find data permitting an accurage estimation of the added cost, if any, of segregated schools. But it is worth noting that all of the conditions are operative which the Ashmore study said would cause segregated schools to become an expense: i.e., emphasis on quality (implying larger capital expenditures); urban migration and consequent thinning of rural Negroes; shifting urban population.

Note: It is worth remarking that Swanson's calculations were based on a comparison of operating costs and ADA; he did not take into account capital investments, because of the unavailability of reliable data.

6A. Housing segregation in metropolitan centers of the South is a heavy economic loss to all, except possibly the landlord.

(A number of items on housing are included in the bibliography. Other than this, I haven't the opportunity to contribute to the research. From my reading and from discussions with Bob Thompson, John Gould, and Bob Stewart, I believe that the following outline does provide a useful approach, and that the various points of it can be documented.)

1. High cost of municipal services

   a. Segregated housing areas joined with heavy Negro population growth in the cities results inevitably in overcrowding and slums. The high cost of slums to the municipality, in terms of police, fire, welfare and other services, has been well established. Revenues received from such areas are low; expenditures high.

   b. Overcrowded housing means poor health, widespread delinquency, other sociological problems. These conditions are not only a measurable financial cost to the municipality; they weaken the whole structure of public order, morality, labor efficiency. Overcrowding results in weaker family control of individual behavior, and the slack has to be assumed in part by public agencies.

2. Indirect costs to manicipal and other governments

   a. There is a question as to how public housing costs are affected by segregation. An open project for 200 families would almost certainly be cheaper than 2 segregated projects of 100 units each. On the other hand, there is a trend in public housing planning toward small, scattered projects.

   b. Segregation influences the location of public facilities, which would be more advantageously placed elsewhere; e.g. the route of the North-South access road, west of Hightower was selected in order that the road could serve as a housing boundary - good planning indicated another route. Public housing for whites is frequently located to provide (hopefully) a check to Negro expansion; e.g. Joel Chandler Harris homes.

   c. There is the large and involved question of the costs of suburbia. That the mushroom growth of suburbs has added to municipal costs and decreased municipal revenue seems well established. The connection between the growth and segregation is not difficult to make out, although there are other incentives as well which stimulate the exodus from the inner city.

3. Adverse effects on metropolitan development

   a. Conformity to segregated housing patterns immensely complicates the now well-accepted function of city planning.

b. More importantly, these patterns force an inefficient use of land. Much Negro housing is located on sites which are highly-desirable industrial property. This results not only in bad utilization, but in lower appraised values and hence less revenue to the city.

4. Adverse effects on private interests

a. Real estate values are not maintained by segregation, except possibly for high-price areas. "Exclusiveness" contributes less to value stability than does a wide, unrestricted market of potential buyers.

b. Whites who move from neighborhoods because of Negro penetration do so frequently at the price of exchanging a well seasoned mortage for a new commitment to many years of payments; and get less value in their new house. On the other hand, white neighborhoods not yet penetrated but lying in the path of Negro expansion are virtually worthless in terms of re-sale value; this hurts the white owner who has to move because of job, and hurts the real estate agent who can't turn over the property.

c. It is well established that rent levels for Negroes are higher than for whites in comparable housing. This means that more of the Negro dollar goes to rent, less available for other purchases.

d. There is a question as to whether the bad conditions of segregated Negro housing lessen demand for consumer durable goods. Probably does for such things as refrigerators, ranges, vacuum cleaners; also for furniture, rugs, house paint, etc. Probably increases demand for automobiles, TV sets.

e. Industrialists have accepted the principle, especially when establishing new plants, that personnel efficiency requires satisfactory community facilities - housing, schools, churches, shopping centers, etc. Provision of these is often complicated by the existence of residential color patterns; controversy, painful negotiation, and loss of managerial time result.

5. Political ill-health

A racially dominated political unit is bad, whether it be white or Negro. We are headed toward the time when the large cities will be substantially if not predominantly Negro. Annexation of suburbs or consolidation may alter this trend, and will certainly be attempted for that purpose (witness Newport News and Warwick); but these are, however, clumsy and not always possible devices. City-state relationships are bad enough now; they would be intolerable if it were the Negro cities vs. the white country.

7. Realism requires recognition that the forces attacking segregation are strong and probably too strong to be resisted. The South can choose the agony of struggle or the opportunity of providing local leadership in readjustment; in short, may choose whetheragain to be "reconstructed," or whether to "reconstruct".

Since University of Maryland vs. Murray in 1935, there has been forthright consistency in constitutional interpretation by the federal courts when confronted with complaints of discrimination arising from segregation; Brown vs. Topeka in 1954 took merely a next step, in ruling that state compelled segregation of school children was unavoidably discriminatory. If anything can be predicted, it is that the federal courts will maintain, at least on appeal, a firm refusal to recognise any constitutional permission for compulsory segregation.

* * *

No informed southerner can believe in the possibility of either party nominating, much less electing a pro-segregation Presidential condidate. More than that, it can hardly be expected, with any semblance of realism, that any President will not be drawn into a position of anti-segregation, whatever his personal feelings or thought may be. If the supporters of segregation look for friendship in the White House, the most they can reasonably hope for is a President un-energetic. Yet it is hard to believe that moderate southerners, even if committed to segregation, can be gratified by an indecisive national executive, for the result is local disorder. The South should be instructed, too, by the fact that even under the Eisenhower administration one of the most profound of

all changes has been brought to its final stages; viz integration within the armed services. Nor of course can the South ever forget that it was a president basically tolerant of southern "difficulties" who sent troops to Little Rock.

* * *

Congress in 1957 enacted a Civil Rights Act. That the act is mild in its prohibitions and punishments is less important than that for the first time in 80 years Congress was sufficiently interested to enact a civil rights measure, and the southern delegations were insufficiently strong to prevent passage. To predict Congressional policies is profitlessly risky. But there are at least reasonable grounds for doubting that the South can ever confidently rely again on the shield of Congress for the protection of its peculiar institutions.

The South does not need to be told that northern public opinion opposes it at every turn in its policy toward Negroes, and that this opinion is influential in Washington. The South may accuse the communication media of distorting or falsely presenting northern opinion, but the charge is more wishful than documented. It is apparently a fact, too, that our contemporary system of national communication media - T. V., radio, news services - breeds something approaching an uniformity of outlook in all sections of the country: northern public opinion, even on segregation, has probably some growing transforming effect on southern public opinion. (see M. M. Tumin, "Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer 1957). Polls of public opinion taken by the National Opinion Research Center in

1942 and again in 1956 showed dramatic changes in southern attitudes. The same questions were asked: (1) Do you think white students and Negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools? (2) Generally speaking, do you think there should be separate sections for Negroes in streetcars and buses? (3) If a Negro with the same income and education has moved into your block, would it make any difference to you? In 1942, desegregation of schools was approved by 2% of white southerners, of transportation by 4%, and neighborhood desegregation was acceptable to 12%. In 1956, the percentages were, in order, 14, 27, and 38.

#That these are real changes rather than accidental results reflecting unreliability of the method of ascertaining public opinion is attested by the fact that three separate surveys in 1956 yielded almost precisely the same results. - - - Furthermore, there was no appreciable shift in a survey made just after the September violence in Clay and Clinton and in Sturgis, Tex. In short, the gains so slowly won over the last 15 years are solidly based - not easily accelerated nor easily reversed." H. H. Hyman and P. B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes toward Desegregation". Scientific American, Dec. 1956.

The United States is a world leader. As such, it is exposed openly to world criticism. Furthermore, as any non-despotic leader, it needs the confidence of the countries to whom it offers leadership. On no score is it more vulnerable or more handicapped than on this issue of race treatment.

→ see 4A

Supporters of segregation are met by unapproving national courts and elected officials. Just as formidable is the power of national decisions already made, and now embedded in the impersonal policies of civilian and military bureaucracies. The integrations of military personnel is an example: no one in the chain of command any longer has to be for or against segregation; a policy rules, and men simply administer. The desegregation of employees in other federal installations, north & south, is another example: post offices, TVA, atomic energy plants, etc. Enforcement of contractor compliance with federal non-discrimination policy has been lax; but to a degree it occurs, and the realistic probability is for a higher rather than less degree. Finally, the whole South ought to think, calmly and seriously, about the VA hospital in Jackson, Mississippi; the following is quoted from a signed editorial (Oliver Emmerich) in the Jackson State Times, May 6, 1965:

"It is better to think these things through in the beginning. It is wrong to bulwark our Southern position with erroneous premises and false promises.

"Three times the effort was made to compel the United States Veterans' Administration to yield. In

"Just as our venture into colonialism about 1900 weakened the Negroes position..., so the approaching breakdown of colonialism strengthens the position of the Negro in the United States.---For a little---in the late nineteenth century, he was largely forgotten; the South's racial problem could be considered in the Southern context. Now, seventy-five years later, it has to be considered not only in the national but also in the world context.---

"As a conservative society in a dynamic, ever revolutionary, world, the South usually fights its battles too late. Often the effort merely strengthens the opposition. Fighting the NAACP, we increase the powers of that organization. Fighting the national influence upon education and toying with the idea of private schools, we are in effect asking for national schools. And so on." J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage, N. Y. 1958, pp. 59, 117-118.

the end, it was Mississippi which yielded.

"Mississippians can ask themselves this important question: Is the Veteran's Administration hospital case an example of what Missippippians can expect in the years ahead when local policy conflicts with the policy of the federal government?"

The supporters of segregation no longer have the support of the southern clergy. On the contrary, increasing numbers of its own clergymen join the opposition and mount attack within the South itself against resistance to or evasion of desegregation. Strong ppsitions have been adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church U. S., the Southern Baptist Convention, the Georgia Council of Churches, Kentucky Council of Churches, New Orleans Council of Churches, North Carolina Council of Churches, Oklahoma Council of Churches, Texas Council of Churches. Groups of ministers in Richmond, Atlanta, Houston, Dallas, Columbus, Gainesville and other places have issued forceful statements.

9. Defiance and evasion of the law sets back again the emancipation, at national, state and local levels, from "nigger politics."

"Our politicians have already talked themselves into a position where they have got to bolt the Democratic party or eat crow, and have been solemnly warned by the national leadership that this time the door will be closed behind them with all that implies in reduced Southern bargaining power in Washington - but it hasn't happened yet, and won't until 1960. ....Let any citizen in residence between the Potomac and Eagle Pass look around him today and ponder whether we are not approaching, if we have not indeed reached, the point where a man caught with his hand in the public till can change the subject simply by hollering nigger, or safely ignore the pressing social and economic needs of his people so long as he loudly demands the impeachment of the United States Supreme Court."

H. S. Ashmore, Letter to the Austin-American, 1958.

"Violence, heated tempers, night marches, aroused passion, stimulated race hatred, may for a brief moment provide a morbid sense of self-satisfaction but in the end, they would destroy the coveted interests of our Southland.

"Economic pressure, school abolitions, threats of violence, legal subterfuge will but add to the South's

confusion."

J. O. Emmerich, editor of McComb (Miss.) Enterprise-Journal. One of a series of articles by him printed in the Jackson State Times, 12/26/57 - 12/30/57.

"...the racists have been able to control the terms of the debate and distort it beyond the bounds of reason. But this condition cannot continue, for month by month each school district in the South moves closer to the time when the reality of the Supreme Court decision must be faced."

H. S. Ashmore, Epitaph for Dixie, p. 170.

"In conversations they (moderate Democrats) will discuss and admire the really great ability of some of the old South senators, and express a sincere sympathy for them as captives of a regional political system which the slow, sure march of events and economics steadily erodes. These senators often are admittedly among the more able in that August body. They are often of presidential caliber. But, they have been forced politically to ally themselves with policies which go contrary to the national direction. And, too frequently, this has become a Frankenstein which forces them to extremes of speech and position which are distasteful to them as individuals.

"Now, according to veteran observers... these men... will find themselves more and more in declining influence.

"It is a Promethean tragedy, long in the making. The jackals of their own region always are snapping at their heels,

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ansious to find some point vulnerable to the worst of demagoguery. And this they know, and must try to keep down by fighting fire with fire."

Ralph McGill, The Atlanta Constitution, July 8, 1958

Clear Copy Onion Skin

"...what of the political character of the Southern way? Most of the Legislature are dominated by rural representatives who lack the cultural sophistication of an increasingly urban and industrial age. As a result the region is anti-labor, anti-capital, anti-race, anti-liberal, anti-civil rights, anti-education, anti-intellectual, anti-technology, anti-Federal Government; it is provincial and isolationist to the core." C. E. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," The Journal of Negro Education, Winter 1957, p. 7. (reprinted from N. Y. Times Magazine, 9/23/56.)

from V. O. Key, Southern Politics, N. Y., 1950:

"In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. - - -The hard core of the political South - and the backbone of southern political unit - is made up of those counties and sections of the southern states in which Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population. In those areas a real problem of politics, broadly considered, is the maintenance of control by a white minority. - - -that white minority can maintain its position only with the support, and by the tolerance, of those outside - in the home country or in the rest of the United States. (page 5)

"---there is one, and only one, real basis for southern unity: the Negro. ---The maintenance of southern Democratic solidarity has depended on a willingness to subordinate to the race question all great social and economic issues that tend to divide people into opposing parties. (page 315-6)

"Sustained effort to improve the Negro's economic and political status costs money, and upper class southerners, like upper-class nonsoutherners, dislike to part with cash, although the only possible long-run outcome of increasing the productivity of the Negro would be to make rich whites richer and more whites rich. The almost overwhelming temptation, especially in areas with many Negroes, is to take advantage of the short-run opportunity to maintain the status quo by using, or tolerating the use of, the race issue to blot up the discontents of the lesser whites. By this means the governing classes can kill off or minimize pressures for improved governmental services from whites and find support for low public outlays for the benefit of the Negro. It is naive, of course, to interpret

southern politics as a deliberate conspiracy among the better-off whites to divide the mass of people by tolerating Negro-baiting. Nevertheless, with a high degree of regularity those of the top economic groups - particularly the new industrialists - are to be found in communion with the strident advocates of white supremacy. In the political chaos and demoralization that ensue alert men with a sharp eye for immediate advantage take and count their gains." (pp. 662-3)

Comment. This final paragraph is probably outmoded in its emphasis on reluctance to spend public money. There is, of course, still some of this, and Virginia is a good example. The main interest of the "top economic groups" now would seem to be not public economies, but state administrations and Congressional delegations basically friendly to large business in their tax and regulatory policies. With this qualification, Key's analysis is probably true. But in 1958, we can see the objective of "Democratic solidarity" coming into frequent conflict with the objective of friendly administrations and delegations.

"The race issue is central to their [Southern politician] existence, for it keeps the South solid and they are the politicians of the Solid South. If it should be resolved, the political forces of the South would realign themselves with the political forces of the nation, eyes alert to economic and other interests. Low income groups, white and Negro, would tend to align themselves with similar groups else where, high income groups to do likewise. This would destroy the livelihood of the typical Southern politician. He would have to become nationally cognizant (?) and intelligent, and he might starve before he could do so.---He may have forgotten most of his race prejudice, but he knows very well, deep down, which side his political bread is buttered on." J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage, N. Y., 1958, p. 115-6.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Arthur J. Goldberg
SECRETARY OF LABOR

F O R E W O R D

On behalf of the Department of Labor, I wish to salute the National Urban League for its efforts over half a century to achieve in America what unquestionably is one of the most vital goals of our time, the establishing of equality of opportunity for all citizens. Notable and significant progress is being made; much more is needed.

Information on the economic conditions of the Negro is limited and much of the data on the following pages are up-dated from a previous report.

This review was prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics especially for the National Urban League's 1961 Annual Convention, Dayton, Ohio.

Arthur J. Goldberg

Secretary of Labor

Table 1.--Population, white and nonwhite, 1900-60

Year	Total population	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite as percent of total population
	Number (in thousands)			
1960 1/	179,933	159,381	20,552	11.4
	Percent			
Percent increase:				
1900-60 2/	136.8	138.6	123.8	
1950-60 3/	18.7	17.7	26.8	

1/ Includes Alaska and Hawaii and Armed Forces overseas.

2/ Data for 1900 exclude Alaska and Hawaii.

3/ Data for 1950 used for comparison include Alaska and Hawaii and Armed Forces overseas.

Table 2.--Birth and death rates, white and nonwhite

Year	Birth rate			Death rate		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
	(Number per 1,000 population)					
1959.....	24.3	23.1	34.0	9.4	9.4	9.9

Note: Birth rates have been adjusted for underregistration.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service.

Table 3.--Marital status of persons age 14 and over, March 1960

	Percent					
	Male			Female		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single.....	25.3	24.5	32.4	19.0	18.7	21.6
Married.....	69.3	70.3	60.9	65.9	66.6	59.8
Spouse present....	66.7	68.3	53.0	62.2	63.9	48.2
Spouse absent.....	2.6	2.0	7.9	3.7	2.8	11.6
In armed forces.	--	--	--	.3	.3	.5
Separated.....	1.5	1.0	5.5	2.0	1.3	8.3
Other.....	1.1	1.0	2.4	1.3	1.1	2.9
Widowed.....	3.5	3.4	4.8	12.5	12.3	14.3
Divorced.....	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.6	2.5	4.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Marital Status and Family Status, March 1960, pp. 8-10 (Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 105).

Table 4.--Mobility of the civilian population, April 1958 to April 1959

Place of residence	Total	White	Nonwhite
Total population.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
In same house.....	80.3	80.8	75.8
Moved to different house in U.S....	19.2	18.6	23.8
In same county.....	13.1	12.3	19.6
In different county.....	6.1	6.4	4.2
Within state.....	3.2	3.3	2.5
In different state.....	2.9	3.1	1.7
Abroad at beginning of period.....	0.5	0.5	0.4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Mobility of the Population of the United States, April 1958 to 1959, (Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 104).

Table 5.--Negroes in the South and in remainder of the United States, urban and rural areas, 1960

Area	1960
United States	100.0
South	59.9
Urban	35.0
Rural	24.9
Nonfarm	(1)
Farm	(1)
Remainder of the United States	40.1
Urban	38.2
Rural	1.9
Nonfarm	(1)
Farm	(1)

1) Not available.

Note: Definitions of rural and urban are only roughly comparable at the two periods.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 6.--Civilian labor force participation rates,[1] by color, age and sex, 1960

Age and sex	White	Nonwhite
Male	80.5	79.4
14 to 19 years	43.6	45.0
20 to 24 years	87.8	90.4
25 to 34 years	97.7	96.2
35 to 44 years	97.9	95.5
45 to 54 years	96.1	92.3
55 to 64 years	87.2	82.5
65 years and over	33.3	31.2
Female	35.5	46.3
14 to 19 years	30.7	25.8
14 and 15 years	12.5	13.2
16 and 17 years	30.0	22.1
18 and 19 years	51.9	44.3
20 to 24 years	45.7	48.8
25 to 34 years	34.1	49.7
35 to 44 years	41.5	59.8
45 to 54 years	48.6	60.5
55 to 64 years	36.2	47.3
65 years and over	10.6	12.8

1/ Percent of civilian noninstitutional population in civilian labor force.

Table 7 --Employment status of the civilian population age 14 and over, by color and sex, annual averages, 1960

Employment status	White	Nonwhite
	Number (in thousands)	
	Men	
Civilian population	52,567	5,952
Civilian labor force	42,297	4,728
Employed	40,265	4,220
Agriculture	4,020	657
Nonagricultural industries	36,244	3,563
Unemployed	2,032	508
	Women	
Civilian population	57,610	6,726
Civilian labor force	20,471	3,116
Employed	19,376	2,821
Agriculture	768	277
Nonagricultural industries	18,608	2,544
Unemployed	1,095	295
	Percent	
Labor force as percent of civilian population:		
Men	80.5	79.4
Women	35.5	46.3
Unemployed as percent of labor force:		
Men	4.8	10.7
Women	5.3	9.5

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 8.--Unemployment by age, by color and sex, annual average, 1960

(Number unemployed as percent of civilian labor force of the category)

Age	White	Nonwhite
Both sexes, age 14 and over.....	5.0	10.2
Male.....	4.8	10.7
14 to 17.....	12.5	19.3
18 and 19.....	13.5	25.1
20 to 24.....	8.3	13.1
25 to 34.....	4.1	10.7
35 to 44.....	3.3	8.2
45 to 64.....	3.8	8.9
65 and over.....	4.0	6.3
Female.....	5.3	9.5
14 to 17.....	12.2	20.7
18 and 19.....	11.5	24.5
20 to 24.....	7.2	15.3
25 to 34.....	5.7	9.1
35 to 44.....	4.2	8.6
45 to 64.....	3.7	5.4
65 and over.....	2.8	4.1

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Labor Force.

Table 9.--Persons at work in nonagricultural industries by full- or part-time status, by color and sex, annual average, 1960

(Percent distribution)

Hours worked, usual status, and sex	White	Nonwhite
Men		
Total at work	100.0	100.0
35 hours or more	86.2	80.0
1-34 hours	13.7	20.1
Usually worked full time at present job	7.2	10.5
Worked part time for economic reasons	2.0	4.3
Worked part time for other reasons	5.2	6.2
Usually worked part time at present job	6.5	9.6
Worked part time for economic reasons	1.3	4.9
Worked part time for other reasons	5.2	4.7
Average hours	42.7	39.2
Women		
Total at work	100.0	100.0
35 hours or more	70.5	62.6
1-34 hours	29.4	37.3
Usually worked full time at present job	7.7	7.7
Worked part time for economic reasons	1.9	2.7
Worked part time for other reasons	5.8	5.0
Usually worked part time at present job	21.7	29.6
Worked part time for economic reasons	2.4	10.9
Worked part time for other reasons	19.3	18.7
Average hours	35.9	33.8

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 10.--Major occupation group of employed persons by color and sex, annual average, 1960

Major occupation group and sex	White 1960	Nonwhite 1960
	Number (in thousands)	
Total employed men	40,265	4,220
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	4,609	159
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	5,842	126
Clerical and kindred workers	2,908	246
Sales workers	2,636	70
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	7,938	401
Operatives and kindred workers	7,633	1,019
Laborers except farm and mine	2,629	953
Service workers, except private household	2,245	627
Private household	30	15
Farmers and farm managers	2,469	201
Farm laborers and foremen	1,325	403
Total employed women	19,376	2,821
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	2,536	170
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	1,048	52
Clerical and kindred workers	6,367	262
Sales workers	1,652	43
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	207	15
Operatives and kindred workers	2,935	398
Laborers, except farm and mine	67	16
Service workers except private household	2,656	604
Private household workers	1,182	989
Farmers and farm managers	92	18
Farm laborers and foremen	633	254

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 11.--Percent distribution of employed persons by major occupation group, color, and sex, April 1961

Major occupation group and sex	White	Nonwhite
Total employed men	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	12.2	4.1
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	15.3	3.0
Clerical and kindred workers	7.1	6.6
Sales workers	6.8	1.5
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	19.7	9.5
Operatives and kindred workers	18.1	24.1
Laborers, except farm and mine	5.9	20.8
Service workers, except private household	5.9	15.3
Private household workers	.1	.5
Farmers and farm managers	6.1	4.9
Farm laborers and foremen	2.8	9.7
Occupation not reported	--	--
Total employed women	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	13.9	5.9
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	5.4	1.2
Clerical and kindred workers	33.5	9.5
Sales workers	8.3	1.3
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	.9	.8
Operatives and kindred workers	14.7	14.7
Laborers, except farm and mine	.3	.8
Service workers, except private household	13.7	24.9
Private household workers	6.4	37.2
Farmers and farm managers	.6	.5
Farm laborers and foremen	2.3	3.1
Occupation not reported	--	--

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 12.--Nonwhite employment as percent of total employment in each major occupation group, by sex, April 1961

Major occupation group	Nonwhite men as percent of all men	Nonwhite women as percent of all women
Total employed	9.2	11.8
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	3.3	5.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	2.0	2.9
Clerical and kindred workers	8.6	3.7
Sales workers	2.1	2.1
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	4.7	10.6
Operatives and kindred workers	11.9	11.9
Laborers, except farm and mine	26.4	1/
Service workers, except private household	20.8	19.6
Private household workers	1/	43.8
Farmers and farm managers	7.7	10.0
Farm laborers and foremen	26.3	15.0

1/ Figures not shown where base is less than 100,000

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Table 13.--Median wage and salary incomes of white and nonwhite persons, 1959

Year	Male		Female		Nonwhite as percent of white	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	Male	Female
All persons with wage or salary income:						
1959.....	$4,902	$2,844	$2,422	$1,289	58.0	53.2
Year-round full-time workers with wage or salary income:						
1959.....	$5,456	$3,339	$3,306	$2,196	61.2	66.4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

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SOME ECONOMIC COSTS OF DISCRIMINATION

IN SOUTHERN INDUSTRY

Donald Dewey

1. Discrimination as a cause of poverty

We know that racial discrimination is morally wrong. If this is so, do the many other reasons for condemning racial discrimination really matter? Ought we also to oppose it because it causes young African and Asian nations to distrust our diplomacy? ~~or~~ Because it makes the American economy less efficient? Unfortunately, these - and other - reasons for condemning racial discrimination do ~~matter.~~ exist and do matter.

When we accept that racial discrimination is morally wrong we agree that "something should be done about it." We ~~do not,~~ frequently however, commit ourselves to doing anything about it in the foreseeable future. In fact, when racial discrimination is described in high-flown language as a "moral problem", one often has the feeling that the speaker does not really mean to do anything about it. American Negroes, whatever their disabilities, are, after all, Americans. Even second-class citizenship entitles them to be numbered among the more fortunate peoples of the earth. And since racial discrimination is the toughest moral problem the United States has ever faced - tough enough to put us on the bloody road to Appomatox and meet us at the end - we are often tempted to turn our hands to easier tasks. Why should we not conserve our energies for such worthy and relatively more easily attainable ends as slum clearance, the improvement of education, aid to hungry children in other countries, prison reform, and mental health?

In the South the temptation to take the easy way out is especially strong. This is not because Southerners- white or Negro- are more cowardly than Americans elsewhere. The Southern reluctance to "do something now" about racial discrimination simply reflects that it is here an even tougher problem- and a more formidable evil- than elsewhere. Moreover, the Southern citizen of good will- white or Negro- who wishes to avoid taking a stand against discrimination that may prove uncomfortable, embarrassing, or dangerous has a convenient excuse. He may point out that, while discrimination is a problem, it is not the only problem of the region. The South is also very poor. He is, of course, correct-- the South is very poor indeed.

Table I gives the per capita income for the major areas of the United States in 1958. It shows that the richest area of the South (the West South Central States) had a per capita income of $1,696, ~~which placed it~~ below the poorest area outside the South, the West North Central States, with their per capita income of $1,928. yet Table I actually understates the relative poverty of the South since the Census Bureau counts as Southern the prosperous border states of ~~Delaware,~~ Maryland, ~~Delaware~~ Delaware and the District of Columbia. Table II gives the 1958 per capita income figures for individual Southern states. It conveys the melancholy truth that in eight ~~Southern~~ states - North Carolina, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and ~~Louisiana~~ Arkansas per capita income did not even reach $1,500.

insert Table I

insert Table II

Moreover, the per capita income statistic itself tends to suggest a higher standard of living than actually prevails.

This is because it is obtained by dividing the income of a state by its population. Since income is not equally distributed, most families in the South are even worse off than per capita income statistics would suggest. Thus in 1958 one-half of all families in the South (including Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia) received an income of less than $4,106. And one half of all Negro families received an income of less than $2, 014.[1]

The poverty of the South would not matter much if it merely meant that Southerners had smaller cars, cheaper television sets and fewer washing machines than other Americans. Unfortunately, the poverty ~~of the South~~ is more than skin deep; its marks can be seen in too many poor schools, inadequate budgets, poor law enforcement, too little medical care, and the continuing loss of too many able young people to other regions. (During 1940-1950 alone, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma lost 17-19 ~~percent~~ % of their people through migration; the corresponding losses for Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky, and West Virginia ranged from 8 to 12 ~~percent~~ %.)[2] Hence the Southern citizen of good will when asked to take a more active stand against discrimination is likely to reply:

> "Of course discrimination is bad. But the real problem of the South is poverty. If we can improve living standards, then we shall have more money to spend on health, education, and other public services. As our children become better informed, the old myths that teach the inferiority of Negroes will lose their hold. As Negro citizens become better educated and more skilled, they will more readily be accepted as social equals by their white neighbors.

Therefore let us concentrate on improving the economic condition of the South. If we succeed in this task, the problem of discrimination will fade away.

Unfortunately, ~~the above~~ this argument of the well-intentioned Southerner contains an error. It implies that one can deal with the poverty of the South while doing nothing about racial discrimination. Nothing could be further from the truth. Poverty was riveted on the South by generations of slavery. It has been perpetuated into our time by myths of white supremacy. The poverty of the South cannot be blamed upon an unkind Providence. The South may not have New York's harbor, Minnesota's iron ore, or Pennsylvania's coal. But her resources compare most favorably with the modest natural endowments of California, Nevada, and Arizona- which are now the fastest growing states.

What does the South lack? In the struggle for higher living standards, the South operates under two grievous handicaps. The first is that her workers have not enough to offer in the national labor market because they are poorly prepared by experience and education for modern industry. The second is that Southern workers, both whites and Negroes, are often unable to offer Southern employers the skills that they do have. They are prevented from doing so by the division of employment in virtually every Southern town into "white" and "Negro" jobs. When, after a hard struggle, the mayor or manager of a town or city in the South manages to sign up a new industry, it too often ~~proves to be~~ only another textile mill or saw mill in search of cheap labor. This industry is not to be despised- it is better than nothing. But textile mills and saw mills will never

elevate ~~close the gap in~~ living standards ~~between~~ of the South to those of ~~and~~ the rest of the nation.

Southern workers must be equipped for modern industry by ~~an adequate~~ education, and they must have ~~be given~~ a chance to use their education without moving to New York or California. Of course, the economic difficulties of the South are the product of ~~two hundred~~ 200 years of history and will not disappear overnight. But we can at least aim at narrowing the gap between the South and other regions. We might begin by understanding how discrimination operates in the labor market and what can be done about it.

2. Discrimination in the labor market

Discrimination is ~~an evil - but~~ a complicated evil that frustrates easy solutions. Ordinarily when we say that Negroes suffer discrimination in their search for jobs, we mean one of three things.

(1) Negroes are denied certain jobs because they are not qualified. They have been unable to get the training in the home or the school which would make it worthwhile for employers to hire them in these jobs.

(2) Negroes cannot obtain certain jobs because the employer is personally prejudiced - so prejudiced, in fact, that he refuses to employ Negroes even though he loses money by this stand.

(3) Negroes are denied certain jobs because the employer fears that he stands to lose more by hiring a qualified Negro than he stands to gain by hiring the next best white worker who is available.

The handicap that a Negro worker suffers in the labor market

non, neg?

because he was the child of a poor school ~~and~~ or a broken home reflects no credit on the richest nation in the world. But this sort of discrimination is at least understandable. ~~And~~ It will decline as the educational and cultural opportunities of Negro children increase.

The second sort of discrimination - blind employer prejudice - is the least formidable of the three. Given the mobility of business ability, southern employers cannot afford this sort of "irrationality". For there are many business men in the region who will use Negro skills whenever they can do so without fear of reprisals from their workers or customers. However, how much trouble southern employers experience in introducing Negroes into new jobs is not unrelated to how much they are prepared to tolerate; and how much trouble they will tolerate is partly ~~a function of what~~ how much Negro workers have to offer them. Finally, of course, the fear that moves white workers to object to Negroes ~~receiving~~ m certain jobs does ~~not work upon~~ bother employers. For what white workers in the South fear above all else is the loss of face - the stigma of doing a "Negro" job.

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It is the third handicap faced by Negroes in the labor market, the reluctance or refusal of white workers to accept them as fellow workers in certain jobs, ~~that~~ which is the heart of "economic discrimination". But before attempting further to explain the racial division of labor in the South, it would be well to ~~emphasize~~ point out ~~those things which do not need to be explained.~~ ~~size what we do not have to explain.~~ We do not have to explain why most whites have better jobs than most Negroes: The centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation is still three years off. Nor need we account for the very great variety of employment ~~[illegible]~~

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patterns within the South ~~that~~ which can be observed by anyone who travels from Virginia to Texas. This variety exists because, in a southern town, the per cent of Negroes in the population can range anywhere from zero to ~~eighty per cent~~ 80 %.

Three features of the racial division of labor in the South, however, do deserve our attention. (1) Why do employers assume that the right skin color is essential for most jobs? For as labor leaders and employers know well enough, the southern labor market is almost always discussed in terms of "white" and "Negro" jobs (provided, of course, that nobody is talking for publication). (2) Why is there so much variation in racial employment patterns in the same locality? (3) Notwithstanding this variation, why is there such astounding stability in racial employment patterns at the firm and industry level?

~~Given~~ the Negro gains in health, education, and self-confidence over the last two decades, one would expect to find a marked upgrading of the vocational gap in race relations. But ~~it~~ that has not happened. On this point the evidence is quite clear. Negroes in unskilled jobs are much better paid than twenty years ago and fewer Negroes are out of work. Negro workers, however, have made disturbingly little progress in moving into better jobs in the South.[3]

It is sometimes asserted that whites and Negroes cannot be worked together; or that white women and Negro men cannot be put in the same shop; or that Negroes cannot be used in ~~a~~ jobs where they face a white public. It just is not so. Whenever Negroes comprise ~~twenty per cent~~ 20 % or more of the local labor force (as Negroes do

now in most southern communities) most firms will have men and women, whites and Negroes, working in close proximity. And few white people in the South go through a week without having some face-to-face business dealings with Negroes.

About the only obvious "rule" of labor use in the South is that Negroes do not give orders to whites. The exceptions to this generalization are not statistically ~~important,~~ many, though they can be found.

A second virtual rule of southern employment is that Negroes and whites do not work side by side at the same type of job. This statement requires some qualification if only because it raises the terminological difficulty of defining a "job". For example, in a restaurant one often finds a white girl waiting table and a Negro girl cooking - except that when business is brisk, the Negro girl will take your order. Is there any ~~meaningful~~ true division of labor here? Again, even when job distinctions are real enough, one can without much difficulty find work groups in the South where no semblance of a division of labor is maintained. Such work groups comprise a very small percentage of all jobs in the region. But they tell us a great deal about how job discrimination breaks down - or more important, why it fails to develop.

Nevertheless, when elaborated and qualified, these two unwritten rules of labor used in the South enable us to understand both the variety and the stability of racial employment patterns. Taken together they comprise what may fairly be described as the Southern labor pattern. (Not that the pattern is by any means confined to the South; it can be found, for example, in most New York restaurants and hotels.) What are the economic consequences

of this rigid pattern?

In the first place, the pattern insures that direct personal competition between individual whites and Negroes is limited largely to isolated jobs where a man is on his own - the type exemplified by truckdriving. And since Negroes cannot rise to command whites, these isolated jobs are also dead-end jobs. The amount of Negro upgrading that can take place through direct competition with whites is necessarily quite limited. For most employment, competition takes place on a work group basis. The employer may fill a set of jobs with whites or Negroes; he cannot use both. And before he will transfer a set of jobs from whites to Negroes, he must believe that the Negro group is clearly superior.

~~As we have seen,~~ The evidence is pretty conclusive that Negroes are not progressing very rapidly up the job ladder in the South. Some of the circumstances which hold them back in work group competition are clear enough. Negroes are the minority group in most Southern labor markets; ~~so that~~ consequently the employer has more choice by sticking to white applicants. Emigration tends to reduce the pressure on color bars at the local level since population movements tend to be selective. If all of the Negroes who graduated from high school and college in the South over the last ~~thirty~~ 30 years had remained in the region, instances of Negro ~~upgrading~~ promotion would be easier to ~~uncover.~~ find. ~~We might also note that~~ And the South, notwithstanding the remarkable exodus from rural areas, is still abundantly provided with a reserve army of ~~the~~ unemployed. (One-third of American farms - most of them in the South - produce only one-tenth of all farm products. Workers on these farms may be viewed as "on the waiting list" for

jobs in Southern industry where their wages, however low, will exceed their earnings in agriculture.)[4] ~~These factors taken~~ Together - the numerical advantages of whites, the emigration of Negro abilities, and the labor surplus of the area seriously weaken employer incentive to make greater use of Negro work groups.

Moreover, when a labor shortage develops in certain lines, Negroes are not the obvious candidates for ~~upgrading.~~ advances. The employer's first reaction is to explore the possibility of ~~making greater use of~~ using more white women. They ~~can be~~ are more easily fitted into established work groups, and there are plenty of them. Even in the labor shortage of World War II, Negro gains in the South were confined largely to jobs which white women would not or could not do. ~~For example,~~ In the textile industry of South Carolina where most jobs can be handled by women, the manpower shortage of World War II was met almost entirely by upgrading white women. From 1940 to 1945, average monthly employment in the industry rose from 92,700 to 109,500. The percentage of white men employed dropped by 10.2 percentile points - from 62 ~~percent~~ % to 51.8 ~~percent~~ %. The share of jobs going to white women rose 9.1 percentile points - from 34 ~~percent~~ % to 43.1 ~~percent~~ %.

A contrast is afforded by the "rougher" paper and pulp industry of South Carolina. Here between 1940 and 1945, the share of jobs going to white men dropped from 75 ~~percent~~ % to 43.2 ~~per cent.~~ %. The share of jobs going to Negro men rose from 25 ~~percent~~ % to 44.1 ~~percent.~~ % (By 1950 the share of jobs going to Negro men had fallen to 26.1 ~~percent~~ %.)[5]

3. Prospects for reckoning economic discrimination

If the southern pattern of labor ~~use~~ does not change, the outlook for Negro upgrading is not bright, though barring the disaster of another depression it will no doubt continue at its present slow pace. That is, dirty, unskilled labor jobs will fall increasingly to Negroes and they will continue to gain experience as owners and managers in small business. While this slow progress is not good enough for the South, or the nation, ~~its importance is~~ it should not ~~to~~ be depreciated, ~~it at least represents~~ as it is movement in the right direction. Should serious unemployment develop in the South which causes white workers in desparation or despair to seek the poorer jobs held by Negroes, the tragedy of the ~~nineteen-thirties~~ 1930's will be repeated. Negro workers will lose ground in skilled jobs and face the necessity of choosing between the poverty of unemployment or emigration to other regions. The maintenance of full employment is an indispensable condition for economic progress for southern ~~Negroes.~~ Negroes.

Yet if Negroes are to make their full contribution to the southern economy, a division of labor based upon job segregation ~~to~~ and white supremacy must go. ~~Admittedly it cannot be removed overnight since, like other forms of racial discrimination, it has a long, if infamous, history.~~ There are, however, a number of ways in which the ending of economic discrimination in the South can be speeded up.

First, whenever federal, state, or local funds are spent to attract new firms to the South, ~~it must be clearly understood that~~ jobs ~~will~~ must be filled ~~on the basis of~~ by individual merits, that a division into white and Negro jobs will not be accepted. This

stipulation is most important because it is much easier to prevent ~~the development of~~ a racial division of labor in a firm or industry than it is to change it after a color line has been established.

Second, existing federal ~~legislation~~ executive orders which forbid job discrimination by employers who accept government contracts ought to be ~~properly~~ effectively enforced. ¶ Third, more publicity should be given to the many instances where Negro workers have quietly and successfully moved into jobs previously closed to them. This publicity is needed because, in many cases, employers hesitate to hire qualified Negroes for skilled jobs because they vaguely (and wrongly) feel that "it could not be done in the South". ¶ Fourth, the divisions of workers in certain unions into segregated white and Negro locals should be ended. When labor organizations sanction segregated locals, as in some sectors of the tobacco industry, the racial division of labor becomes even more firmly established than in non-union industries. For no job can be transferred from the jurisdiction of one local to another local without their mutual consent. This consent is practically never given by the local which stands to lose.

Finally, and most important of all, men of good will must continue, in the face of community indifference or hostility, to speak and act against fear, ignorance, and intolerance. For these are the ~~ultimate~~ evils of which economic discrimination is merely one of many manifestations.

TABLE I

Per Capita Income by Regions in

the United States: 1958

National average	$2,057
New England	$2,355
Middle Atlantic	$2,420
East North Central	$2,182
West North Central	$1,928
Mountain	$1,935
Pacific	$2,449
South Atlantic	$1,688
East South Central	$1,336
West South Central	$1,696

omit all but first $

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960, pp. 312-313

Put in this order

TABLE II

Per Capita Income of Southern States: 1958

13	Delaware	$2,760
16	Maryland	$2,221
14	District of Columbia	$2,634
11	Virginia	$1,674
12	****	
18	West Virginia	$1,509
7	North Carolina	$1,384
8	South Carolina	$1,218
4	Georgia	$1,487
3	Florida	$1,876
15	Kentucky	$1,397
9	Tennessee	$1,439
1	Alabama	$1,359
6	Mississippi	$1,053
2	Arkansas	~~$1,696~~ 1,228
5	Louisiana	~~$1,228~~ 1,576
17	Oklahoma	$1,740
10	Texas	$1,814

omit all but first #

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960, pp. 312-313

FOOTNOTES

1. Bureau of the Census: Current Population Report, Series P-60, No. 33. January, 15, 1960.

2. William H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 126-27.

3. For evidence relating to Negro difficulties in moving up the job ladder see Gary Becker, The Economics of Discrimination (Chicago, 1957), pp. 108-121; and Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South (National Planning Association, Washington, 1955). Donald Dewey "Negro Employment in Southern Industry", The Journal of Political Economy, August, 1952.

4. Nelson Lowry, American Farm Life (Cambridge, 1954), p. 23.

5. Computed from the Annual Reports of the South Carolina Department of Labor (1940-50).

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

"Will School Strife Stop New Plants?", by Jim Montgomery; Atlanta Constitution, February 27, 1959

"Surveyed Businessmen Tell Crisis Impact on Little Rock", Arkansas Gazette, January 25, 1959

"Segregation Costs" by Cal Brumley, The Wall Street Journal, December 17, 1957

"The Price of Turmoil", by Wallace Carroll, The New York Times, October 3, 1957

"Race Tension Discourages Industrial Moves to South", by Glenn Fowler, The New York Times, March 14, 1956

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

"Virginia Education Crisis and its Economic Aspects", by Louis A. Thompson, New South, February 1959

"Can Segregation Survive in an Industrial Society?" by J. Milton Yinger and George E. Simpson, Antioch Review, Spring, 1958

"The Shrinking South" by Hodding Carter, Look, March 4, 1958

"Despite Tension, the South Keeps on Gaining"; Business Week, October 26, 1957.

"The Role of Business Leaders" by Opie L. Shelton; New South, May 1956

PAMPHLETS

Jim Montgomery, The Economic Effect of School Closing

Benjamin D. Segal, Industrialization: Accent on the South

Statements

Faculties of Emory University

Physicians of Atlanta

EXCELLENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF HIGHER EDUCATION*

I am flattered to be here, invited by you to speak on the awesome subject: Excellence in the Affairs of Higher Education. I must confess, though, that I am not used to having so many presidents and deans as a captive audience; my more usual experience, where presidents and deans are concerned, has been as a part of the audience--sometimes, I am afraid, a "captive" part. But I take comfort in the fact that there are among you a few just plain professors; they will know what I am going through. I have always enjoyed a comment which I heard William Anderson, now Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, make some years ago. "I don't," said the white haired old gentleman, "look up to deans. I don't look down on deans. I just look at 'em." And if the good deans who are here today will pardon me for telling that story, I will add that it seems to me to express perfectly the ideal that all of us involved in the civil rights struggle are dedicated to: the great, democratic demand that each man "count as one and no man as more than one." The theme of this meeting is a fitting reminder that all of us have an obligation, as well as a right, to pursue to the full that excellence which is within us.

In one of the articles in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences you will find it said that three men more than any others have shaped the American university: Andrew Dickson White, the first president of Cornell; Charles

* Luncheon address at the annual meeting of the Department of Higher Education of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, held at Savannah State College, April 8, 1960.

Eliot, Harvard's president from 1869 - 1909; and Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of the Johns Hopkins. Each of these imparted to our universities one of their characteristic features. White built a university on the principle that it should teach every department of knowledge; and at Cornell today you will indeed find everything, or almost, from the distinguished Susan Linn Sage School of Philosophy to the Statler School of Hotel Administration. Other American universities have emulated this catholic approach. Eliot at Harvard decided that not only should a university teach <u>everything</u>, but a student had the right to study <u>anything</u>; so he introduced the elective system. And Gilman built the Johns Hopkins on the belief that the most important part of the university was its graduate school, and the education of undergraduates was of secondary value; this too remains a basic principle, if not widely admitted, of the American university.

I believe a new evaluation would have to add, as the fourth sculptor of American universities, the name of Robert Hutchins, who in a stormy career at the University of Chicago managed to criticize each of our three founding principles, and to force some modification of each. Against the Cornell idea, Hutchins insisted that some subjects belonged to culture and some to trade schools. He attacked the elective system, because he believed that educators had a responsibility to decide what adolescents ought to study. And against the John Hopkins principle, which held that research and not teaching was the first business of a university, Hutchins established in his own faculty rewards and positions of high status for the great teachers, as well as the great researchers.

Hutchins' criticisms have--and I think this is clearly so--been effective, and have altered our theory and practice of higher education. So if I may draw from all this, I would say that we now conceive of excellence in

higher education to mean these things:

- a school that is discriminating (I did not say "discriminatory") in what it teaches, avoiding both the stagnation of a hide-bound curriculum and the temptation to forget the difference between liberal and vocational education;
- a school that has its own well-considered view of what constitutes an educated man or woman, and the courage to require each of its students to study, not what he wants to study, but what the faculty in its judgment thinks he ought to study in order to fill his responsibilities as one of the educated men of his society;
- a school that rejoices whenever, through the grace of God, good scholars or good teachers come its way, and which gives them all honor.

(Parenthetically, let me say that I think we all have heard and read enough on the question of which is more "important," teaching or research. I give you my personal observation, for what it is worth: although I have known some great scholars who were horrible teachers, especially of undergraduates, I have never known a good teacher who was not also an acceptable scholar, continuously engaged in his own studies. I do not believe it is possible for a man to teach well unless he is unceasingly sharpening the edge of his mind, not only by "keeping up with his field," but by helping it to push a bit ahead through his own research.)

These principles of excellence we need to keep clear and bright in our gaze as we contemplate the practical problem facing our colleges and universities. For, as you all know, it is precisely the sort of problem which will tempt the schools to forget excellence. Put quite simply, the problem is one of an increasing horde of students to be accommodated by inadequate facilities and under-manned faculties. And yet - glory be! - there is at the same

time and throughout the land a preoccupation with quality education such as the memory of man cannot recall.

During the next few years - right now, in fact - American colleges and universities will be competing among themselves for good faculty, and good young instructors and assistant professors in particular. Ph.D. requirements have been tightened. The young Ph. D.'s coming out now and in the next few years will be, even more than we of the 40's and 50's, trained to the appreciation of research. They will look for a campus where there are opportunities to carry on research; where there is an atmosphere encouraging to scholarship; where fruitful scholarship is rewarded and honored.

* * *

Now, what has this to do with Negro colleges and universities? In the first place, of course, "Negro" institutions shouldn't be, anymore than "white" institutions should be. In the second place, whatever should be the case, "Negro" colleges and universities do exist and are likely to continue for some time, for three reasons: the endurance of prejudice; the unavoidable slowness of any transition; the institutional inertia which, within the Negro campuses themselves, will impede any change. In the third place, though "Negro" schools will continue for a time, they will do so not against a background of massive segregation but against a background of fairly rapid desegregation of schools of higher education in the South as well as the North. With these facts in mind, I want to call your attention to three statements which I have seen in my recent reading.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, is authority for the statement that only two of the Negro private institutions - Howard and Atlanta - are properly "universities." Dr. Wright went on to say:

> The Negro private college can no longer be expected to carry the major burden of the higher education of Negroes. It does not now have,

nor can it expect in the future to have, the resources for this enormous task. If it is to survive, it must be selective both as to its program and especially as to its students. It must make quality its watchword. In brief, this college must offer higher education which is adequate for the years ahead and should do so on a completely integrated basis. This means that the objectives of this institution must increasingly be those of comparable American colleges, i.e., comparable with respect to size and general character. The practices, programs and evaluation procedures must also be those of the best smaller American colleges. Unless the Negro private college is developed on this philosophy, it is not likely to survive.

Such an institution, operating in the Southern region, on an integrated basis, could be of incalculable value to the nation. It would doubtless be among the very few truly liberal institutions of the region, particularly in matters relating to the problems of race - problems with which so much of the world is now concerned.

There appears to be little basis for assuming that these institutions will or can be other than primarily liberal arts and teacher education. /1

Dr. Wright added, "There is little if any hope that all can survive as first-rate American colleges." To which I would add that there is, unfortunately, room for second rate schools, but little need.

I think Dr. Wright is altogether correct. If I may abstract his conclusion it goes like this:

a. The future of the Negro college is to develop as a sound liberal arts college, for which, in this country, the models would be places like Amherst (men), Swarthmore (coed), Bryn Mawr (women). The quality of such schools is not likely to be equalled but should never be ignored; it is all right to work in the shadows, but only if one chooses big shadows, and keeps looking up.

b. More than any other region of the country, the South sorely needs <u>good</u> liberal arts colleges.

c. The Negro colleges should direct their policies toward attracting an integrated faculty and student body.

In short, the Negro college which can fit itself for general service to scholarship and teaching will be the proof that integration is not only a moral imperative but a practical value.

1. "The Future of the Negro Private College: Philosophy and Program," <u>The Journal of Negro Education</u>, Summer, 1958, pp. 408, 412-413.

Another statement which I want to mention is one which, apparently, brought down a great deal of criticism on its author's head. Mr. B. L. Hunton, a school official in the District of Columbia and himself a Negro, was quoted by the press in March of this year as saying that only four Negro colleges - he named them, I shall not - had special programs for superior students; he said further that if the others could not provide honors work for their top students they should either (a) pool faculties and facilities through consolidations; (b) become junior colleges; or (c) close their doors. I am not in a position to know whether Mr. Hunton's appraisal of the colleges was or was not accurate. I shall only say that it seems to me the point is beyond argument, that a true college must be equipped and prepared to serve the needs and develop the potential of the exceptional, as well as the average, student.

There is no compromising with quality, and when we attempt it we throw away something of our educators' conscience - and what we have to begin with isn't inexhaustible. There are good colleges, - and there are finishing schools. Some youngsters cannot benefit from college (or give benefit to a college), and do need a finishing school: but let's keep the two things clear and separate. For that matter, does anyone need four years of finishing school? Wouldn't two (junior college) be enough?

Every college exercising the privilege of conferring degrees upon its graduates must act as if its students had to have an education as deep and strict and rich as any students anywhere; as if the conditions of work for its faculty had to be as dignified[2] and accommodating as those anywhere. To quote Dr. Wright again, the Negro college "must make quality its watchword."

My third and final statement is one which drew much attention at its publication. It is the Wall Street Journal's report of July 15, 1959, head-

2. In fact, my observation is that the Negro community now generally accords more dignity to its scholars than white scholars typically receive.

lined, "Negro Colleges Train Too Many Teachers, Too Few Technicians." You know that complaint too well for me to recount it here. You know well, too, the historical, economic, and social reasons which have led to this over-training of teachers. You know better than I that other social and economic reasons now make both unnecessary and unwise the continuation of this old preoccupation.

* * *

A friend with a college-seeking son recently asked me which of two Southern universities I thought better; I told him. He asked me what it had that the other one hadn't, and I said I didn't know. But what it had had was something the other one never had been blessed with: a long period of exciting development under a liberal president. I doubt that any school is truly good until it has in its heritage at least one such iconoclastic, tradition shaking period, from the stimulus of which later, duller periods can feed. The times ahead for Negro colleges literally cry out for educational pioneers, who will lay new foundations for and by the "new Negro," of whom we hear so much. I hope your schools will be among those pioneers.

- Leslie W. Dunbar

Return to
R M Wheeler
1012 Kings Dr.

A Study of Negro Hospital Facilities and Services

for

Charlotte and Mecklenburg County

Conducted by the:

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL,
UNITED COMMUNITY SERVICES

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

The Mayor of the City of Charlotte,
The Chairman of the Board of County
Commissioners of Mecklenburg County;

Gentlemen:

In February 1954, the Council of the City of Charlotte, and the Board of Commissioners of Mecklenburg County charged the Social Planning Council of the United Community Services with the responsibility for a study of Negro hospital facilities in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. The Council was asked to discover the problem and needs, to recommend a sound plan to meet them and to recommend a method of financing the recommended plan.

A special committee of civic minded citizen volunteers was organized to undertake the study. More than 100 hours have been devoted to the task by the full committee, steering committee, and various subcommittees.

Detailed statistical information was gathered for the committee by the Social Planning Council, a task which required more than two months.

The committee, members or consultants met, consulted, or corresponded with the following organizations and individuals:

Charlotte Memorial Hospital

Mercy Hospital, Charlotte

Presbyterian Hospital, Charlotte

Charlotte Eye, Ear & Throat Hospital

Good Samaritan Hospital

Charlotte and Mecklenburg County Health Departments

The Duke Endowment

Mecklenburg County Medical Society

North Carolina Medical Care Commission

Rt. Rev. Edwin A. Penick, Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina

Georgia Department of Public Health

Fulton-De Kalk Hospital Authority, Atlanta, Georgia

Community Council of Caddo and Bassier Parishes, Shreveport, Louisiana

Lincoln Hospital, Durham, N. C.

Kate B. Reynolds Hospital, City Hospital and Baptist Hospital, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Cabarrus County Hospital

North Carolina Nurses Association

Southern Regional Council

Atlanta Urban League

Council for Spartanburg, S. C.

U. S. Public Health Service

American Hospital Association

American Public Health Association

North Carolina State Board of Nurse Examiners

Charlotte Medical Society

Mecklenburg County Hospitalization Fund

The committee further consulted numerous communities throughout the Southeast and the nation which had made recent similar studies and evaluations.

The committee secured the services of two of the nation's outstanding hospital consultants—Dr. J. R. McGibony, of the University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. Paul B. Cornely, of Howard University, Washington, D. C. These consultants met with the full committee and the steering committee, reviewed the information which had been compiled, met with many interested organizations and individuals, and assembled additional information. They rendered a detailed written report to the committee.

The committee, after full consideration of all this information, found the significant facts and adopted the recommendations which are transmitted herewith.

May I, on behalf of the committee, extend our appreciation and thanks for their help, to the following:

Mr. Wiley H. Arnold, Chairman, and members of the Board of Good Samaritan Hospital, and Mr. Edward R. Frye, the Administrator

Senator Jack Blythe and members of the Charlotte Hospital Authority, and

Mr. R. Z. Thomas, Administrator of Charlotte Memorial Hospital

The Rt. Rev. Edwin A. Penick, Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina

Dr. John A. Ferrell, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, and members of his Staff

Dr. M. B. Bethel, City Health Officer

Miss Grace T. Hamilton of the Atlanta Urban League

Mr. W. E. Uzzell, of the Georgia Department of Public Health

Dr. Lenox D. Baker, of Duke University Medical School

George E. Rice, the Council for Spartanburg, S. C.

Dr. W. Z. Bradford and members of the Cabinet of the Mecklenburg County Medical Society

Drs. McGibony and Cornely, our consultants

The Duke Endowment

I should also like to thank the Charlotte Observer and the Charlotte News for their cooperation with the committee in handling the news coverage of this study.

Finally, may I acknowledge the serious, painstaking effort upon the part of the members of the committee, who gave so fully of their time and the untiring efforts of Mr. Robert W. Wright, Secretary of the committee, and his staff at the United Community Services.

Yours very truly,
Frank W. Snepp
Chairman

Report Of The Social Planning Council Committee To Study Negro Hospital Facilities and Services

As Reviewed and Approved by the Board of Directors — Social Planning Council — United Community Services

The Social Planning Council Committee to Study Negro Hospital Facilities and Services after a full year of complete and careful study of all facts relating to the provision of adequate hospital facilities and services and after consultation with all interested organizations, groups, and individuals submits its report, which follows:

Respectfully submitted,

Frank W. Snepp, Chairman,
Social Planning Council Committee
to Study Negro Hospital Facilities
and Services

J. Spencer Bell, President
Social Planning Council

Study Committee Membership:
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Mrs. Paul H. Allen
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Appendix 14

A. Detailed analysis of death and morbidity rates, and selected leading causes of death.

Table I: Death and morbidity rates, and rates of selected leading causes of death.

B. Detailed report regarding physicians available to the community.

Table II: Physician Ratios, local, state, national.

Table III: Number of patients per Physician.

Table IV: Fields of Practice of Local Physicians.

C. Analysis of hospital beds available to Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

Table V. Number of beds and percent of occupancy.

Table VI. Incidence of Hospitalization of Negro citizens.

Table VII. Hospital Beds per thousand population for selected counties.

D. Report of Facilities offered by the Local Hospitals.

Table VIII. Adjunct Hospital Facilities and Services.

E. Analysis of performance by local nurses in the State Board Test Pool Examinations, 1953.

Table IX: State Board Test Pool Examinations, 1953.

F. Memorandum: Special Study of 116 General Hospitals in North Carolina.

Summary Analysis Of The Significant Facts Relating To The Hospital Needs In Charlotte And Mecklenburg County

1. Present hospital and health facilities for Negroes are inadequate from the standpoint of size, services, and location. It would cost approximately a minimum of $1,500,000 to modernize Good Samaritan Hospital, including 75 additional beds, to bring it up to the physical standards at other Charlotte hospitals. It is probable that no Federal Funds would be available to assist in this program because of the limited site and location. A separate hospital would also require expensive duplication of facilities and professional and technical personnel, which is not now available to staff a separate Negro hospital.

2. Due to recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court an entirely separate Negro hospital constructed with public funds might be susceptible to attack in the courts.

3. It is impractical to consider Negro hospital needs apart from the needs of the entire community. Existing facilities at Memorial Hospital also require expansion to meet foreseeable needs. There is an urgent need in the community for beds for chronic illness patients.

4. Sixty to seventy percent of the hospitals in North Carolina provide services for both races in the same physical plant.

5. Provision of adequate out-patient clinical facilities must be an integral part of any program which seeks to provide for the health needs of the community.

6. The cost of construction of adequate facilities including 250 new beds at Memorial Hospital will be approximately $5,000,000. A portion of these funds can be obtained from Federal sources through the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. The remainder would have to be raised by means of a public bond issue.

7. Maintenance and operation of expanded facilities will require continued support from public funds.

Recommendations

In the light of the foregoing analysis, the Social Planning Council Committee to study Negro Hospital Facilities and services and the Board of Directors of the Social Planning Council makes the following recommendations.

1. The construction of a 250 bed addition to Charlotte Memorial Hospital to furnish adequate hospital facilities for all citizens of this community, with special attention to be given to the provision of beds for the care of chronic diseases.

2. The construction of additional operating rooms, delivery rooms and other facilities at Memorial to serve these additional beds.

3. The construction at Memorial of adequate out-patient clinical facilities.

4. The construction of residence facilities at Memorial to care for not less than 100 additional nurses, student and graduate, and other technical personnel who may be trained at Memorial.

5. That Memorial Hospital admit to its medical staff membership professionally qualified members of the medical profession without regard to race.

6. That the portion of the cost of construction for these facilities not obtainable from Federal and State sources be raised by means of a public bond issue.

7. That the City and County continue to accept their responsibility for the medical care of the indigent, with payment to the hospitals of the cost of such care.

8. That the Board of Trustees of the Good Samaritan Hospital and the Episcopal Church be assured of the appreciation of this committee and the community for the hospital program which has been carried on at Good Samaritan Hospital over a period of more than 60 years, where with limited resources and personnel a difficult task has been done. Further, that the community, through this committee, express appreciation for the contribution which the Episcopal Church made in providing the site of the Charlotte Memorial Hospital and in making financial contributions in the development of that hospital.

Evaluation of Hospital Facilities And Services In Charlotte And Mecklenburg County

I. Present Facilities

A. Present Hospital and Health Facilities for Negroes are Inadequate.

The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina and the Executive Board of Good Samaritan Hospital have for many years undertaken to provide Negro hospital facilities for this community. Handicapped by grossly inadequate financial resources, they have carried out this task in the face of community neglect and apathy. They are due the thanks—and apologies—of the community. Nothing in this report is intended to be a criticism of their interest and work. However, the existing situation must be realistically faced.

The task of providing hospital facilities for 54,000 citizens of this community is one beyond the capabilities of private charitable or religious organizations. Throughout the country there is a rapidly growing acceptance of the fact that provision of hospital facilities is a public responsibility.

This committee has considered the Good Samaritan facilities from many angles. It has concluded that these facilities are not sufficient for the task. The situation was well summed up by the advice of the committee's expert consultants, Dr. John R. McGibony, of the University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. Paul B. Cornely, of Freedman's Hospital and Howard University, Washington, D. C.:

"One is impressed by the fact that the medical care for individuals admitted to this institution is inadequate and of poor caliber. A few of the inadequacies must be mentioned. The wards and rooms are crowded with beds, leaving little space for the care of the patient. Patients are not properly separated so that on the surgical service may be found a variety of cases in the same room. There is no call system for patients so that a critically ill patient has no way of contacting the nurse, other than by the aid given by some other patient. There is not a well organized medical staff nor is there a part-time medical director who could supervise the attempt to maintain professional standards. A number of professional committees are lacking. The operating rooms are inadequate and there appears to be no attempt to exert control and to maintain standards in terms of operative procedures. Much of the nursing which is received by the patient is given by student nurses who are improperly trained. Although there is an

emergency rotation service for physicians, yet much of the emergency care is given by nurses, and nurses quite often are first assistants in major surgery. Pharmacy, Dietary, X-ray Laboratory, Anesthesia, and Medical Social Service, are either entirely lacking or inadequate in both personnel and equipment. Thus, the Negro patient, whether he be an indigent or pay patient, who comes into Good Samaritan Hospital, is not given the type of professional care which is expected in a well-organized, well-staffed institution."

The location of Good Samaritan adversely affects the possibility of strengthening its services. Eighty percent of the patients treated at Good Samaritan are cared for by white physicians. These doctors generally maintain offices at some distance from this hospital. The time required for travel is time consuming and inconvenient.

Fifty percent of the patients at Good Samaritan are charity patients. White doctors have been reluctant to contribute time and services for the treatment of these patients, due to the inconvenient location, lack of adequate diagnostic facilities and services, lack of proper equipment for treatment, and lack of other essential services.

The health experience of Negroes in this community in much worse than that of whites. The Negro stillbirth rate in this county is almost two and one-half times that of the white stillbirth rate; the Negro infant mortality rate is more than double the white; the Negro maternal death rate is more than eight times that of whites. More than six times as many Negroes succumb to pneumonia than do whites; the Negro death rate from tuberculosis is almost five times that of whites. Nephritis causes almost five and one-half times more deaths among Negroes than among whites. The Negro death rates from vascular lesions and congenital conditions are about double the white rate. And more than a third more Negroes die of heart diseases than do the whites. This picture is not, of course, due entirely to lack of hospital facilities. The figures do emphasize that more modern facilities are essential. (See Appendix: Analysis A, Table I).

B. **Cost of Modernizing Good Samaritan.**

Estimates of the cost of renovating and modernizing Good Samaritan were obtained from the Duke Endowment, the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, Good Samaritan Hospital, and the Committee's Consultants. At least $1,500,000.00 would be required, based on an increase of 75 beds.

The North Carolina Medical Care Commission advised the Committee's Consultants that in its opinion, it was doubtful if the present plant at Good Samaritan could be made into a modern hospital even if "large expenditures" were made. The Commission concluded, "It would seem that the county population should consider the construction of a new, modern and adequate hospital on a new and adequate site."

The Study Committee's Consultants commented: "The remodeling and addition to Good Samaritan Hospital at a cost of one million dollars or more would certainly not be the answer to the problem, since the beautification of a physical plant is not the major factor in the improvement of hospital care for Negroes. In addition to building, there is need for equipment, technical personnel, and educational program and other adjuncts which would be difficult to duplicate in a separate installation. This is the experience which has been found in many other communities where this has been attempted."

C. **Federal Aid Doubtful for Renovation of Good Samaritan**

Because of the opinion of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission that the site and location of Good Samaritan are so undesirable, it is doubtful that federal aid for a modernization program would be approved. Such aid would be available for the project recommended.

D. **Duplication of Facilities**

Renovation of Good Samaritan to provide anything approaching adequacy would require duplication of many facilities and services for diagnosis and treatment, as well as personnel. The patient load of Good Samaritan would require that much expensive medical and surgical equipment be available when needed. These basic facilities are now maintained for white patients at Memorial. It would be more economical and efficient to have these services available for both groups in one location.

E. **Professional and Technical Personnel to Staff a Separate Negro Hospital is not Available.**

In Charlotte, and throughout the nation, there is a drastic shortage of Negro doctors and medical technicians. There are now only about 4,000 Negro physicians in the United States. There are 8 actively practicing Negro physicians in Charlotte. None are diplomates of specialty boards. Only about 200 Negro doctors are graduated from medical schools each year, a

number that hardly replaces those who die or retire. These graduates tend to locate where conditions are most favorable to their future.

This leads to two conclusions. First, medical care for Negroes in this community will be primarily supplied by white doctors for years to come. Second, to staff a separate Negro hospital with Negro internes and residents would be prohibitively expensive, if not impossible.

Good Samaritan maintains a school of nursing. Its graduates ranked 35th out of 36 schools of nursing on State Board Examinations in 1953.

The students at Good Samaritan School of Nursing are generally inadequately prepared from the standpoint of educational background. There is an acute shortage of qualified teaching and supervisory personnel. No immediate hope for the improvement of this situation appears.

The same thing is true of medical technicians. Like Negro physicians, Negro medical technicians tend to locate where there are opportunities for training and advancement which are neither available at Good Samaritan, nor in most separate Negro hospitals.

Buildings alone do not make a good hospital. There must be an efficient, well trained professional and technical staff with high morale, and genuine interest in and concern for, the patients.

II. Effect of Recent Supreme Court Decisions.

Due to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on segregation in public schools an entirely separate Negro hospital built with public funds might be successfully challenged in the courts. If this happened, the investment in a separate Negro hospital would have been unwise. Location of facilities for both races in one physical plant would allow administrative action of the hospital's governing body to conform practice to the prevailing social pattern of our community.

III. Total Community Hospital Needs

A. It is Impractical to Consider Negro Hospital Needs Apart From the Needs of the Entire Community.

The community's health is an indivisible problem. Disease is no respecter of persons, races or groups. The health needs of one race cannot be considered apart from the needs of another—practically or morally.

The vital statistics attached to this report point out the discrepancies between white and Negro health status in our community. Certainly these startling differences are not entirely related to differences in available hospital facilities. They do indicate that potentially there is a greater per capita need for hospitalization among Negroes than among whites. (See Appendix: Analysis A, Table I; Analysis C, Table V.) Better facilities for both races should be the constant aim of the community.

If Negro hospital facilities are built at Memorial, a large number of indigent patients will be available for teaching purposes to the entire staff. This will mean that more internes and residents will likely want to train at Charlotte Memorial Hospital, than have in the past. An opportunity will be afforded to institute a strong teaching program at that institution, which will benefit the entire community.

B. **Existing Facilities at Memorial Require Expansion.**

Charlotte Memorial Hospital was opened in October, 1940, with 290 beds. The population of Mecklenburg County in 1940 was 151,802 of whom 108,507 were white. Since 1940, Memorial has added 98 beds, making a total of 388. The present estimated white population of Mecklenburg County is about 160,000. All indications are that Charlotte will continue its rapid growth during the next ten years.

These figures indicate that the time has come for Memorial to consider addition of facilities to meet this growth of the white population. Bed occupancy rate at Memorial now exceeds 80%, which is considered the desirable maximum.

Also, many strides have been made in hospital planning since 1940, and it may be desirable for Memorial to take advantage of some of these developments to aid in its task.

Hospital planners consider ten years the maximum period for which it is practical to attempt to foresee needs. Only 16 beds have been added to Memorial since 1945. The next ten years must be considered.

C. **Need for Beds for Chronic Illness Patients.**

Beds for Chronic illness patients should be considered in any plans for expansion of hospital facilities in this community. This type bed has a high priority for federal aid.

IV. **Experience in Treating Both Races in Same Hospital.**

About 70% of the hospitals in North Carolina provide services and facilities for both races. (See Appendix: Analysis F. Memo-

randum 1. Their experience has been favorable. Many anticipated problems did not develop.

V. **Out-Patient Clinical Facilities.**

The importance of adequate out-patient clinical facilities in the over-all community health picture cannot be overemphasized. They are necessary for continuity and total patient care. They afford excellent educational opportunities for professional personnel, patients, and the public. They are therapeutically sound and economically productive. They permit efficient utilization of professional personnel. They may reduce the need for more expensive construction and operation of beds for in-patients. They provide the best means for attacking the growing problem of chronic illness and medical care of the aged. They afford the best opportunity for early diagnosis, treatment and safeguarding the public health.

Fourteen different types of clinical services are presently available for whites. Only five are available for Negroes. (See Appendix: Analysis D, Table VIII.)

Operation of clinical services is dependent upon professionally and technically trained personnel which are virtually unavailable for a separate Negro institution in this community.

VI. **Cost and Financing**

A. The cost of construction of adequate facilities, including 250 new beds at Memorial Hospital will be approximately $5,000,000.00.

In light of the foregoing factors, it is logical to add facilities at Memorial to meet the community's health needs. The land is available. Some existing facilities may be utilized without expansion. Others will have to be expanded.

The experience, wisdom, and supervision of an efficient existing professional, technical, and administrative staff are assets no amount of money could procure for a separate institution.

The number of beds recommended, 250, is based upon the foreseeable needs of the whole population.

The cost figures are based not only upon an increase in beds, but also upon provision for necessary adjunct services, clinical facilities, etc.

Included in the estimate is the cost of construction of recommended nurses quarters. Education of Negro nurses and other technical personnel should be an important objective of the increased facilities.

Memorial should also undertake to admit to its staff professionally qualified Negro doctors. Only in this way can more and better trained Negro doctors be induced to come to Charlotte. Through training programs, Negro doctors and nurses already here can be helped to improve their skills.

These cost figures cannot be accurate to the penny. It is believed they are adequate. Detailed cost figures must wait upon detailed plans.

B. **Financing**

Some portion of the necessary funds for erection and equipping of these facilities can be obtained from Hill-Burton Act funds, through the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. No percentage figure can be given until detailed plans and cost figures have been prepared and submitted to the proper authorities by a duly constituted hospital authority.

The remainder of the cost should be raised by a public bond issue. This puts the responsibility on the entire community. Details of such a bond issue must be formulated by the City Council and Board of County Commissioners. No public funds have ever been used for the construction of general hospital facilities for Negroes in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

VII. **Funds for Operation**

If the recommended facilities are erected at Memorial, the expense of their operation must be met. Private patients cannot pay for the care of the indigent as well as their own. Some form of support by public funds will be necessary.

At present, the County pays a per diem cost for indigent patients at local hospitals. Emergency and out-patient services are paid for by the city at Memorial Hospital and Good Samaritan. This system permits the Charlotte Hospital Authority to maintain its independent status.

This system or some modification thereof, rather than an outright subsidy, should be continued. The allowance should be realistic.

VIII. **Conclusion**

The recommendations of this committee were forced upon it by the facts just discussed. It believes that its recommendations are economically sound—even if economically uncomfortable—and that they are in accord with the moral sense of the community.

That the Negro hospital situation has troubled the conscience of our community is evidenced by the numerous studies of and newspaper articles about it during the past few years. Charlotte and Mecklenburg County must face the issue.

APPENDIX

Analysis A

The following tables represent a detailed analysis of the death and morbidity rates for the white and Negro populations of Charlotte.

An analysis of these reports for the last five years reveals these significant facts:

1. The Negro birth rate exceeds the white birth rate by almost five persons per 1,000 population.
2. The Negro stillbirth rate is almost two and one-half (2½) times the white stillbirth rate.
3. The Negro infant mortality rate is more than double the white infant mortality rate.
4. The Negro maternal death rate is more than eight and one-half (8½) times the white rate.

An analysis of selected leading causes of death reveals these facts (excluding only accidents and violence, accidents exclusive of motor vehicle, and homicides):

1. Negro victims of pneumonia exceed the white by more than six to one (6 to 1).
2. Nephritis is a cause of death among Negroes by nearly five and one-half to one (5½ to 1) more than among whites.
3. The Negro death rate from tuberculosis exceeds the white rate by almost five to one (5 to 1).
4. The Negro death rate from vascular lesions is more than double the white rate.
5. The Negro death rate from congenital conditions is close to double the white rate.
6. More than a third more Negroes die as the result of heart diseases than do the whites.
7. The cancer rates are approximately the same for both white and Negro.

Table I*

Birth Rate per 1,000 Population

Year	White	Negro	Total
1953	25.2	32.9	27.4

Stillbirth Rate per 1,000 Births

1953	18.9	42.7	26.9

Infant Mortality Rate

1953	17.8	53.1	29.9

Maternal Mortality Rates

1953	0.379	1.49	0.755

Leading Causes of Death — Rate per 1,000 Population 1953

Rank	Cause	White	Negro	Total
1	Heart Disease	229.2	313.2	281.0
2	Cancer	96.7	103.6	91.8
3	Vascular lesions	48.6	123.3	69.7
4	Congenital conditions	42.0	110.9	61.4
5	Accidents and violence	40.3	101.1	58.0
6	Pneumonia	17.3	78.9	39.4
7	Tuberculosis	4.8	14.8	7.6
8	Accidents, Exc. motor vehicle	8.6	40.9	17.9
9	Nephritis	5.8	17.3	8.97
10	Homicides	7.7	44.4	17.9

Morbidity — Communicable Diseases

	1953		
Disease	White	Negro	Total
Diphtheria	0	3	3
Whooping Cough	16	26	42

*Compiled especially for the Social Planning Council Committee to study Negro hospital facilities, by the City Health Department, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Analysis B

The following tables present a detailed report regarding the physicians, white and Negro, available to Mecklenburg County citizens.

An analysis of these reports reveal the following facts:

1. The Charlotte physician ratio (white and Negro) is considerably higher than the North Carolina average but is almost seven and one-half percent (7½%) less than the United States ratio.

2. The average number of Mecklenburg County citizens for each white Charlotte physician is 990 citizens while the United States average is 737 citizens per physician.

3. In contrast there are 6,826 Negro citizens for each Negro doctor.

4. Mecklenburg County has 190 white specialists and 27 white general practitioners, which would indicate an extreme degree of specialization among white physicians.

5. There is virtually no specialization among the Negro physicians.

Table II

Physician Ratio per 100,000 Population
(As of June 1, 1951)*

Charlotte Physician Ratio	112 per 100,000 population
North Carolina State Ratio	80 per 100,000 population
United States Ratio	121 per 100,000 population

*Taken from data of a study committee of the Mecklenburg County Medical Society, released November, 1953.

Table III

Number of Patients per Physician*

955 Citizens (white and Negro)	Per physician (including both white and Negro)
990 Citizens (white and Negro)	Per white physician
739 White citizens	Per white physician
6,826 Negro citizens	Per Negro physician
United States Average:	
737 Citizens (all races)	Per physician

*Population based on 1953 population estimate for Mecklenburg County by Charlotte Chamber of Commerce. White-Negro ratio based on 1950 U. S. census figures of 74.6 white and 25.4 Negro.

Table IV

Field of Practice of Local Physicians

	Diplomates of Specialty Boards	In Process of Receiving Diplomates	Other Specialist (Not Diplomates)	General Practice
White (1)	119(a)	29	42	27
Negro (2)	0	0	0	11(b)

(1) Obtained from Medical Library, Doctors Building.

(2) Obtained from Charlotte Medical Society.

(a) Four retired.

(b) Three inactive or retired.

Analysis C

The following tables represent a detailed report on the hospital beds available to the white and Negro population of Mecklenburg County.

An analysis of these reports reveal the following:

1. The Mecklenburg County white hospital bed ratio exceeds the suggested minimum United States Public Health Service ratio, and is comparable with other North Carolina medical center areas.

2. The Negro citizens have less than half the number of hospital beds available to them per 1,000 population than do white citizens.

3. The Mecklenburg County Negro hospital bed ratio is somewhat lower than the North and South Carolina average and considerably lower than some selected comparable areas, and more than two (2) beds below the minimum beds per thousand population as recommended by the United States Public Health Service for the Charlotte area.

4. The higher incidence of disease among the Negro population and the increasing demand for hospitalization among Negro population (which has risen from 24.1 per thousand population in 1930, to 54.1 in 1940 and 115.0 in 1950) emphasis the difference between need and the availability of beds.

Table V

Charlotte Hospitals: Number of Beds and Percent of Occupancy; Number of Bassinets and Percent of Occupancy*

	Beds in Use W.	Beds in Use N.	Percent of Occupancy	Bassinets W.	Bassinets N.	Percent of Occupancy
Charlotte Memorial	388		81.6	32		81.6
Mercy	251	24	85	50	3	50.0
Presbyterian	280		87.2	37		73.0
Good Samaritan		137	76.6		25	80.4
Eye, Ear & Throat	37		71.0			
Total	956	161		119	28	

*As reported by each hospital administrator, January 1955.

Total beds per 1,000 population	5.2	(Excluding Bassinets)
White Beds per 1,000 white population, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County	5.96	(Excluding Bassinets)
Negro Beds per 1,000 Negro population, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County	2.95	(Excluding Bassinets)
North Carolina Average	3.6	(U. S. Public Health Service, 1951)
United States Average	4.7	(U. S. Public Health Service, 1951)

Table VI

Incidence of Hospitalization of Negro Citizens*

1930	1940	1950
24.4 per thousand	54.1 per thousand	115 per thousand

*From Duke Endowment.

Table VII

Hospital Beds, White and Negro, per 1,000 Population For Selected Counties

Charleston*		New Hanover*		Durham*		Richland* (Columbia)		Forsyth*		Mecklenburg	
W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N
4.5	3.2	5.8	6.8	10.	5.1	6.3	4.8	5.5	5.1	5.96	2.95

*Charlotte Observer, June 23, 1953, in an article written by Randolph Norton, "Mecklenburg Below Carolinas Average."

Analysis D

The following tables represent a detailed report regarding the facilities offered by the local general hospitals.

An analysis of these reports reveal the following:

1. Charlotte Memorial Hospital offers the city and county a well rounded and fairly complete program of facilities and services.

2. Presbyterian and Mercy Hospitals similarly offer the city and county extensive facilities and services, except in the provision of clinics and a resident and interne training program. (Mercy Hospital has been approved for an interne training program but has not as yet placed the program into effect and has again applied for accreditation.)

3. Though a number of the facilities and services are concentrated at Memorial Hospital it still is true that all these services are available to the entire white population.

4. On the other hand, by comparison, Good Samaritan extends a minimum of facilities and services, and this gains emphasis when the following factors (as noted in these tables) are considered:

   A. Mecklenburg County has a large Negro population representing more than one-fourth (¼) of the total population.

   B. The Negro population has the highest incidence of disease which indicates a proportionately greater need for hospital beds and hospital facilities and services than is true for the white population.

5. Good Samaritan Hospital has far less personnel in virtually all departments and services than do the white hospitals. The figures indicate a great disparity per thousand population between white as compared with Negro.

6. The training and qualifications of the personnel at Good Samaritan are considered less in practically all categories than that of the personnel at Memorial Hospital.

7. Facilities and programs at Good Samaritan for the training of present and additional personnel are extremely limited, or not available.

8. Though almost one-half (½) of the Negro patients at Good Samaritan Hospital are charity patients, the hospital has no medical social service program, such as exists at Memorial Hospital.

Table VIII

Adjunct Hospital Facilities and Services

	Memorial	Presbyterian	Mercy	Good Samaritan	Total White	Total Negro
Clinics, total number of	12	0	4	4	16	5(1)
Operating Rooms, total	6	5	7	2	18	2
Cardiology Department	yes	yes	yes	yes(2)		
Laboratory						
Personnel, total of (includes directors, residents, registered technicians and student technicians)	24	8	10	8	42	8
Obstetrical Facilities						
Delivery Rooms, number	2	2	5	1	9	1
Pharmacy, Department	yes	yes	yes	0	all hospitals	0
Pharmacists, registered, number of	3	(3) 2	2	0	7	0
Anaesthetists total (includes director and nurses)	7	7	6	3	24	4
Director, full time certified or eligible for	1	1	0	0	2	0
Administrative Training Program Students, number of	4	3	0	0	7	0
X-ray Department	yes	yes	yes	yes	4	1
Total personnel, all hospitals					30	3
Radiologist, certified	1	2	1	1	4	1
Registered technicians	2	2	4	0	8	0
Non-registered trained tech.	2(4)	4(5)	0	3	6	3
Student technicians	4	1	7	0	12	0
Diagnostic Service	yes	yes	yes	yes	all hospitals	yes
Superficial Therapy	yes	yes	yes	0	all hospitals	0
Deep Therapy	yes	yes	yes	0	all hospitals	0
Isotope Laboratory	yes	0	yes	0	2	0
Approved residency training program	yes				one full time trng. pgm.	0
Approved rotating internes program	yes		(6)		one full time trng. pgm.	0
Dental interne training program	yes				one full time trng. pgm.	0
Librarians, registered	2	1	1	1	0	2
Librarians, non-registered	0	0	0	2	0	2
School for Hospital Dieticians	yes	0	0	0	1	0
Physical Therapy Department	yes	yes	yes	0	3	0
Medical Social Service Departments and Social Admissions Dept.	yes	0	0	0	1	0

(1) Includes interracial tumor clinic at Memorial Hospital
(2) Equipment brought in by attending physician
(3) One pharmacist not registered but eligible for registration
(4) One technician is awaiting certification
(5) Eligible for certification
(6) Awaiting approval for interne program

Analysis E.

Analysis of performance by local Nurses in the State Board Test Pool Examinations, 1953.

1. On the basis of nurses examination performances the nursing programs of Charlotte Memorial and Presbyterian Hospitals rank among the best in the state. Only two hospitals exceeded the 500 mean, Duke, Durham, and Martin Memorial, Mt. Airy. Only two other hospitals rated ahead of Memorial, N. C. Baptist, Winston-Salem, and Davis, Statesville. (Martin Memorial and Davis had only 8 nurses each writing the examinations.)

2. On the other hand the performance of Good Samaritan nurses was ranked 35th among 36 hospital nursing programs.

3. There are six Negro hospital nursing programs in the state and the average performance of Good Samaritan nurses ranked fifth among these hospitals.

   Mercy Hospital was not included due to wide variations in examination results for the period considered; therefore, not lending themselves to satisfactory interpretation.

(At the time of this report the lowest recommended passing norm is 350 in each category for each individual nurse writing the examination, but North Carolina has lowered the recommended norm to approximately 260 for all hospitals to fit the prevailing situation and not eliminate a large number of nurses who otherwise would not be registered to practice.)

Table IX

Nursing Programs, North Carolina Hospitals**

Standard Score Means For Schools of Nursing on The State Board Test Pool Examinations — Series 951

Jurisdiction—North Carolina Jurisdiction Code No. 155

36 Schools of Nursing are included in this report

Report issued January 12, 1954

	Memorial	Presbyterian	Good Samaritan	State Average for 36 N. C. Schools of Nursing
Average results for six nursing subjects*	490.6	481.2	351.2***	434.3
State rank among 36 N. C. Schools of Nursing	5	8	35	

Standard score means: 500

Recommended lowest passing means: 350

* Includes: Medical Nursing, Surgical Nursing, Obstetrical Nursing, Nursing of Children, Communicable Disease Nursing and Psychiatric Nursing.

** Does not include Mercy Hospital of Charlotte due to wide variations in examination results for the period considered; therefore, not lending themselves to satisfactory interpretation.

*** In 3 of 6 categories, of the nursing service examinations Good Samaritan was below the recommended passing average. Only one other hospital nursing program in the state had more categories falling below 350. Only four hospital nursing programs, including Good Samaritan, had less than 350 in any category.

Memorandum

Special Study of 116 General Hospitals in North Carolina Assisted by The Duke Endowment in 1953, with Particular Interest in Hospitals Providing Care for both White and Negro Patients.

1. Of the 116 hospitals in North Carolina receiving assistance from The Duke Endowment during 1953, 87 or 75% provided care for both white and negro patients; 18 or 15.5% cared for white patients only; and 11 or 9.5% cared for negro patients only.
2. The 116 assisted hospitals maintained a total of 11,228 adult beds, of which 7,565 or 67.4% were in institutions caring for both white and negro patients; 2,725 or 24.3% were in institutions caring for white patients only; and 938 or 8.3% were in institutions caring for negro patients only.
3. Of the total of 2,395 negro beds provided, 1,457 or 60.8% were in institutions caring for both white and negro patients.
4. The 116 assisted hospitals maintained a total of 2,394 newborn infant bassinets, of which 1,689 or 70.5% were in institutions caring for both white and negro patients; 526 or 22% were in institutions caring for white patients only; and 179 or 7.5% were in institutions caring for negro patients only.
5. Of the total of 537 negro newborn infant bassinets provided, 358 or 66.7% were in institutions caring for both white and negro patients.
6. The 116 assisted hospitals cared for 501,144 patients (including newborn), of which 345,569 or 69% were treated in institutions caring for both white and negro patients; 121,790 or 24.3% were treated in institutions caring for white patients only; and 33,785 or 6.7% were treated in institutions caring for negro patients only.
7. Of the total of 91,728 negro patients treated, 57,943 or 63.2% were treated in institutions caring for both white and negro patients.
8. The 116 assisted hospitals rendered a total of 3,089,426 days of care (including newborn) of which 1,965,752 or 63.7% were rendered in institutions caring for both white and negro patients; 879,154 or 28.4% were rendered in institutions caring for white patients only; and 244,520 or 7.9% were rendered in institutions caring for negro patients only.
9. Of the total of 576,455 days of care rendered to negro patients, 331,935 or 57.6% were rendered in institutions caring for both white and negro patients.

The Duke Endowment
December 10, 1954

Intent of CMN Staff?

1) Operate G.S. till facilities are ready
2) obtain competent experts to decide plans + finances —

Committee has —

1) made recommendations on all facts
2) placed responsibility for failure + good sam. on Drs. - $, $, $
   crime allegation
3) committed us to long range program of maintaining GS

Community unwilling to face fact that Segregated Facilities can't be maintained if negroes to receive adequate med. care -

Quote study committee p. 9
No facilities for obtaining or training competent personnel

This is another effort to shift responsibility of negro med care to Drs. + postpone day when best facilities shared by all.

Ignores moral obligation to Negro

Community told 5 yrs ago that problem existed + soln proposed - Today it says we don't have enough beds to carry them + our expressed intent to remedy situation

Yet, Known fact is That more beds creates more demand for beds + seems unlikely there will ever be easy convenient time

Do we have the beds - ?

250 at CMH

50 at Rehab

50-100 at Huntersville

opportunity to free 150-200 beds quickly by hosp hotel construction

Polio bldg

Business men can get beds if pressure applied just as they get Coliseum, auditorium etc -

---

So long as G-S exists & pressure off, Nothing will be done - DIS will be expected to carry the load -

---

this our last chance to ~~determine~~ influence

1) our responsibility at GS

2) Obtain adequate care for negroes.

70% NC hosps have Negro & White pts.

April 1, 1960

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Doctors Building
1012 Kings Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Ray:

Many thanks for your thoughtful suggestions on our proposal for a study of hospital and medical services. They are sound and helpful. I will let you know what comes of this project idea.

Vernon Eagle, who was just here, told me of the fine time he had with you and your wife. Vernon is both a personal friend of mine and a valuable benefactor of SRC's, so I'm grateful to you for making his visit to Charlotte so pleasant.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HF

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1012 KINGS DRIVE
CHARLOTTE 7, N. C.

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M. D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M. D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M. D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M. D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M. D.

March 21, 1960

acknowledged 4/1/60

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432; 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

After a long and much-regretted delay, I have read over several times the proposal for a study of medical and hospital services and opportunities for Negroes and Whites in the South. I certainly agree with your initial premises concerning the pertinence of this subject. I would agree that there is little question but that this situation in the South has been inadequately studied. The approach you plan to utilize, of delineating inequalities and thereby indicating the logic of integrated facilities, is particularly appealing to me.

I have no disagreement with the second portion of your general plan of study dealing with the Negro physician. Your outline of study seems quite complete and I cannot add to it.

I have some reservations about Section A of the topical outline which deals with comparison of medical services (non-hospital) for Negroes and Whites. As you indicate in your letter, this is difficult to handle and often not susceptible to exact measures. I question whether the patient-doctor relationship you speak of here is actually the heart of the matter, and I wonder whether your energies and interests might not be better devoted to Sections B and C, at least to the greatest degree.

I suspect that the relationship between the individual practicing physician and a Negro patient is by far the least important factor in determining the adequacy of his medical care, and I would guess that this doctor-patient relationship is affected less by prejudice and segregation patterns than almost anything else you could name. I realize that my observations are based upon practice conducted outside the so-called "Black Belt" and therefore may not be applicable to the entire South. However, I would not be surprised if this also applies in Georgia and Mississippi.

see my note

I mean by the above that in the majority of situations the physician will provide for his Negro patient as good medical care as is possible to provide with the facilities available and the great obstacle

is the inadequacy of medical facilities for Negroes rather than the doctor-patient relationship. I would guess that far more important than the race of the patient in determining the adequacy of his medical care, would be his economic status and that poor white patients have no significant advantage over poor colored ones, that is as far as the physician is concerned. Both are disadvantaged, unfortunately, in many instances.

I have thought long about this and I cannot see how you can measure accurately the effect of race prejudice on the relationship between doctor and Negro patient, to a degree that will have any significance. There is abundant data, however, available to demonstrate the inadequacy of medical facilities, both public and private, and a tremendously strong case can be made against the adequacy of segregated medical facilities with their harmful effects not only on the Negro population but also on the white community and medical profession.

I am sending you under separate cover a study which was done here in Charlotte in 1955 along the lines indicated above. This survey of medical facilities in Charlotte convinced a citizens' committee, and later the City Council and hospital trustees, of the necessity for desegregated hospital facilities in Charlotte. Subsequently they have had a partial change of heart and we are in the middle of a struggle at the present time to re-convince them. However, this same material is being effectively used now to accomplish that objective.

If you find this material useful, keep it as long as you like, but I would like to have it back when you have finished with it. I find the written word difficult to utilize in a discussion of a subject as complex as this. I am sorry we can't do it in person, but if I can be of any help to you anywhere along the line in the execution of the project, please call on me.

Cordially yours,

Raymond

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/alv

Harold

Monroe N.C. might be a good community to study - Approx 10,000 people - They have bi-racial hosp. with biracial (? integrated) staff. Two Negro physicians in town have substantial White practices - Ray Shute (S.R.C. Board) is chairman (or past chrmn) of hosp. board -

RMW

Copy of proposal given to George Wolfe

January 8, 1960

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Doctors Building
1012 Kings Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Ray:

For some time now, we have been conscious of the need for a really thorough-going examination of racial discrimination in medical care and facilities in the South. Under the direction of Les Dunbar, our research director, some exploratory interviews have been conducted with local health officials and hospital administrators.

Enclosed is a draft of the proposal that Les has come up with. As soon as we are agreed on the final form, we will submit it to one of the major foundations.

This is tricky and to some extent uncharted territory for us, and we are very much aware that no one on the staff has had any direct experience in the medical field -- except as rank-and-file consumers. Could you find time to read the proposal over and tell us, from your practical vantage point, whether it seems to make sense and in what respects you feel it might be improved?

We realize that some parts of the study -- notably the patient-doctor relationship -- aren't susceptible to exact measure. But Les and his advisers feel this is the heart of the matter and must be dealt with despite limitations on objective fact-finding.

We will greatly appreciate your comments and suggestions.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Proposal on Medical and Hospital Services)

this somewhat misses the point

1. if the doctor-patient relationship is OK, then is worth documenting & saying

2. it is not prejudice we want to measure, but conditions

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CHARLOTTE AND MECKLENBURG COUNTY

NORTH CAROLINA

A REPORT TO THE

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL COMMITTEE TO

STUDY NEGRO HOSPITAL FACILITIES

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COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS

Consultants

J. R. McGibony, M. D.
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Paul B. Cornely, M. D.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

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C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

A. VITAL STATISTICS

B. RESOURCES

(1) Facilities and Services

(2) Personnel

(3) Educational Program

(4) Voluntary Agencies

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C. SOCIAL PATTERNS

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E. SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The Committee to Study Negro Hospital Facilities for Charlotte and Mecklenburg County of the Social Planning Council, invited the writers to make a short-time study of this problem so that the community could be helped in formulating the best possible plan to meet the hospital and health needs of the Negro population in this area.

The Committee provided the writers with basic factual data that had been gathered by its various sub-committees. This significant research on the part of the Committee saved the investigators a tremendous amount of time and made it possible for them to use their visiting periods in visiting certain facilities and having personal conferences with a selected number of responsible persons in the community. A list of these is to be found in the Appendix.

The Committee, in the material submitted, has pointed out that historically there has been quite a great deal of concern about the provision of hospital and health facilities for Negroes. Since 1931 and until the appointment of the present Committee, there have been at least seven different surveys and a number of conferences which have attempted to wrestle with this problem and to come to some solution. However, none of these surveys or studies have been implemented and therefore, the hospitalization picture of the Negro has remained rather acute. It should be stated that this approach of studies, conferences and consultations is not peculiar to the problem in the Charlotte area. This occurs in a number of communities. The democratic way under which we live, seems to expand from individual, to group, to community interest and action, through spasmodic and often apparently unrelated developments. It is therefore significant that the present Committee has been given not only the responsibility to make a complete study, but also

to see to it that the recommendations it reaches, after careful and thoughtful study, are carried through to accomplishment.

It will not be necessary for the writers to list here more than a few of the highlights of the various interests, activities, studies and reports, as set forth by the Committee. Comments on these will be limited primarily to observations and suggestions pertaining to items in these reports and from the information gathered during the visits to the area. Evaluation and interpretation of these comments must be viewed in the light of the writers' lack of long and intimate knowledge of details of problems in the Charlotte area.

Broadly speaking and for the purpose of condensation, problems of medical and hospital care for any community appear to revolve within an orbit circumscribed by usually four factors, namely, people, money, facilities, organization and administration. In the case of the Negro community, particularly in the southern area, although it also exists in the north, there is an additional one which must be mentioned, and that is the social patterns and customs which are present.

Progress and success make it impossible to separate these factors, but for the purpose of clarity, their major phases are commented upon independently. From our brief knowledge of the situation, it appears that the major problems faced by the Committee include:

1. Evaluation of demands and of needs for medical and hospital care in the Charlotte area.

2. Evaluation of hospital, health and medical care resources.

3. Defining and evaluating these factors as they are reflected in relation to differentials found in the white and Negro populations.

4. Defining, exploring and evaluating component and related factors pertaining to the foregoing.

Certain aspects of these major problems will be discussed in this report under the following headings:

A. Vital Statistics

B. Resources

(a) Facilities

(b) Personnel

(c) Educational Program

(d) Voluntary Agencies

(e) Governmental Agencies

C. Social Patterns

D. Economics and Finances

A. VITAL STATISTICS:

Population - (Mecklenburg Co.) 1950:

Total.....197,052

White.....148,079 (74.6%)
Negro..... 49,973 (25.4%)

Birth Rate - per 1000 population (1953)

White.....25.2
Negro.....32.9

Live Births	Total	Total in Hospitals	Per Cent
White Males	2295	2290	99.7%
White Females	2316	2313	99.8%
Negro Males	791	691	87.3%
Negro Females	814	722	88.7%
Total White	4611	4603	99.8%
Total Negro	1605	1413	88.0%
Grand Total	6216	6016	97.0%

Stillbirth Rate - per 1000 births (1953)

White.....18.9
Negro.....42.7

Infant Mortality Rate (1953)

White.....17.8
Negro.....53.1

Maternal Mortality Rate (1953)

White.....0.379
Negro.....1.49

Tuberculosis Death Rate (1953)

White..... 4.8
Negro.....14.8

Comment

The area is a fairly rapidly growing one. There is a marked discrepancy between health conditions among whites and Negroes.

The necessity for improving such conditions for both has far reaching implications - humanitarian and altruistic, but also economic, and for self protection and preservation.

From conferences with the Health Officer, it would appear that Charlotte and Mecklenburg County have made tremendous strides in the development of a good public health program. This is well reflected in the per capita expenditure which is much better than many communities the size of this area. The adverse differential between the Negro and white population may continue in spite of a good generalized public health program because of deficiencies which exist in the hospital care of the Negro and therefore in order that these differentials may be erased, the same professional and public awareness of medical care needs must be generated and sound measures effectuated. If out-patient facilities are not available to the Negro and therefore he cannot obtain services which will make it possible to diagnose early such diseases as heart, cancer, and diabetes, then not too much can be done in the prevention of these diseases or if after these diseases have

been diagnosed, he cannot receive the best type of hospital and medical care, surrounded by all of the adjunct services which are necessary today, then his mortality experience will not improve.

The suggestions and recommendations contained in this report, it is hoped, will give some ideas for practical adaptation by interested groups in the Charlotte area for further progress in hospital and medical care.

B. RESOURCES:

(1) Facilities and Services (1952)

Hospitals:

Name	No. Beds	% Occupancy	No. Bassinets	% Occupancy
Memorial	370	83.5	32	81.6
Mercy	240	90.8	55	45.6
Presbyterian	250	86.4	39	65.6
Good Samaritan	136	76.6	35	32.3
Eye, Ear, Throat	36	58.8		
Total	1032	79.2	161	56.2

(U. S. Average bed occupancy - 73.7)

Comment

The occupancy rate for Memorial, Mercy, and Presbyterian Hospitals exceed the 80% normally accepted as the safe limit for general hospitals and would indicate the probable need for additional general beds in the area. The occupancy rate for Good Samaritan Hospital is shown as 76.6 per cent, based on 136 beds to be available. It was the impression of the visiting consultants that 136 beds is too many for the floor area of the building. If this is true, and the excess beds were removed, the percentage of occupancy would be entirely too high. There also may be another reason why even at present the occupancy rate is low. Good Samaritan Hospital has no out-patient facility with the exception of the pre-natal and post-natal clinics, therefore,

it does not have a feeder for its in-patient accommodations. The Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital, as a specialized hospital, is not being efficiently used with such a low occupancy rate. This rate could very well be increased if Negroes who are able to pay and desire such services, were given the opportunity to be admitted to this institution. Furthermore, if the facility was opened to the needy of both races, it would strengthen the training program of this institution, provided of course, that it has one.

Ratio of Beds to 1000 Population

White	5.5
Negro	2.49
Total	5.3
North Carolina	2.6
United States	3.3

Comment

The Hospital Survey and Construction Act set forth certain ceilings on the number of beds beyond which Federal aid for construction would not be available. These figures which may or may not have any particular application to the needs of a specific community were 4.5 to 5.5 general beds per 1000 population, 5 beds per 1000 for mental illness, and 2 beds for chronic diseases for each 1000 population. Such averages for an entire state meant that with the lower demand in rural areas the figure for base areas such as Charlotte would require 5.5 or more general beds per 1000 population. It would appear that the Charlotte area at the present time is in need of a total of not less than 200 additional beds, particularly if the number of beds in the Good Samaritan Hospital were reduced to a number properly accommodated in the space available. However, if Good Samaritan Hospital were to be abandoned as an acute general hospital, the number of hospital beds needed would be even greater. This figure should be checked with the North Carolina Medical Care Commission.

Number Patients Treated - 1950

Hospital	Total	From Outside County	Per Cent
Memorial	11,802	5070	43
Presbyterian	10,422	3106	30
Mercy	11,610	3697	32
Good Samaritan	5,748	862	15
E.E.T.	2,798	2099	75

Out-patient Clinics in Hospitals

White.....16
Negro..... 3

Operating Rooms

White.....18
Negro..... 2

Delivery Rooms

White..... 9
Negro..... 1

Comment

Good Samaritan Hospital, with its 136 beds, is the only hospital facility available to the Negro community in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. It is therefore desirable to look at the professional services available to the Negro community in this institution. The surveyors had the opportunity to inspect this hospital rather quickly and therefore the comments which are being made here are based solely upon this inspection. This, however, has been supplemented by the Scoring Report of the American College of Surgeons. A summary of the deficiencies found by the College is to be found in the Appendix.

One is impressed by the fact that the medical care for individuals admitted to this institution is inadequate and of poor caliber. A few of the inadequacies must be mentioned. The wards and rooms are crowded with beds,

leaving little space for the care of the patient. Patients are not properly separated so that on the surgical service may be found a variety of cases in the same room. There is no call system for patients so that a critically ill patient has no way of contacting the nurse, other than by the aid given by some other patient. There is not a well organized medical staff nor is there a part-time medical director who could supervise the attempt to maintain professional standards. A number of professional committees are lacking. The operating rooms are inadequate and there appears to be no attempt to exert control and to maintain standards in terms of operative procedures. Much of the nursing which is received by the patient is given by student nurses who are improperly trained. Although there is an emergency rotation service for physicians, yet much of the emergency care is given by nurses and nurses quite often are first assistants in major surgery. Pharmacy, Dietary, X-ray Laboratory, Anesthesia, and Medical Social Service, are either entirely lacking or inadequate in both personnel and equipment. Thus, the Negro patient, whether he be an indigent or pay patient, who comes into Good Samaritan Hospital, is not given the type of professional care which is expected in a well-organized, well-staffed institution.

This statement is made with due deference and the highest commendation to the Board of Managers of the Episcopal Church, the administrator and certain members of the medical staff, all of whom have done well under difficult circumstances.

The continued interest of this Board is evinced by the fact that as of July 1st, monies were made available to employ four resident, full-time physicians to care for indigent patients and increase the radiological and pathological services within the hospital. The President of the Board of Managers stated that the hospital would continue to make improvements until

such time as the community decided what part Good Samaritan Hospital would play in the hospitalization picture. There is no doubt that the additional services being provided are beneficial to patients being admitted but should only be considered as temporary measures.

Good Samaritan, in addition, does not have a well-organized out-patient service. As has been indicated by the Committee, at the present time there are sixteen out-patient clinics available to the white community, as compared to three for the Negro. Two of these are concerned with pre-natal and post-natal care, and the other is the Tumor Clinic, which is held at Charlotte Memorial Hospital and which is open to Negro patients. In addition, the Health Officer informed us that there is a dental clinic sponsored by the Health Department which is for Negroes and also there is a medical clinic held at the Health Department Building which is available to white and Negro indigent patients. This lack of out-patient care for Negro patients is certainly detrimental to the health experience of this population group and certainly contributes to the differential in the rates which have already been reviewed.

Hospital Admissions per 1000 Population

The report of the Committee contains data, as follows:

1950

White.....154.1
Negro..... 97.8

Comment

The very rapid increase in utilization of general hospital beds has proceeded at about the same rate for both whites and Negroes, although Negroes still do not receive the amount of hospitalization as whites.

As economic conditions improve the figures will gradually approach each other. This means that an even greater proportion of beds than now exist for Negroes will be needed. A concomitant demand will be for a higher quality of medical care than is now available under the standards at the Good Samaritan Hospital.

The American Medical Association reports for 1951 that North Carolina as a whole had 107 admissions per 1000 (U.S. average -112); N. C. had an average length of stay of 6.9 (U. S. average - 10.1). (Figures for general hospitals only)

It is emphasized here that hospital beds are far from being the complete answer to proper medical care. Hospital care is often necessary and more dramatic, but at the same time more expensive. Much care can be given, of equally high quality, on an ambulatory basis. Pre-admission diagnostic clinics, organized home care programs, convalescent and rehabilitation units and programs have well proved their worth at far less costly amounts than hospital care. Such possibilities should be fully explored in conjunction with hospitalization plans for both whites and Negroes.

Physical Plants:

Reports and visits indicate that the physical plants of Memorial, Mercy, and Presbyterian Hospitals are in excellent condition. The Good Samaritan Hospital plant offers much to be desired. Some of this latter might be corrected by reducing the number of beds and remodeling the present building with an addition of facilities and equipment to serve fairly satisfactorily perhaps 100 patients. To reduce the number of patients to this number would then mean probably an added wing to the present plant. It is estimated that such remodeling and addition of 100 new beds would be not less than $1,500,000.

The North Carolina Medical Care Commission informs us in a personal communication that while it has not made a recent examination of the Good Samaritan property, one of its staff members was administrator of the hospital in 1946-47. He considers the buildings antiquated, the service areas and bedrooms substandard. The Commission further states that it is doubtful if the present plant could be altered, enlarged and made into a modern hospital even if large expenditures should be made.

The Commission further adds:

(1) "It would seem that the county population should consider the construction of a new, modern and adequate hospital on a new and adequate site. The present property might be donated and converted into a chronic diseases hospital, or into a nursing home, or used for other purposes.

(2) If a new facility should be approved, several questions would arise such as to (a) ownership, (b) size of hospital and nurses' residence (and school), (c) cost, (d) segregation - separate or combined facilities for the races, (e) source of funds, etc.

(3) Ownership. The trend in North Carolina is toward public ownership of hospitals. Questions might arise as to the willingness of Mecklenburg County to finance and own a new hospital for Negroes. If the Medical Care Commission should participate, the local share of the cost would be 56 per cent plus 100 per cent of the cost of an approvable site. A nonprofit hospital corporation might be formed to sponsor the project.

(4) Size. Experience in North Carolina reveals that Negroes do not use as high a ratio of hospital beds to population as do whites. Three beds per 1000 population would require a hospital of 150 beds for Negroes; or 4 beds per 1000 population would require 200 beds. If a 200-bed hospital and nurses' residence and school of suitable size should be built, they could be enlarged later, if necessary, provided a site of 12 to 15 acres should be acquired in the beginning.

(5) In line with our North Carolina experience, the cost of the hospital, exclusive of site, could be estimated at about $12,000 to $13,000 per bed and the nurses' residence at $3,450 per bed. The cost of teaching facilities would be additional.

(6) The Commission has granted some construction aid to the three hospitals for whites mentioned above. A sound project for improved hospital facilities for the Negroes of Mecklenburg County would be entitled to a high priority."

If, due to economics and other factors related to hospital care of Negroes makes it necessary for the community to think in terms of a short range solution to problems, alteration of the present plant might be logical, but would be wasteful and impractical. The remodeling and addition to Good Samaritan Hospital at a cost of one million dollars or more would certainly not be the answer to the problem, since the beautification of a physical plant is not the major factor in the improvement of hospital care for Negroes. In addition to building, there is need for equipment, technical personnel, an educational program and other adjuncts which would be difficult to duplicate in a separate installation. This is experience which has been found in many other communities where this has been attempted. There is not enough technical and professional personnel in both Negro and white groups to man well two distantly removed facilities.

On the other hand, if funds, circumstances, desire for highest quality of medical care, and social problems, indicate the approach would be more logical on a long range basis, it would appear to be more satisfactory if the present plant is discontinued for use as a short term general hospital. In its place it is suggested that Charlotte Memorial Hospital be enlarged by approximately 200 beds so that Negro patients may be admitted to the various services now available in this institution. The basic units, such as operating rooms, laboratories and delivery rooms, would have to be enlarged only a little or none at all in order to accommodate this increase in patient load.

The enlargement of this hospital would also include remodeling and extension of out-patient facilities and services discussed in previous paragraphs. It would also be necessary to include additional facilities for the enlarged educational program as discussed below. It is estimated that such new facilities might cost in the neighborhood of $2,500,000.

The provision of out-patient services for both white and Negroes would be of great significance. Without reservation, it is the feeling of the visiting consultants that good out-patient care through organized programs are essential if hospitals are to serve their communities to the fullest. Such care is necessary for continuity and total patient care, and afford excellent educational opportunities for professional personnel, patients, and the public. Such programs are therapeutically sound and economically productive. They allow for better utilization of professional personnel. They reduce the need for the more expensive construction and operation of beds for in-patients. Out-patient services provide one of the best means for attacking the growing problem of chronic illness and medical needs of the rapidly aging population. With the economic level of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County it is imperative that every effort be made to obtain the most for the medical care dollar.

Such a program would require fairly extensive facilities for all types of diagnostic and ambulatory clinics, including such as: cardiac, diabetic, dental, dietetic, gynecology, hearing, medical, obstetrical, orthopedic, pediatric, physical medicine, post-partum, pre-natal, psychiatric, rehabilitation, speech, surgical, tumor, and neurological.

To staff properly these clinics requires good organization, both administratively and clinically. Under the administrator of the hospital of which this polyclinic would be a part - there should be a full-time administrative director of these services. The medical staff, consisting of both

white and Negro physicians should be organized in a manner to produce the highest level of patient care for all races. Educational programs, medical records, and other phases of clinic operations should be of such quality as is required for approval of a hospital by the Joint Commission on Accreditation.

In order to insure that these clinics would not be in competition with private practitioners - who ordinarily might handle some of these cases in their own offices - it is imperative that the medical staff organization be on a firm basis, fully understood by all, that there be wide spread participation by physicians and dentists. In addition, since physicians ordinarily are the only unpaid personnel attending patients in hospital out-patient departments,it is suggested that an equitable schedule of fees be arranged for physicians who contribute their time to such a program.

(2) Physicians Personnel

Ratio of Physicians to Population (1953)

Total population.....1:935
White Physicians to White Pop.....1:739
Negro Physicians to Negro Pop.....1:7508
Total U. S. Average.....1:737

Comment

The ratio of total physicians to total population in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County is about that of the U. S. Average. Recent studies indicate that with proper distribution by numbers, location, competency and specialties, these physicians should be able to render medical care demanded at a level commensurate with our present knowledge of medical science.

The ratio of Negro physicians to Negro population must be interpreted in present and future terms. The very high proportion of Negro population to Negro physicians does not, on the surface, indicate a true

lack of physicians services to this population nor an immediate dramatic lack of Negro physicians. To substantiate this it is shown that 80% of all Negro patients treated at Good Samaritan Hospital are cared for by white physicians. Assuming that such care approached adequacy this means that Negro physicians are caring for approximately 1/5 of the Negro population. This would amount to about 10,000 Negroes and would indicate one physician for approximately 1000 of the population. It is believed that the load per Negro physician will increase.

Two major problems are pertinent to the Charlotte area. The first is also pertinent to the entire country, and that is that with improved education, health consciousness, advances in medical science, and better economic conditions for all groups, the demand for medical care increases. This demand reaches nearer and nearer to that nebulous and never defined, probably never to be reached point of need for medical care.

These patterns, with inevitable population growths, along with the fact that good medical services are becoming more and more an urban commodity, means that Charlotte will require more and better physicians.

The second major problem pertinent to the Charlotte area is generally known to be common to southern communities; not so generally known is that it also applies to most northern communities. This is that Negro physicians have not only lacked adequate facilities and programs for basic medical education, but that upon entering private medical practice, necessary opportunities for continuing education are practically absent.

This second problem is one that only concerted effort by white physicians and the community can correct.

Negro physicians cannot be eliminated, even if that were desirable.

If they are not in a position to practice the highest type of medicine, there is a moral responsibility to help make them better physicians. All medical practice will suffer, as will the public, as long as an inferior quality of medical care is being given in a community.

NURSES:

Total Registered Nurses:

Hospital Staffs	344
Private Duty	171
M. D. Offices	90
Public Health	46
Red Cross	19
Industry	15
Nursing Homes	11
Colleges	6
Total	792

Nurses per 100,000 Population:

Charlotte	394
North Carolina	125
United States	188

Ratio of Patients Per Nurse in Hospitals:

Mercy	Memorial	Presbyterian	Good Samaritan
2.94	2.11	3.0	2.85

Nursing School Capacity (Under Education):

Mercy	Memorial	Presbyterian	Good Samaritan
175	150	175	66

Comment

Charlotte appears to be in the unique position of having no serious shortage of nurses. The educational program, particularly at Good Samaritan, appears to leave much to be desired. The school, at the

present time, has no approval from a standardizing body. Its program is inadequate in that the instruction is being done by physicians on the staff and by graduate nurses who themselves have graduated from this institution. The student nurses are being utilized to provide services and as a whole, it is not known whether components of the hospital are in sympathy with the development of the best type of educational program for nurses. There has not even been the disposition on the part of the Director of Nurses of this institution to seek aid from the other hospitals in the community so that improvement could be obtained. Nurse representatives from Charlotte Memorial and Mercy Hospitals stated that they would be willing to help if such were sought.

Like the previous comment on physicians, there is a need for, and there will always be, Negro nurses. There is a moral responsibility to make them better nurses. Patients of all races and the general level of medical care will suffer if nurses are not professionally equipped to render service in keeping with the dynamic medical science of today.

A brief comment should be made concerning the lack of x-ray technicians, laboratory technicians, nurse anesthetists and medical social workers now present at Good Samaritan Hospital. The opportunities for training of Negro individuals in the other hospitals is not now available, although there is the belief that such training could be arranged for a selected few at Charlotte Memorial and Mercy Hospitals.

(3) Educational Programs

(a) Public: The Committee has stated that a number of articles have appeared in the press concerning the problem of hospitalization for the community as a whole and also for the Negro. It would appear that there is need for continued education of the community concerning these needs.

not only through the press but other vehicles as well, through the various community organizations, through radio and television. This education should emphasize two major points, namely the need for adequate care for all citizens in the community and the provision of this in the most efficient manner so that the community dollar will be used to the best advantage.

(b) Undergraduate Profession: The only undergraduate professional school available to Negroes at the present time is the Nursing School at Good Samaritan and already some of the inadequacies of the school have been presented. Although there are opportunities for training in nursing, anesthesia and laboratory and x-ray technology and possibly in other fields in the other hospitals which are in this area, yet these are not opened to Negroes. However, Mercy Hospital indicated that it would not be adverse to providing opportunities in some of these skills to selected Negroes. With the shortage of technical personnel which is now nation-wide, the community is being short sighted in not making it possible for young Negro graduates to receive such training so that they will be able to serve this community.

The training of Negro medical students is of particular concern here. As has already been demonstrated, the ratio of Negro physicians to Negro population is one to 7,508. There are now only 11 Negro physicians in this area, 3 of whom have retired and the average age of the other 8 is between 45 and 50. If this continues, the community may well find itself without even this small number. This matter is not one alone for Charlotte but should be the concern of the State of North Carolina. There are only now approximately 4,000 Negro physicians in the United States and the ratio of Negro physicians to Negro population, as a whole, is

about 1 to 3,800. The disproportion is greater in the South and becoming more acute. The number of Negro medical graduates annually is in the neighborhood of about 200. This is hardly sufficient to replace those who die or retire. The medical schools throughout the nation are beginning to open their doors for the training of Negro physicians. (This has already been realistically faced by such states as Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, and the matter should be of concern to Medical Schools in North Carolina.)

(c) Graduate Professional Training: At the present time, there are no opportunities for graduate professional training in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County for Negroes. Here again this is a responsibility of the Universities of North Carolina. However in the Charlotte area, the hospitals with residency training programs should make it possible for qualified young Negro medical graduates to be able to train for the specialties.

(d) Continuation or Post-Graduate Programs: The opportunities for continued training for the Negro professional person apparently is lacking in this County. This is true for the physician, the dentist, the nurse. At the present time, the Negro physician is unable to attend the clinical pathological conferences, the ward rounds, seminars which are held in the other hospitals. This is also true of the Negro dentist. The Negro nurse however, is in a more advantageous position since she is able to attend the meetings of the Graduate Nurses Association of the City. In addition, it has been indicated by the representatives of Charlotte Memorial Hospital and also Mercy Hospital that opportunities could be provided for refresher courses for graduate nurses if they so desired. Unfortunately, Negro nurses do not attend meetings of the Graduate Nurses Association nor have they recently requested aid in furthering their training.

(4) Voluntary Agencies

Information was not obtained concerning activities of voluntary agencies of the county. However, from impressions gained of the very progressive attitudes of individuals and of the Committee of the United Community Services Organization, it is believed that contributions of voluntary agencies in the area must be considerably above the average. Outstanding examples include the commendable efforts of the governing body of Good Samaritan in attempting to do something about hospital care for Negroes, and the fact that the Duke Endowment pays 4% of costs of operating the hospital.

(5) Governmental Agencies

(a) Charlotte and Mecklenburg County Health Departments under the leadership of the present Health Officer have developed a health program for this area which is in keeping with progressive health trends. Attempts are being made to develop preventive clinics and services in terms of the needs of all members of the community. It is hoped that the community will continue to give support to these two agencies in the manner in which it has done in the past so that even greater progress may be achieved in this area.

(b) The County Hospitalization Department which has responsibility for providing hospital care for charity patients is also doing a commendable job. Negro and white patients in this area are receiving care at public expense in terms of their eligibility and needs. The almost $500,000 which is being spent in this area is helpful to all of the hospitals and particularly Good Samaritan Hospital. Here again however, we would like to feel that the Negro indigent patient is able to receive the same quality of medical care

as his white counterpart. This is of particular concern, not only for humanitarian reasons but because of the fact that if he does not receive adequate care, the eventual total expenditure will be greater for him and thus the community will be the loser.

C. SOCIAL PATTERNS

1. General: The racial pattern which now exists in this area has some effect upon the program of hospitalization in this area. However this is a problem which is for the community to resolve, rather than for the surveyors to indicate.

2. Professional: The surveyors however must take cognizance of these social patterns in terms of professional personnel and services because of their importance to medical and hospital care. There are certain developments in professional relationships between Negroes and whites which are certainly encouraging. Some of these may be enumerated. Negro public health nurses are employed in the public health department and work with white public health nurses. Mercy Hospital has approximately 130 Negroes working in its institution and a few of these are at the professional level. Charlotte Memorial Hospital has a half dozen or so colored nurses aides who are given training with white nurses aides and who work together with them without any difficulty.

The Cerebral Palsy Hospital has an interracial staff and Negro and white patients are admitted to the institution.

The Graduate Nurses Association as has already been indicated, has opened its doors to Negro nurses. Thus, developments are taking place which are pertinent to this problem of medical care.

Of even greater significance is the fact that the County Medical Society has recently approved a resolution which will permit the admission

of Negro physicians. It is hoped that the State organization will soon follow this good example.

Thus it would appear that the time is ripe for the provision of other opportunities for Negro men and women in the professions to participate in existing hospital facilities to the end that they may be able to give service and to keep abreast of developments in their fields. All of the hospitals in this area should make it possible for well trained and experienced professional personnel, such as physicians, nurses, or dentists to become members of their staff and to continue their training either at a post-graduate level or a residency level, so that they may better serve the community.

D. ECONOMICS AND FINANCING

Per Capita Income:	White	Negro
$.....1 to $ 499 (or less)	13.4%	21.3%
$...500 to $ 999	9.3	27.3
$..1000 to $1499	9.5	19.6
$..1500 to $1999	11.7	17.3
$..2000 to $2499	14.0	9.4
$..2500 to $2999	10.0	2.6
$..3000 to $3499	9.2	1.4
$..3500 to $3999	5.8	0.37
$..4000 to $4499	3.9	0.22
$..4500 to $4999	2.5	0.04
$..5000 to $5999	3.7	0.11
$..6000 to $6999	1.9	0.09
$..7000 to $9999	2.26	0.11
$10,000 and over	2.91	0.11

Comment

The figures listed above show that approximately 85 per cent of Negroes in this area make less than $2,000, as compared to about 45 per cent of white individuals. This is certainly pertinent to our consideration of medical care since persons are unable to purchase adequate medical care unless they have sufficient income. This situation in the Negro community

may reflect disadvantages in opportunities for employment in semi-skilled, endeavors and white collar jobs. Therefore it would appear that the Social Planning Council of the United Community Services had the responsibility to explore this area to the end that qualified Negroes may be employed in a number of enterprises which now may be closed to them.

SOURCES OF HOSPITAL INCOME - 1953

	Average of 3 White Hospitals	Good Samaritan
Income.....	100.0	100
Patients.....	88.3	53.3
Cities.....	1.4	5.9
Counties.....	3.3	23.7
State Agencies.....	2.1	9.4
Duke Endowment.....	0.5	3.9
Religious Organizations..	1.4	0.7
Organizations and Ind....	1.3	2.2
Miscellaneous.....	1.7	0.9

Average Cost per Day per Charity In-Patient (1953)

Average 3 white hospitals.....	$15.41
Good Samaritan.....	12.43

Comment

The annual per capita income of persons, both whites and Negroes, in the Metropolitan Charlotte area, is somewhat higher than the approximate $750 for the State as a whole. However, the direct relationship between income and days of hospital service shows North Carolina to be among the lowest six states in both respects.

As income and economic conditions improve there will be a growing demand for more and better hospitals, physicians and medical care.

Economic levels as exist at the present time make it imperative that programs be soundly conceived, evaluated and projected so as to obtain

the fullest practical utilization of every available resource. The theory of meeting needs from an emotional basis must not be confused with meeting demands most effectively within economic limitations.

As in the comments on hospital admissions, it is pointed out that from an economic standpoint, Charlotte, like most communities, has not fully explored and exploited additional means of meeting medical care demands and needs. The highest return per medical care dollar is not necessarily through more and more hospital beds.

City, county and state governments seem to be carrying a fair proportion of the cost of hospital care. Increasing coverage by Blue Cross insurance for both whites and Negroes is encouraging and should be promoted. Government and voluntary organizations, as well as private patients should be assured that they are purchasing the best and most medical care for their dollars.

E. GENERAL SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Provision of Hospital Facilities for Negroes

The most appropriate and best solution for a hospitalization program for Negroes in the Charlotte area must necessarily be a multi-faceted one since hospital care has many ramifications and interdependencies. The first and most important recommendation which must be considered however has to do with the type of hospital facility which must be provided for the Negro population. It is assumed that this community wants to provide first of all, the best available type of hospital care for its Negro population. Secondly, it wants to do this in an efficient manner so that it will obtain the most out of the money which it spends. And thirdly, whatever is suggested must be developed within the racial pattern which, although changing,

still presents certain problems of community relationships. In the light of these three determining factors, it is necessary to consider at least two possible solutions.

The easiest solution and one which may be acceptable to many would be to remodel the present Good Samaritan Hospital and erect a new addition of approximately 100 so as to bring the total number of beds available to Negroes to approximately 200. This could cost not less than $1,500,000, and the community would establish a separate hospital which would duplicate many of the services now available at Charlotte Memorial, Mercy and Presbyterian Hospitals. However, this would only be the initial cost. In order to provide good quality medical care to Negroes, there would be need to man and equip properly this facility. It is estimated that there should be at least 1.5 employed persons for each hospital bed. This would mean the employment of some 375 persons as nurses, dietitians, social workers, technicians, anesthetists, and others. The per diem cost to operate such an institution would be at least $15 and possibly more if a number of educational programs were developed. This then would mean an operating budget of more than $1,000,000 annually.

Thus, although this plan appears to be a simple one, it would be wasteful and it would not necessarily insure good quality medical care for the Negro. It would be wasteful because it would duplicate many existing facilities now available in other hospitals, such as out-patient clinics, x-ray services and operating room equipment. It would be impossible at the present time to obtain either Negro or white professional personnel needed for this institution because of the shortages which now exist in many of these skills. Thus, with an inadequacy in personnel, the quality of

medical care would be about what it is now. This would be equivalent to placing an old engine in a shiny, new car. There is no example in the United States where a Negro hospital is giving the quality of medical care as a white hospital of comparable size and type. The only thing which commends this plan is that it appeals to those who are interested in strict separation of the races. The writers have found but few of these in the Charlotte area and the progress which is now being made in this community is along more objective pathways.

The second solution and the more desirable would be to use Good Samaritan Hospital for purposes other than an acute general hospital and to expand one of the existing white hospitals in the community, as has already been indicated. From all observations, it would appear that Charlotte Memorial Hospital would be the logical one for such expansion because of three reasons: First of all, the hospital was initially built by a bond issue voted by the citizens of Charlotte and without the support of the Negro population this would not have been possible. Yet, the Negro community thus far has not benefited from its efforts. Secondly, the Hospital continues to be subsidized in part of its operation by county and city funds. Thirdly, the Charlotte Memorial Hospital has the most complete out-patient and in-patient service in this area. The expansion of this hospital by 200 beds in order to admit Negro patients to the various services would have certain definite advantages. The capital investment would be about the same or possibly less than that for a separate building since all of the facilities already in operation, such as laboratories, operating rooms, delivery rooms, could be used with

only modifications or some additions. The cost of operation for this expansion would not be as great as that for a separate hospital since the present hospital has already a group of professional and sub-professional personnel which would be able to give services provided certain additions could be made. Thus, medical care could be given to Negro patients which would be comprehensive in nature, of good quality, and less expense than two separate facilities. There is another advantage offered by this arrangement which is of vital significance. A large proportion of the Negro patients who would be treated here would be county-supported and thus a wealth of clinical material would be offered which would enhance the intern and residency training program at this institution.

There is one more problem which must be faced if Negroes are to be admitted to Charlotte Memorial Hospital. This has to do with Negro professional personnel and particularly the Negro physician. Negro physicians must have opportunities to treat their Negro patients in a hospital. All qualified Negro physicians should be assured that the least they would have under these circumstances would be courtesy privileges, which would make it possible for them to care for their private patients to the limit of their abilities. They would have to adhere to the same rules and regulations governing all of the physicians having such privileges in the hospital. In addition, those Negro physicians who were eligible for board certification or who were certified as specialists, should have the opportunity to become members of the attending or active staff. To have these physicians on the active staff would be of importance because they could work

in the clinics and on the wards and thus help the white physician carry the burden of indigent care.

Such assurance is necessary for the Negro physician if this second solution is accepted. This would help improve the plight of Negro physicians in Charlotte and would attract young physicians to the area. There should also be assurance that qualified Negro nurses, dentists, technicians, social workers and others will be given employment. This point certainly does not need to be belabored.

Objectively and ideally, all three general hospitals should be aiding in the community problem of hospital care for Negroes. It is being recommended herewith that Charlotte Memorial Hospital initiate the program because of its position in the community. Furthermore, where a community is attempting to solve a problem along new pathways, there is merit and advantage in concentrating all of its energies and efforts on one area. This has greater chances of success. This however does not in any way remove the responsibilities which Mercy and Presbyterian Hospitals have to the community. Both of these hospitals, which, like Memorial and Good Samaritan, have enlightened, efficient administrators, should also begin to consider ways and means to give care to Negro patients. Mercy Hospital is singled out for special comment because it is a Catholic institution and one of the writers (P.B.C.) is a Catholic. In recent years, the Catholic hierarchy has stated in no uncertain terms that Negro members of the Catholic Church should be given the same opportunities as white Catholics. This has already been asserted in North Carolina by Bishop Waters. Mercy Hospital is well aware of this philosophy of the Church and it is believed that it would be willing to assume this responsibility.

Another point should be stressed in this discussion. All three general hospitals, Charlotte Memorial, Presbyterian, and Mercy plus the Eye, Ear and Throat Hospitals are caring for a sizeable percentage of patients from outside the county (See Page 7) yet they are denying these facilities and services to a segment of the population in its own county.

The final point to be considered on this specific recommendation has to do with the disposition of Good Samaritan Hospital. This hospital could well be used for a convalescent unit, or a rehabilitation service, a nursing home, or a combination of all of these into a well coordinated unit. This building is well suited for such a purpose and the community is in need of such services since these are now lacking, not only for Negroes, but also for white individuals as well.

II. Recommendations of an Immediate Nature

The solution of hospitalization for Negroes in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County is one which for the good of all, is mandatory, requires dispatch and should be effected, at most, within a two year period. This area can ill afford to continue the type of hospital care for Negroes which it has done during the past twenty-five years. It appears to the consultants that there are steps which can be taken now and can be helpful in providing some alleviation to the present situation and until adequate hospital facilities are available. These will not require too great an expenditure of money and can be done primarily through administrative decisions. The following may be mentioned:

A. Good Samaritan Hospital

(1) It has already been mentioned that through the efforts of the Board of Managers of this institution, the services to indigent patients

have been improved through the addition of four resident physicians and increasing of services in the pathology and radiology areas. It would appear to be highly desirable for some teaching affiliation to be established between Charlotte Memorial and Good Samaritan Hospitals so that these individuals would have the opportunity to improve professionally through the attendance of seminars, conferences and clinical pathological discussions. A professional committee consisting of physicians from the two institutions should be established so that a measure of professional supervision could be given this institution during this interim period. This Committee could well establish standards for records,for staff applications and credentials, improvement of nursing service, operating room procedures, and other professional phases.

(2) The Director of Nurses should seek aid from the Charlotte Memorial and Mercy Hospitals in order to improve the nurse training program in the institution. Furthermore, a selected number of graduate nurses should be required to take refresher courses at one of the other hospitals, if these can be arranged.

(3) An attempt should be made to decrease the number of beds in some of the wards in order that patient care may be done more effectively. In this connection, it would also be very helpful if some type of visitor control could be established.

B. Charlotte Memorial Hospital

(1) Out-patient care is one of the great needs of the Negro population. Some type of arrangement should be worked out with the Charlotte Memorial Hospital whereby these services can be made available to Negroes. Since Negro patients are now being treated in the tumor clinic

along with white patients, it would seem that it would not be too difficult to be able to work out a plan whereby the other clinics could be so utilized. Exploration in this area should be begun immediately.

C. Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital

(1) It has already been noted that this specialized hospital has a low occupancy rate of approximately 58 per cent. Here again these beds could be more fully utilized if Negroes were given an opportunity to use these services. Some plan should be worked out whereby this could be achieved.

Summarily it should be stated that some of the recommendations suggested here under interim arrangements for the care of Negroes would not only be helpful toward improving the hospital situation for this group, but it would also provide an opportunity for the community to observe how these interracial situations would work out and thus pave the way towards the achievement of the major recommendation which has been made.

III. Other Recommendations

1. Education: It is recommended that the Social Planning Council investigate with responsible state authorities and planning bodies, the possibilities of opening the doors of Medical Schools toward the end that qualified Negro students may be admitted not only in medicine, but dentistry and the allied health professions. Each state has an obligation to train professional personnel to serve its community.

2. It is recommended that the hospitals in Charlotte should open their doors for the training of candidates in technical fields, such as anesthesia, laboratory and others and should work towards the admission of Negro medical graduates in their residency programs. This would be very helpful in providing the community with specialists and technicians.

3. Economics: The Social Planning Council should establish a Committee which would investigate and make the necessary recommendations for improvement of employment opportunities for Negroes in the community so that a greater percentage of them would be able to earn an adequate livelihood and thereby be able to improve their health, housing and welfare situations.

A P P E N D I X

Conferences Held, April 30, May 1, July 7,8, 1954

Charlotte Memorial Hospital:

Mr. R. Z. Thomas, Administrator
Miss White, Director of Nursing Service
Miss Burton, Director of Nursing Education

Mercy Hospital:

Sister Mary Peters
Mother Rafael

Presbyterian Hospital:

Mr. J. P. Richardson, Administrator

Good Samaritan Hospital:

Mr. Edward Frye, Administrator
Miss Blakeney, Director of Nurses
Miss Dye

Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital:

Dr. Frank Smith

The Charlotte Health Department: Mecklenburg County Health Department:

Dr. Millard B. Bethel

Mecklenburg County Medical Society:

Dr. W. Z. Bradford, President

Negro Medical Society:

Dr. E. L. Rann, President and Membership

Duke Endowment Fund - Hospital and Orphans Section:

Mr. Marshall Pickens, Director and Members of Staff
Dr. W. S. Rankin, Consultant

County Hospitalization Fund:

Miss Ruth Flanagan

Luncheon Meetings:

(1)

Mr. J. Spencer Bell
Mr. Speitzman
Dr. Wheeler
Mr. Fred Alexander
Dr. E. L. Rann

(2)

Mr. J. Spencer Bell
Mr. Frank W. Snepp, Jr.
Mr. Wiley H. Arnold
Mr. Edward R. Frye

Meeting with Steering Committee:

Mr. J. Spencer Bell
Mr. Fred Alexander
Dr. Wheeler
Dr. E. L. Rann
Mr. Frank W. Snepp, Jr.

Meeting with Committee to Study Hospital Facilities:

Mr. Frank W. Snepp, Jr., Presiding

AMERICAN COLLEGE OF SURGEONS

Hospital Standardization

Scoring Report

GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL

On June 4, 1952, this hospital was inspected by representatives of the A. C. S.

A summary of findings and recommendations is quoted from their report:

"Deficiencies:

No sprinkler system and no fire drills in non-fireproof building.

Trustees have not insisted upon maintenance of proper standards of professional care.

Rules and regulations contain no provision for:

Enforcing prompt medical record writing.

Requiring recorded consultations before cesarean sections and sterilizations. Medical staff is not clearly defined as to active,consulting, courtesy, and associate groups.

Only five medical staff meetings, with recorded minutes, were held in 1951. No record of attendance kept.

Minutes of medical staff meeting do not show adequate discussion of deaths, complications, and selected clinical cases.

Medical record deficiencies:

Eighty per cent of current records are delayed beyond 48 hours.

Few recorded consultations.

Many filed records are sketchy and inadequate.

Current progress notes are usually not written.

Condition on discharge usually not indicated.

Treatment is inadequate:

P. R. N. orders for narcotics, sedatives, and anti-biotics should not be used. A 48 hour stop-order for these drugs should be adopted.

Many operative notes are unduly delayed and sketchy.

Record committee inactive and ineffective.

Cross indexing not done.

Excess of unfinished medical records: more than 500 unfinished medical records, some dating back to 1948.

Low autopsy rate.

Another technician needed in X-ray department.

Nursing school has no nursing arts and clinical instructors.

Qualifications of medical staff in medical surgical and obstetrical departments are not listed and numbers practicing in each group are not clearly known.

More operating rooms needed.

Impossible to assess control of surgery because of current and filed record deficiencies.

Nurses frequently act as first assistants in major surgery.

Infections of clean surgical cases not listed or investigated.

Post-operative deaths not listed as such.

Two maternal deaths probably preventable.

Infant mortality rate of 3.2 per cent is excessive.

Consultations not recorded before cesarean sections and sterilizations.

Lights and outlets in operating room are not shock or spark proof.

Grounding precautions not taken in operating room.

No pharmacy committee or formulary.

Recommend: Correction of deficiencies and NO APPROVAL at this time."

Paul S. Ferguson, M. D.
Assistant Director in Charge of
Hospital Standardization

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Health and Hospital Facilities (A Proposal by L. W. Dunbar)

NOTE: Only file copy on third floor pulled from files 6/21/60 by HCF to release to Geo. Wolfe.

A PROPOSAL FROM THE S.R.C.

FOR A COMPARISON OF MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE SOUTH

This is a proposal for a study which will indicate in concrete terms the discrepancies still to be overcome between medical services for whites and those for Negroes in the South. The proposal includes a request for financial assistance. The estimated duration of the project is one year, and the estimated cost is $22,660.

Say how much

In proposing a study of medical services and opportunities for Negro and white Southerners, the Southern Regional Council is mindful of certain criteria which have always guided its work. First, the subject - medical care - is a basic practical concern. Second, it is a major factor affecting the growth and welfare of the South. Third, satisfactory health care for the people of the South cannot be attained if it is unequally available to ~~sections~~ segments of the population. And fourth, there is a realistic prospect that a description of the existing conditions will, in the present climate of opinion, motivate improvements.

BACKGROUND - The Reitzes Study

Health services in all their forms have been surveyed in the United States for many years and on many occasions. The particular situation in the South has been likewise investigated and documented by frequent studies. This continuing scrutiny of American health services has been a principal force in their progress. Perhaps in no other social or economic field has there been greater receptivity for searching, informed analysis of inadequacies.

Studies of the medical care generally available to Negroes have now culminated in Dietrich C. Reitzes's Negroes and Medicine (Harvard, 1958). Professor

Reitzes's book, which was assisted by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, provides an analysis which will be, for some time, an authoritative examination of the medical education available for Negroes. The book's principal object, however, is a survey of medical care for Negroes in 14 cities, including three of the South (Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans). The two ~~factors~~ subjects chiefly dealt with are hospital facilities, and the situation of Negro physicians. The survey of the cities was based on interviews, most of which seem to have been completed before 1957; in Atlantaand Nashville the largest number of interviewees were Negro physicians, and in New Orleans 19 of 32 interviewees were informed, non-medical persons. The result is an impressionistic but highly rewarding picture of the 14 cities studied. The survey "had as its primary objective the identification and analysis of the specific processes which brought about or blocked integration in medicine."

The findings of the Southern portion of the study point to are "the futility of attempting to develop first-class medical care for and by Negroes within a rigid system of segregation" in Atlanta and New Orleans; and the existence of "opportunities for the professional advancement of young Negro physicians and for status and recognition of the established Negro physicians" in Nashville. Except as regards medical education, the Reitzes study is primarily a report on conditions as seen by Negro physicians and lay spokesmen. This results in a certain tentativeness and even disagreement in the description. Moreover, it does not permit specification of what exactly are the elements of "first-class medical care" which are lacking, (the Nashville chapter of the study, the Nashville, treats almost exclusively ~~of~~ the professional status and problems of Negro physicians). This is not said

in deprecation, but to note that there is still a need for a further factual survey of the specific inadequacies and shortcomings of the medical care available to Negroes in the South. Furthermore, the three cities of the Reitzes study are commonly regarded as among the most progressive in the South. An analysis, especially if it is intended to be a basis for action, should go beyond these three locations in order to be definitive.

Our aim is, therefore, not to duplicate the Reitzes study, but to further the knowledge of Negro medical services and opportunities in several ways.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

First, it would be our intent to measure the existing inequalities as exactly as possible. To this end, the study would, instead of surveying facilities, focus exclusively on the individual Negro patient and physician, and the services and opportunities open to them, compared with those open to white persons in similar situations. The plan for doing so is outlined below, and we hope by it to get findings which permit explicit and indisputable conclusions. This approach does not directly raise the issue of integration; but by delineating inequalities the logic of integrated facilities will be made clear. Moreover, we believe that there is in the South now, because of a general defensiveness on the school problem, a prevalent mood in favor of eliminating other inequalities where they are clearly pointed out.

Second, we propose to cover in our study a representative selection of Southern cities and non-metropolitan areas . The study is motivated by a concern for practical reform, and it is our experience that a fact-finding venture must have a wide geographic spread base if Southerners generally are to regard it as pertinent to their local situation.

Third, we propose to give careful, thorough attention to presentation and distribution of the study, using a portion of the funds allotted to the project for free distribution to pivotal persons and organizations. The presentation will be in pamphlet form, and we contemplate two or perhaps three publications.

The Southern Regional Council has had long experience in fact-finding studies and the presentation of their results. Methodological skills of research, writing, and distribution have been built up. The Council's publications have achieved a reputation for objectivity and for striking a balance between popularization and technical presentation. The Council has always been able to enlist for its fact-finding projects qualified specialists from Southern campuses and other sources. Its bi-racial composition gives it access to the confidence and cooperation of a wide range of Southerners, Negro and white.

General Plan of the Study

The first object of the study will be the individual Negro patient, and his opportunity to obtain medical and hospital care equal to that available to whites. (The general level of services will not be evaluated or studied except incidentally in relation to the question of discrimination.) The study will not be concerned with the adequacy of any health programs, public or private. It will, instead, focus on the question whether Negro and white patients, in similar economic circumstances, can get equal treatment.

The second object will be the individual Negro pursuing a physicians career. Again, there will be no concern with the general adequacy of medical education or practice. The study, instead, will be devoted to Negroes' opportunities for

beginning and following the career, as compared with opportunities available to whites.

Topical Outline

A. Comparison of medical services (non-hospital) for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The purpose will be to describe the respective situations of individual patients who differ only in race, and to do this in a number of representative Southern localities. Two general economic categories will be used: the indigent patient, and the self-supporting. For greater precision, the study will be limited to selected types of cases, such as accident and other emergency; pediatric; venereal; mentally ill; cardiac.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:

   - the access of Negroes to specialists;
   - waiting room practices;
   - house call practices.

3. ~~It is~~ We realize that reliable information on patient-doctor relations is exceedingly difficult to obtain. These are often not matters of record. If information is sought from interviews, widely varying impressions will be encountered. If case studies are used, there can be no positive assurance that they are typical. It is at the same time true that for the majority of persons, doctor care is the crux of their medical needs; no survey and appraisal of medical care which omits it is complete.

4. For this reason, the questions indicated above in (2) have been limited to those which are susceptible to clear-cut fact-finding. If in the

course of the study other practices (e.g., fees for office visits, or differences in pre- and post-operative attention for Negro and white patients) can be submitted to objective comparison in some localities, that will be done. But the three questions shown in (2) would yield significant results: the availability of specialists is certainly, for example, a key determinant of the adequacy of modern medical service.

5. By thus limiting the information sought, objective data should be obtainable through interviews with informed persons in the localities, such as Negro and white physicians, social workers, Negro leaders, hospital administrators and public health officials.

6. The scope of the study will include:

- at least six principal cities. Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans should be included, in order not to waste the opportunity of gaining depth for our survey by building on the Reitzes work. The other three cities would be selected from (in order of preference),

  Birmingham,
  Houston (or Dallas),
  Jackson,
  Norfolk (or Richmond),
  Jacksonville (or Miami),
  Durham (or Winston-Salem),
  Columbia;

- three non-metropolitan counties with a principal city in the 25,000 population range;

- three non-metropolitan counties with a principal city in the 5,000 population range.

7. The types of cases will include at least one whose treatment is heavily supported by philanthropy.

B. Comparison of hospital services for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The same localities will be studied, and the same types of patients and illnesses.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:

- facilities and beds available;
- ambulance service;
- nursing arrangements;
- admission to specialty clinics and wards;
- free choice of physician.

3. Objective data can be and will be systematically gathered, and be supplemented by interviews.

4. An analysis of the hospitalization insurance situation in the locality will be separately made to determine if insurance is readily available through non-commercial plans (e.g. Blue Cross-Blue Shield), and the extent of coverage of Negroes as compared with whites.*

5. As a corrollary subject, the use of Negro patients for clinical instruction and experimentation will be explored, and findings included in the study if they warrant it.

C. Comparison of opportunities and rewards for Negro and white physicians.

1. Again, the intent will be to describe the situation and prospects confronting the individual Negro in comparison with those of the white

* When O. W. Anderson took a random sample of Blue Cross/Blue Shield "standard" contract subscribers in Birmingham for his study, Voluntary Health Insurance in Two Cities (Harvard, 1957), it turned out to be only 14% Negro, in a city whose population is about 40% Negro.

person in the profession. It is believed that the factual data in Negroes and Medicine on medical education will not need up-dating. One topic concerned with medical education will be explored in some additional detail; i.e., the role and accomplishments of the Southern Regional Education Board. Other than this, the study will be devoted to the physician after graduation. The same localities will be used as in A and B.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:
   - availability of internships for Negroes (a) in the localities; or (b) if there are none or but few for whites or Negroes in the particular localities, the opportunities elsewhere;
   - opportunities for continuing education;
   - membership in local and state medical associations;
   - staff and courtesy privileges in hospitals (here an item of specific interest will be the policies of Hill-Burton and other federally-aided hospitals);
   - opportunities for specialty practice.
3. Objective data will be supplemented by interviews.

Personnel

A. The Southern Regional Council's Research staff will administer the study in all phases, will prepare the interviewers' questionnaires in order that they be uniform, will assemble the findings, and will prepare the reports, and ~~will~~ plan their distribution. It will be necessary, however, to secure part-time professional assistance for some of these ~~administrative and editorial~~ functions.

B. An advisory panel of recognized experts will be formed to review the soundness of the conclusions.

C. For each city of the survey, a chief reporter and at least one other reporter will be recruited; in each non-metropolitan county, at least one reporter will be appointed.

To ~~whatever~~ the extent possible, persons with previous experience in this sort of study will be selected.

D. The hospitalization insurance analysis will be contracted to a firm of economic consultants, or to an appropriate academic researcher.

E. The role of the S.R.E.B. will be studied by ~~an outside~~ a consultant.

Estimated Budget

S	Temporary Staff assistance and consultants	$3,000.
	~~Consultant fees~~ Honoraria for advisory panel, Five, at $40 per day for five days each	1,000.
	Reporters, 18-24, at $40 per day for 10 days each	9,600. (maximum)
	Commission for insurance analysis	2,000.
	Commission for S.R.E.B. study	500.
	Travel, for consultants and reporters	1,000.
	Printing and distribution	3,500.
		$20,600.
	Overhead, 10%	2,060.
		$ 22,660.

A COMPARISON OF MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES
AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND WHITES
IN THE SOUTH

In proposing a study of medical services and opportunities for Negro and white Southerners, the Southern Regional Council is mindful of certain criteria which have always guided its work. First, the subject - medical care - is a basic practical concern. Second, it is a major factor affecting the growth and welfare of the South. Third, satisfactory health care for the people of the South cannot be attained if it is unequally available to different segments sections of the population. And fourth, there is a realistic prospect that a description of the existing conditions will, in the present climate of opinion, motivate improvements.

Health services in all their forms have been surveyed in the United States for many years and on many occasions. The particular situation in the South has also been likewise investigated and documented by frequent studies. This continuing scrutiny of American health services has been a principal force in their progress. Perhaps in no other social or economic field has there been greater receptivity for searching, informed analysis of inadequacies.

Studies of the medical care generally available to Negroes have now culminated in Dietrich C. Reitzes's Negroes and Medicine (Harvard, 1958). Dr. Reitzes's book, which was assisted by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, provides an analysis which will be, for some time, an authoritative examination of the medical education available for Negroes. The book's principal object, however, is a survey of medical care for Negroes in 14 cities, including three in the South (Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans). The two factors chiefly dealt with are hospital facilities, and the situation of Negro physicians. The survey

of the cities was based on interviews, most of which seem to have been completed before 1957; in Atlanta and Nashville the largest number of interviewees were Negro physicians, and in New Orleans 19 of 32 interviewees were informed, non-medical persons. The result is an impressionistic but highly rewarding picture of the 14 cities studied which, as Dr. Reitzes remarks, contain over one-fifth of the country's Negro population, and over one-third of its physicians. The survey "had as its primary objective the identification and analysis of the specific processes which brought about or blocked integration in medicine."

The present proposal would seek to further the knowledge of Negro medical services and opportunities in several ways.

First, it would be our intent to measure the existing inequalities as exactly as possible. To this end, the study would, instead of surveying facilities, focus exclusively on the individual Negro patient and physician, and the services and opportunities open to them, compared with those open to white persons in similar situations. The plan for doing so is outlined below, and we hope ~~by it~~ to get findings which permit explicit and indisputable conclusions. This approach does not directly raise the issue of integration; but by delineating inequalities the logic of integrated facilities is made clear. Moreover, we believe that there is in the South now, because of a general defensiveness on the schools problem, a prevalent mood in favor of eliminating inequalities ~~where~~ they are pointed out.

Second, we propose to cover in our study a wide and representative selection of Southern cities and non-metropolitan areas. The study is motivated by a concern for practical reform, and it is our experience that a fact-finding venture must have a wide base if Southerners generally are to regard it as pertinent to

their local situations.

Third, we propose to give ~~careful,~~ thorough attention to presentation and distribution of the study, using a portion of the funds allotted to the project for free distribution to pivotal persons and organizations. The presentations will be in pamphlet form, and we contemplate two or perhaps three publications.

The Southern Regional Council has had long experience in fact-finding studies and the presentation of their results. Methodological skills of research, writing, and distribution have been built up. The Council's publications have achieved a reputation for objectivity and for striking a balance between popularization and technical presentation. The Council has ~~always~~ been able to enlist for its fact-finding projects qualified specialists from Southern campuses and other sources. Its bi-racial composition gives it access to the confidence and cooperation of a wide range of Southerners.

General Plan of the Study

The first object of the study will be the individual Negro patient, and his opportunity to obtain medical and hospital care equal to that available to whites. The general level of services will not be evaluated nor studied except incidentally in relation to the question of discrimination. The study will not be concerned with the adequacy of any health programs, public or private. It will, instead, focus on the question whether Negro and white patients, in similar economic circumstances can get equal treatment.

The second object will be the individual Negro pursuing a physician's career. Again, there will be no concern with the general adequacy of medical education or practice. The study, instead, will be devoted to Negroes' opportunities for

beginning and following the career, as compared with opportunities available to whites.

Topical Outline

A. Comparison of medical services (non-hospital) for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The purpose will be to describe the respective situations of individual patients who differ only in race, and to do this in a number of representative Southern localities. Two general economic categories will be used: the indigent patient, and the self-supporting. For greater precision, the study will be limited to selected types of cases, such as accident and other emergency; pediatric; venereal; mentally ill; cardiac.
2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:
   - the access of Negroes to specialists;
   - waiting room practices;
   - house call practices.
3. It is realized that reliable information on patient-doctor relations is exceedingly difficult to obtain. These are not matters of record. If information is sought from interviews, widely varying impressions will be encountered. If case studies are used, there can be no positive assurance that they are typical. It is at the same time true that for the majority of persons, doctor care is the crux of their medical needs; no survey and appraisal of medical care which omits it is complete.
4. For this reason, the questions indicated above in (2) have been limited to those which seemingly are susceptible to clear-cut fact-finding. These questions are, however, merely suggestive; in the course of the study it may be found that other practices (e.g. fees for office visits, or differences in pre- and post-operative attention for Negro and white

patients) can be submitted to objective comparison, at least in some types of medical cases. But even if this does not prove possible, merely the three questions shown in (2) would yield significant results: the availability of specialists is certainly, for example, a key determinant of the adequacy of modern medical service.

5. With, therefore, realization of shortcomings, the information will be developed from interviews with informed persons in the selected localities, such as Negro and white physicians, social workers, Negro leaders, hospital administrators and public health officials.

6. The scope of the study will be determined by funds and qualified field researchers available. As a minimum, the survey should include:

A?

- Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans;
- three cities selected from (in order of preference),

  Birmingham,
  Houston (or Dallas),
  Jacksonville (or Miami),
  Jackson,
  Durham (or Winston-Salem),
  Norfolk (or Richmond),
  Columbia;

- three non-metropolitan counties of similar size.

If resources permitted, two classifications of non-metropolitan counties could be covered: three with a principal city in the 5,000 population range; three with a principal city in the 25,000 range. Similarly, the number of patient-types will be selected with reference to funds and researchers available. Serious thought will, in any event, have to go into the selection, though (at this writing) it would seem that accident and other emergency, and pediatrics cases should undoubtedly to be included; and that it would be desirable to have at least one type of illness whose treatment is heavily supported by philanthropy.

B. Comparison of hospital services for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The same localities will be studied, and the same types of patients and illnesses; in addition, one or two other of the latter might be included, such as tuberculosis and geriatrics.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:

   - facilities and beds available;
   - ambulance service;
   - nursing arrangements;
   - admission to specialty clinics and wards;
   - free choice of physician.

3. The interview method will again be used, and should not be subject to as great a degree of inexactitude as in A. In addition, objective data can be and will be systematically gathered.

4. An analysis of the hospitalization insurance situation in the locality will be separately made to determine if insurance is readily available through non-commercial plans (e.g., Blue Cross-Blue Shield), and the extent of coverage of Negroes as compared with whites.*

5. As a corollary subject, the use of Negro patients for clinical instructions and experimentation will be explored, and findings included in the study if they warrant it.

C. Comparison of opportunities and rewards for Negro and white physicians.

1. Again, the intent will be to describe the situation and prospects confronting the individual Negro in comparison with those of the white person in the profession. It is believed that the factual data in Negroes and Medicine on medical education will not need up-dating. One topic

* When O. W. Anderson took a random sample of Blue Cross/Blue Shield "standard" contract subscribers in Birmingham for his study, Voluntary Health Insurance in Two Cities (Harvard, 1957), it turned out to be only 14% Negro, in a city whose population is about 40% Negro.

concerned with medical education will be explored in some additional detail; i. e., the role and accomplishments of the Southern Regional Education Board. Other than this, the study will be devoted to the physician after graduation. The same localities will be used as in A and B.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:
   - availability of internships for Negroes (a) in the localities; or (b) if there are none or but few for whites or Negroes in the particular localities, the opportunities elsewhere;
   - opportunities for continuing education;
   - membership in local and state medical associations;
   - staff and courtesy privileges in hospitals (here an item of specific interest will be the policies of Hill-Burton and other federally-aided hospitals);
   - opportunities for specialty practice.
3. Again, the interview method will be the chief reliance, both for factual data (which should be obtainable for all of the items noted above), and for evaluations and opinions.

Personnel

A. The Southern Regional Council's Research staff will administer the study in all phases, will prepare ~~the interviewers'~~ uniform questionnaires ~~in order that they be uniform~~ for use by the interviewers, will assemble the findings, ~~and~~ prepare the reports, and ~~will~~ plan their distribution.

1. It may be desirable to attach to the staff for the period of the study (estimated one year) another social scientist.

B. An advisory panel of recognized experts will be formed to review the soundness of the conclusions.

C. For each city of the survey, a chief reporter and at least one other reporter will be recruited; in each non-metropolitan county, at least one reporter will be appointed.

~~To whatever extent~~ whenever possible, persons with previous experience in ~~this sort of study~~ similar studies will be selected.

D. The hospitalization insurance analysis will be contracted to a firm of economic consultants, or to an appropriate academic researcher.

E. The role of the S.R.E.B. will be studied either within the SRC staff, ~~or~~ by an outside consultant.

Budget

Salary, social scientist, one year	$7,000.
Consultant fees for advisory panel, (Assume five, at $40 per day for five days each)	1,000.
Reporters, (assume 20, at $40 per day for 10 days each)	8,000.
Economic consultant for insurance analysis	2,000.
Travel, for consultants and reporters	1,000.
Printing and Distribution	3,500.
	$22,500.
Overhead, 10%	2,500.
	$25,000.

6-16-58

To: Harold F.
From: LWD

Operation Rockefeller

This you have probably thought of & discussed before; it is also shot from the top of my head

1. Problem: to reach southern decision-makers
   a. Required: an atmosphere in which people can & habitually do consult their self-interest
   b. Obstacle: the repressive discouragement of dissent or even public discussion within the white communities

2. A possible contribution to weakening the Obstacle, using RBF money for financing:
   a. Regular & frequent 15 spot (5 minute) broadcasts - or, even better, telecasts - based on self-interest argument
      1. Programming
         a. White southerners - SRC officials or others
            1. On the hypothesis that the important thing is to get a question not now being openly discussed out into the open, the prominence of participants would be of secondary importance, must, of course, be "respectable."
         b. Initially, tried in the southern city thought by you to offer best chance of a temperate reception
      2. Objection
         a. The risk of failure. If attacked virulently & without defenders, could do hurt rather than

(over)

help, objection of opening issues to public discussion
b. Cost ??
c. Would be, in the eyes of the tax collector, "propaganda"?

Harold P. Fairchild

Hawley

7-1-58

Re our conversation at lunch & after reading the study of Guilford Co. leadership:

It occurs to me that in developing your "competing pressures" framework you ought to make explicit whether & to what extent you regard it as applicable to the whole region. e.g. in the item of "social construction" or "general welfare" at all present in the Mississippi context? on the other hand, it may more clearly be present in the North Carolina Piedmont, or Middle Tennessee. But all this is reminder - I'm sure you already are taking it into account.

The reason I mention it is because of 2 remarks in the Guilford Co. study:

1 - that the situation "is characterized by a tense equilibrium - one in which men of prominence can expect a far greater influence than ordinarily" I would defer to someone's greater experience, but personally would doubt that this aptly describes him, or perhaps Georgia (& Truman does, of course, subsequently note that Guilford Co. is not typical - on the other hand, the variety of types complicates your problem of putting together a valid presentation of fields of possible action)

2. the conclusion that local leaders now state political leaders are having virtually the power of decision, & are fairly free to exercise it one way or the other. To what extent this is so, & in whatever number of places it may be so, does it render your definition of "competing pressures" largely irrelevant to the immediate issue of orderly compliance?

2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 25, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: LD

FROM: FBR

:

I have just been talking with Margaret Price about the Population Bulletin for November, 1958. It is loaded with information that should be in the hands of our state people. Would you please order 15 copies of this issue of the bulletin. Their address is:

Population Reference Bureau, Inc.
1507 M. Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Thanks.

-:-

File

February 26, 1959

To: HCF

From: LWD

It occurs to me that a couple notions which I have wanted to discuss with you might more conveniently be set down in a memo. They have to do with two pamphlets or special reports which I think would be worth doing.

A "head-knocking" on the series of studies we got in focus last Summer can wait an opportune time.

* * *

These two undertakings are intended to implement the thesis I argued (I believe with your agreement) last Summer: i. e., that our special publications ought to have as their targets the people or the interests who are exercising decisive influence. The targets here are, respectively, the federal courts and northern opinion. The publications could, of course, have other uses.

* * *

1. Although the desegregation plans of the various communities which have desegregated have been written up and summarized in several forms, I think a careful summary and analysis in concise presentation, hopefully intended as a manual for judges and perhaps school superintendents as well, would be most useful. I see it in two parts:

a. A summary analysis of each desegregation plan put into effect, or approved by a court, or announced by a locality. This part we could do here.

b. Professional comment on these plans and on the general criteria which ought to guide any plan. For this I would commission 3 or 4 professors of education, or otherwise qualified specialists. I think they should be southern. I would have each comment separate and signed, and limited to approximately 750 words.

2. I agree fully with your skepticism about the reliability of northern opinion as you expressed it to Oscar Cohen last week. My recent northern residence enlarges, if possible, this doubt. I believe we have a continuing responsibility to keep northern opinion alert, reassured, and unambivalent.

This is largely a matter of selecting devices.

One that I would like to try, if you think it feasible, is a sort of symposium using SRC people who are well known above the Potomac, and addressed to the theme of the assessment of Brown vs. Topeka on its 5th anniversary. Has it "set back race relations"? Has it invlamed the region? etc. In other words, an evaluation of the events of the past 5 years from the point of view of the sort of people whom we represent. A variety of gimmicks might be used. One could be, e. g., a letter signed by Dabbs or perhaps McGill, to the members of the symposium, posing the questions and asking their comments. The letters and replies could then be printed. In advance or concurrent with publication we might offer it to the New York Times Magazine, Harpers or the Atlantic. The sort of SRC people I have in mind are: Clement, Hodding Carter, Harry Golden, Paul Green, Benjamin Mays; or another suggestion, Bishop Brunini, L. D. Milton, Benjamin Muse, James Stokely, Bell Wiley, T. W. Young. These would be, and should be, statements of individual opinion. I think with the right sort of people and distribution this could get wide and valued attention.

3
7-8-59

Harold -

Yesterday's paper announced a C.R.C. hearing in Atlanta 4/10 - 4/11 re housing.

I would suppose that the Urban League can best provide the information re discrimination, both private & governmental, & that anything we could do along this line would be second best of not a duplication.

Our role could be (a) to speak to the public costs of segregated housing. or (b) to speak to the question of civil rights & political values. You may decide that there is no adequate channel through which we can properly do either.

This reappearance of official interest in housing emphasizes in my mind the desirability of getting ahead on the sort of

analysis of the costs of segregated housing which we discussed last summer. I plan to begin exploring the best ways of getting this done.

I do, however, think that the issue of housing poses some interesting problems for SRC, & because of these I think that this is the wrong time for SRC to be very vocal. Rightly or wrongly, the schools have been selected as the primary battleground. Here the Negro comes gains important allies on the grounds of belief in law compliance, belief in public schools etc. I don't think SRC should call too much attention to another ~~issue~~ issue - housing - which could scare off some of these valuable allies.

D

March 25, 1959

MEMO: TO HAROLD FLEMING

FROM LESLIE DUNBAR

C. H. Parrish discussed with me his future role with the Council. I gather that he does not at this time have many concrete suggestions to make. I hope from time to time to be able to call upon him for advice and for help. I would prefer, however, at least at the present time, that suggestions as to a more definite or established role be initiated by him.

I did say to C. H. that in two functions, one specific and one general, he could be of important uses to us. First, in following through on his own proposal of spelling out areas of research which we as an action organization think ought to be undertaken by social scientists. I requested C. H. to begin a dialogue with me and you by defining problems which he regards as inadequately covered in present social science studies. I explicitly did not, however, agree that we would assume the role which he has proposed for us as a broker between researchers and foundations. Instead, I told him that such ideas as he might come up with would be considered by us as we would any other "good ideas"; that is, as projects to be got done according to their own individual requirements.

Secondly, I asked C. H. to be mindful always of the advantage to the Council in forming closer contacts with work in progress on the campuses and with academic people interested in areas with which we are concerned. I asked him always to be alert to opportunities whereby the Council could make liaison with such work or people.

Finally, I encouraged C. H. to get his piece on urban and educational problems done.

August 26, 1958
MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming
From: C. H. Parrish

Item # 1 The Pamphlet

I hope you have thought through the suggestion that the writing job I am working on can be done better in absentia than here in Atlanta. It will be much more convenient for me, if this is possible, and, I believe, more satisfactory to you. The gamble here, of course, is not whether I will have the time to give to it but whether my enthusiasm for the project will counterbalance my lack of journalistic flair. As I see it the focus of the paper is the significance of urbanization and industrialization for public school systems of Southern cities. The pamphlet should be sufficiently well documented to meet the requirements of academic respectability but not cluttered with academic terminology. There should be no suggestion of special pleading but the pamphlet must be usable as a solid argument against segregation. This is ambitious but I am convinced it can be done; whether I am the one to do it remains to be seen. The arrangement which seems feasible to me is extension of my tenure with SRC full time through September 15, and half time through October 15 when the completed first draft of the pamphlet would be due. If drastic revisions are necessary, some sort of per diem arrangement can be made later.

Item # 2 Scheduled activities, August 28 - September 15.

This weekend, beginning Thursday, I will be in Chicago as consultant to the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. I am making plans to be in New York September 2 and 3, during which time I hope to have a chance to look over some of Aaron Brown's materials and talk to Wilton Dillon (I have an appointment with him for September 3). As I told you, I have a small University of Louisville research grant from which I can get most of my transportation to New York and return. Perhaps SRC can make up the balance and take care of my expenses for the two days I'll spend there. September 4 and 5 I expect to run down some references in Louisville getting back to Atlanta after the weekend for four days, September 8-11.

Item # 3 Some observations about SRC's possible role in basic research.

Pending further elaboration, I shall content myself with a very brief statement. SRC is not set up to undertake or supervise basic research. Yet all of us are aware of gaps in the materials presently available for the action programs we are engaged in. Les Dunbar has indicated several areas in which research is needed to substantiate or refute the informed opinions upon which we are forced to rely. My own interest in cities has uncovered several exciting research possibilities which I have set forth in tentative form in the University of Louisville Project Proposal. (Local studies, such as those described for Louisville, are much more promising, I think, than the regional or state analyses because they point to specific problems.) Three steps need to be taken:

1-List the areas in which basic research would be most useful, indicating, where possible, specific studies that would be undertaken immediately.

2-Find competent researchers willing to attempt the job. This involves discovering what research is in progress in any of these areas and who is doing it.

3-Serve as a broker in bringing the proposed research to the attention of an appropriate fund granting agency.

Steps 1 and 2 could be handled easily by a part time research consultant without the use of central office staff time for supervision. Step 3 would fall to the lot of the Director in line with his fund raising efforts.

Research Dept.

This is an interim report on the work of the Research staff of the Southern Regional Council from February through September, 1959.

I. Personnel

The staff has been stable throughout the period. Miss Manderson has been the Research Assistant, and continues to handle most of the factual digging and compilations for the office. In addition, she frequently prepares the "Highlights" page for New South. Mrs. Albright acts as secretary, answers most information requests, and assists the Director in many ways. In addition, she acts as the Council's receptionist, and has done a variety of other things, including public speaking, for the Council. Mrs. Cooper has been the file clerk, and has occasionally assisted with typing; she has resigned effective October 9, and will be replaced by Miss Elizabeth Waters. During the Summer months, Mr. Andre Hammonds was a member of the staff.

In an operation of our type, and with a staff of this size, the constant obligation of the Director is to build flexibility into the duties of staff members. I look forward to a time when there will be more overlap of function and more opportunities for individual versatility.

II. Housekeeping

The Southern School News microfilm library was purchased, along with a microfilm viewer. The clipping and filing procedures were somewhat, and helpfully, modified. Book purchases have been considerably enlarged.

III. Activities

A. Information service

As a newcomer, I have been mildly astonished at the volumn of our work in answering information requests from all sorts of sources.

Conservatively, I believe that one-fourth to one-third of our time is given to this function. Although I often resent the hindrance this is to program activities, I am fully agreed that this is perhaps as important as any service we perform.

B. Contacts

In a limited way, I have sought to strengthen Council contacts with academic and other persons engaged in research. I hope in the future to further this effort, and believe the results to date have been healthy for us and a service to outside research people.

C. State summaries

A rather large amount of labor went into a project which was intended to put our knowledge of conditions in the various states on a more systematic basis. The project has not been completed, and the intended role of these summaries has not yet been realized in practice.

D. Voting

The staff assisted with the completion of the 1958 voting survey. On the whole, we hope we were helpful. In one respect, we were (or, I was) not: the arrangement with Mr. John Gauntlett for material on the Negro vote in South Carolina proved a miserable dud.

E. Schools

1. Green and Gauerke, <u>If the Schools Are Closed...</u>
2. <u>A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60</u>, Special Report, August 1959
3. The staff assisted with the completion of the pamphlet, ~~Violence,~~ <u>Intimidation, and Violence, Reprisal</u>, which may be listed in this context or that of law and order.

4. In cooperation with the Virginia Council on Human Relations, Jane Reif was commissioned to do a pamphlet on the Norfolk experience of 1958-59. When the revised manuscript is received, a decision can be made as to publication.

F. News Reporting

Walter Spearman was commissioned to do a pamphlet on the handling of racial news by the southern press since 1954. The manuscript is promised for early October.

G. Facilities and Accommodations

With the cooperation of several of the state groups, a survey of waiting room practices was completed and issued as a Special Report. Miss Norma Huff is doing exploratory work on a survey of health services; this shows signs of having interesting ramifications.

H. L Reports

In close collaboration with Ben Muse, we have put out the series of L Reports.

I. New South

We have a responsibility to contribute to New South occasionally. It is my hope that we shall maintain with John Constable at all times a small back-log of articles that he may use as he sees fit. A chronology of court cases and an essay on southern population movements have been completed. An essay on civil liberties in the South is in process, and other studies are planned.

At the same time, it is my hope that John Constable will never feel the creation of a separate Research staff in any way precludes him from preparing studies of his own for New South.

J. Opinion

A revision of Next Steps in the South is in process and should be completed during October.

K. Economic Studies

1. Donald Dewey was commissioned to do a pamphlet on the implications of segregation for the southern industrial manpower supply. Completion is expected by Spring 1960.

2. We have ambitions to do a pamphlet, before January 1960, on the effects of the schools controversy on the southern business climate.

3. Work with 20th Century Fund.

L. Sociological Studies

C. H. Parrish is engaged in a study of the urban problems of segregation, especially as they affect the development of talent by the schools.

M. Housing

We need some time to get a handle on this all-important field; we have not yet done so. We did issue as a Special Report Bob Thompson's fine statement before the Commission on Civil Rights, dealing with Atlanta housing.

JMW
10-1-59

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Prepared by LWD

Suggest beginning with list of all publications & reports prepared during '59.

PA

An enlarged publishing program has been made possible. Thus, in addition to our own Special Reports, we have been able to commission work by outside specialists. The pamphlet by Donald Green and Warren Gauerke was a distinct contribution to public discussion. Other pamphlets, which we expect will have similar success, are in preparation: examples are a critique of the Southern press's treatment of race news since 1954, by Walter Spearman of the University of North Carolina; and a study of the implications of segregation for Southern industry's manpower supply, by Donald Dewey of Duke.

Equally important, we have been able to strengthen our ability to service the growing number of persons and organizations who turn to the Council for information and comment. These include newspaper reporters and book writers, college professors and high school students, civic organizations and church groups, and governmental agencies of all levels.

The Research staff has given ~~in~~ the resources for more thorough handling of independent projects, such as our recently completed voting survey. The staff has supported the Leadership project in all that it has done. Short studies are prepared by the Research staff for the pages of New South.

The exhibits attached give an indication of the response to our Research activities to date. These samples encourage us in believing that our publications are achieving their intended goal, of more widespread and better informed thought about the South.

Exhibits: Time article on Green-Gauerke

Kilpatrick and Ashmore editorials on Green-Gauerke

Letters from Mobile, Suffolk requesting copies

A couple of letters answering information requests

Sitton article on the two voting surveys, ours and CCR's

Samples of newspaper coverage of L Report on Virginia private Schools

Samples of newspaper coverage on background report

New York Times story on Violence report; HCF's reply to Talmadge

October 15, 1959

MEMORANDUM: TO HCF
FROM LWD

Although I hope to be back in the office next week, and to go over these things with you then, it may, in any event, be helpful to give you a quick written summary of where we stand on a few jobs.

1) Walter Spearman's manuscript is in. I have read it once but have made no marks on it. I think any close studying may well be postponed until we decide whether this is generally a finished report or not. My first reaction to it is that publication will do us more good (by way of enhancing our reputation for fair-mindedness) than it will do the "cause". So far as presentation goes, I think that at the very least two things are required: a) an explicit statement somewhere that this report does not deal with editorial treatment; b) some more explicit tying-in of the conclusions on page 10 with the findings on later pages which document them. I shall be interested in your reaction to the report.

2) I have read with care Jan Reif's revised manuscript. I never showed you the first draft because it was so rough and unacceptable. I honestly think she has now turned out a good job, and I recommend publication in accordance with the agreement which Paul Rilling, Dan Bowers and I have. The chief defect of the manuscript is, I think, a certain awkwardness of organization which makes necessary rather more repeititon (or to be exact, re-visits to the same events) than I think is good. It would be extremely difficult for this to be corrected, however, because of the peculiar manner in which the report is conceived. On the whole it is a very readable and interesting piece. It does present, however, a public relations problem. That is, the author has repeated disparagement of Norfolk businessmen. This is altogether deserved, but if it were an SRC publication we would want to think how consistent it was with the approach of our leadership project. In view of the fact that this is to be published over the imprint of the Virginia Council, do we need to consider this?

If, by sad mischance, I am not back Monday, I think Paul Rilling had better call me about next steps in our handling of this.

The manuscript is on my desk if you wish to read it. (note: paper on which page numbers are noted, corresponding checks on pages - these are the questionable paragraphs and statements.)

3) As I told you, McMillan did not feel that he could take the Mississippi assignment. I know no other person to suggest and I am disposed, therefore, to drop the idea. George also has decided that the demands which his publisher has made of him since reading some chapters which George submitted a few weeks ago, make it impossible for him to try again on the Little Rock police story. Goerge has a point, undoubtedly, though I am disappointed.

4) I discussed with Donald Matthews last week the possibility of getting one of his graduate students to work under his supervision with Marge and me on a quick study of literacy tests, as something we might get out before February. The attached letter is self-explanatory. I am about ready to give up this idea of a pre-February job, unless you have another notion.

However, what do you think of our using the remainder of the money in the voting fund for a rather more leisurely study of literacy tests along this same line? Frankly, I think it is the most fruitful way we could employ it. What ~~about~~ I have in mind would be a relationship with Matthews, or some one in another school, whereby a good graduate student would work on this thing in collaboration with us. The student might get a thesis out of it and we could end up with a report. If we did it this way, one advantage would be that the study would not have to be precisely spelled out in advance. Generally, what I would plan would be an examination of the laws of each state and a review of the legislative history of each (in order to document intent and purpose), a collection of as many materials as possible (questionnaires, etc.) and representative information of the administration of the literacy requirements.

5) Ben Muse and I have a thing going. The correspondence so far is attached. I will have some more thought about it later, but want to keep you informed.

6) On the question of Negro crime: attached is some correspondence I have had with C. H. and Lee Coleman. Frankly, Harold, I can't get this thing in focus. My thoughts are barren and my inclination is to let this stagnate for a while.

Note: re medical and health facilities

Les said he will have something for you before you leave on the 28th. Miss Hough is to call me Monday to see how Les is, and will probably go out to talk with him at his home on Tuesday, if he is not back then (and I don't think he will be). Nothing much can be done until the two of them get together and decide just how inclusive this will be and work out a rough draft of the questionnaire for further discussion, revision, etc.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

October 13, 1959

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I think the proposal of a short, objective, report on what academic problems and results can be expected from desegregation is a good idea.

As to form, I do not think the thin pamphlet is an impressive vehicle. If it is thick enough to be almost a book, the pamphlet is all right. But if the material can be gotten into 6 pages of mimeographed L Report I believe it is more effective that way.

"Action Patterns in School Desegregation" may have some pertinent references.

The grade-by-grade experiments might be studied to see how well Negro pupils admitted to the first grade kept up with their white classmates in the second and third grades, etc.

The experience of some small towns or rural districts in Kentucky or Maryland should be studied, as well as that of large cities.

The material presented should refute the argument that desegregation lowers the scholastic standards of white pupils "to the Negro level."

In drafting the piece the authors should have constantly in mind, not only those who will read it in toto, but those also who may read only a fragmentary report on it in the press. Some of the more telling conclusions should be expressed in clear-cut sentences or paragraphs which will be handy for quotation.

The foregoing is merely thinking out loud, but may be of some help to you.

I anticipate a surplus in the RSF allocation at the end of this fiscal year, and it would seem that this project might be appropriately charged to it.

On another subject -- could you give me an idea of how many copies of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation" we have on hand and have distributed -- and what kind of circulation this book has had? I am disturbed to find how few school board members know of it.

On still another subject -- what is the best concise defense of the Supreme Court's Brown decision that you know of? I was asked in quite a friendly way in Knoxville: "How can all those previous decisions be wrong and this one be right?" I could handle the question after a fashion in a long, thoughtful discussion, preferably with specific preparation. In this instance my questioner moved to another subject before I got very far any way. But there is a need there.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I would like to have one of the best and most impressive answers to the question for use in such situations. When we have the right one it should be reproduced in multiple copies. I would like to place copies in the hands of friends who are troubled in their own convictions or who need to be fortified in their talk with others.

Regards.

Sincerely

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Read over phone
10-13-59
mga

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

October 12, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I'm afraid that I have failed to find someone who could do your study of literacy tests. I talked to several good graduate students about it; they were enthusiastic about the idea but did not feel that they could do it by February. I suspect that most people you would like to do this for you are already overcommitted.

I've had one idea, however. Why not try Allan Sindler at Duke? His book on Huey Long's Louisiana was good, he knows state politics in the South, and -- since he is new at Duke this year -- may not have collected the extraneous but time consuming duties that burden the rest of us. My other idea I mentioned to you on the phone, I. G. Newton at North Carolina College. He seems to have the ability, time and desire to do research on Negro politics.

Sorry not to be of more help. I'll see you in Gatlinburg -- and so will Maggie. She has definitely decided to come.

Yours,

Donald R. Matthews

DRM:pr

P.S. Will you ask someone to send your new study of Negro voting to me? Also the bill print

October 8, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I would like to follow up on a point we discussed the other night.

Do you think there would be usefulness in a short, objective report designed to show schoolmen and other community leaders what academic problems and results can be expected from desegregation?

The report could be based on two principal sources: 1) the statistical study of Negro and white students and teachers in Atlanta, made by the Educational Testing Service (which has informed me that to its knowledge no similar studies have been made elsewhere); 2) the academic experience of Washington schools since 1954, and, if the data is available, the experience of Baltimore, Louisville and other desegregated systems.

The intent would be to provide a summary of the factual record as a service to Southern localities (and as an erasure of some preconceptions).

If we decide to do this, I would attempt to commission a faculty person to prepare it, and sign it. I wonder if the best presentation would not be as an L Report, though I would suggest it have a different form? A form and length similar to that of the enclosed leaflet might be used (with L Report heading instead of New South, of course); two holes

could be punched to match the top two holes in the conventional L Report. The distribution could be the same, plus others as seemed desirable. Budget allocations between Research and RHF could, I am sure, be easily settled.

Obviously, this would all require an investment of time, effort and money which, though not of great size, should not be expended unless we see a positive, strong value. What do you think?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure

December 22, 1959

TO: HCF
BM
PR

FROM: LWD

This is a vague and inconclusive query about our program over the next few months.

Quite probably we are to be confronted with crises in Atlanta and New Orleans, possibly in Dallas and Houston. It seems to me not too early to be planning what SRC can usefully do, to be forcasting what SRC will probably be asked to do, next Summer. In other words, would it not be wise for us to begin now - in discussions at lunch, in staff meetings, etc. - to try to visualize what the problems of next Summer will be, and to shape now programs to su suit?

As a move toward this, I have tried below to list favorable and unfavorable factors in the Atlanta situation. I by no means think it is a thorough comparison; perhaps we could discuss these, evaluate them, add others that do not occur to me as of this writing. The same sort of thing could be done for New Orleans. Would this give us the basis for charting our program? For example, if I were a leader of HOPE, this comparison would suggest to me that one thing to do would be to work inventively at creating a climate of opinion which would allow the governor, if he wishes, to get off the hook of his campaign promise that there would be no desegregation during his term: the stor of statement which Dr. McClain included in his broadcast sermon last Sunday seems to me a step toward that.

But what does this mean to SRC? I am not very clear.

Favorable Factors in Atlanta Situation as contrasted to Little Rock 1957, 1958; and Virginia 1958	Unfavorable Factors
1. Experience of Little Rock and Virginia	1. State administration (cf. Ark.) committed to closing
2. Confronted by tougher law	2. Stronger rural domination state politics
3. "Keep schools open" group already in existence; strong League of Women Voters	3. Deep South attitudes
4. Both Atlanta papers (in L.R. - 1 of 2; in Richmond - 0 of 2; in Norfolk - 1 of 2)	4. Opposing political factions composed of those more extreme in views - e. g. Griffin (cf. Va.)
5. City administration both pro (cf. Norfolk) and effective (cf. L.R.)	5. Both Atlanta papers committed generally to support Vandiver (cf. L. R.)
6. Able police force (cf. L. R.)	6. Coincidence of Presidential election ? ?
7. Coincidence of Presidential election ? ?	7. Nearer in time to Civil War centennial and emotions it may arouse

#F ✓

TOKEN DESEGREGATION
VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

VIRGINIA	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Alexandria	-	9	9
Arlington	-	4	16
Charlottesville	-	-	12
Norfolk	-	17	22
Warren County	-	21	21
Total		51	80

TENNESSEE			
Nashville	19 registered 11 completed	34 registered 28 completed	41 registered

NORTH CAROLINA			
Charlotte	4 *	4	1
Durham	-	-	6
Greensboro	6	5	6
Goldsboro (Wayne County)	-	1	12
High Point	-	-	2
Havelock (Cherry Point, Craven County)	-	-	17
Winston Salem	1	4	7
Total	11	14	51

* One withdrew after harassment

Total, 3 areas	30 (registered)	~~14~~ 99 (registered)	172 (registered)

for: Jesse O. Thomas

MEMORANDUM February 14, 1961

To: LWD

From: PA

Re: Suggested Budget for 8-State Study of School Facilities.

The following budget has been prepared on the assumption that the Project would run for a period of approximately twelve months; three months to organize the Project, select personnel in the states involved, and secure the cooperation of local citizens in each state; six months for the actual fact-finding and preparation of the report; and, three months for the printing, distribution, and follow-up of the study.

The Project would require a full-time director and a skilled clerical person in the central office and at least one skilled, part-time consultant in each of the eight states.

In order to secure serious interest and cooperation within the states and to insure an adequate use of the results, it might be well to require that local citizens raise a modest amount of the cost involved. This amount might be set at $500 or $1,000 -- and, of course, the amount raised would lower proportionately the total amount to be secured from a single source.

PROPOSED BUDGET
(For 8-State Study of School Facilities)

SALARIES:

Project Director.....	$ 8,500	
Clerical Assistant	4,500	
State Consultants ..... (8 @ $600 ea.)	4,800	$ 17,800
	17,800	

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Office rent, supplies and other expenses	$ 2,400	
Postage, telephone and other communication costs (@ $100 month)	1,400	
Equipment and furniture rental	600	
Travel	4,000	
Miscellaneous and unforeseen expenses	800	$ 9,200
	9,800	

PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESULTS	$18,000	$ 18,000
Total:		$ 45,000

June 14, 1961

LWD & PR JC

MEMO ON STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) met in Louisville, June 9-11, 1961, to discuss program. General impressions are that the students are still having difficulty in organizing into a tight-knit group (although they moved toward this), having difficulty in securing competent staff, and came close to direct tie-ins with one or two adult organisations. Although they did resist direct tie-ins with any adult group, they did approve an indirect relationship with one adult group (details in report below).

Students from various Southern states (not all states represented) presented various reports on student and other desegregation activity in the state. Most of this has been available through newspapers with the exception of the report from Mississippi. A brief recounting of the Mississippi report would be of interest.

Nathaniel Green, of Louisville, a student at Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi, said the students there are

interested in the student movement and the general civil rights program. Green said Rust students had tried repeatedly to establish contacts with SNCC and other groups through the mail but the letters apparently have not reached their destinations. An FBI agent has investigated this matter, but no report as to the outcome has been received. The Rust students are boycotting the Negro section of a white-owned theater in Holly Springs; and according to Green, Negroes made up the largest percentage of the theater's business. Green said the Rust students had some contacts with white students in Mississippi. When Freedom Riders were discussed, Green said many Negro Mississippians were anxious to join in Freedom Ride activity.

SNCC FALL CONFERENCE--The students voted to hold the fall conference (the first held in Atlanta in October, 1960) in Nashville on October 6, 7, 8 or October 13, 14, 15. The group voted to try to organize SNCC into a tighter-knit organization at the fall conference. The Committee will make specific recommendations as to what the guidelines for the organization should be.

Workshops, similar to ones held last year, will again be held. These include non-violent philosophy, employment, organization, voter registration, public facilities, etc.

The main theme of the fall conference will be on the fall action project of employment. The group will concentrate, according to present plans, on the telephone company. Attempts will be made, through letters and personal interviews this summer, to persuade

the telephone company to hire Negroes as linemen, operators, etc. A proposal will be put before the fall conference which will call for telephone patrons to have telephones removed on given day or call operator requesting employment for Negroes or call operator for any information on given day.

Details of the fall conference were to be worked out by Committee composed of Lonnie King, Estelle Wyckoff, Connie Curry, Marion Barry, Ella Baker and Charles McDew.

SUMMER RECREATION PROGRAM--This dealt with recreation facilities of a public nature and the Committee voted to send out request that localities proceed to try to desegregate these facilities through both legal action, or court suits, and direct action, or sit-ins, etc.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT--This concerned a pilot project in Cleveland, Mississippi, where students would work in voter registration. A contact in Cleveland has been made with Amzie Moore, who would help coordinate the project. Due to recruitment and other problems, SNCC was undecided if they could cooperate this summer. It was suggested that names from protest localities be sent to SNCC. These would be persons who might be interested in working in voter registration in Cleveland. Maintenance money would have to be raised for the personnel. The end result was this was left in an indefinite state with Miss Ella Baker and the Atlanta Advisory Group of SNCC to work out details should names be forthcoming.

BUS COMPANY EMPLOYMENT--Action on this project was tabled.

STAFF--Edward B. King, administrative secretary, resigned effective at the time of employment of new secretary. A field secretary, Charles Sherrod of Virginia, was employed. This is a real problem for SNCC as its staff has been weak. I am of the opinion that the addition of Sherrod will not greatly remedy the staff problem with the exception that there will be an additional person and additional work will be possible. However, I do not believe that Sherrod is very much more capable than King.

Also, under staff, Ann Braden of Southern Conference Educational Fund presented a proposal from SCEF in which SCEF would hire a white student to work with white students at white colleges to present the student program. SCEF proposed that SNCC hire and supervise the person with SCEF paying the bill. SNCC first agreed to it; but after off-the-record conferences with other observers, rescinded the action. They agreed to consider accepting a grant from SCEF which would be administered entirely by the students. Ann Braden was to take the matter up with her board. Attached is SCEF proposal.

FREEDOM RIDE--SNCC voted continued support for Freedom Rides and agreed to clarify its role in the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee, which is operated under the auspices of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Nashville student group, SNCC, and CORE.

NEXT SNCC MEETING--The group voted to meet in Baltimore July 14, 15, 16, with a youth lobby concerning Freedom Rides scheduled for Washington on July 17. The idea will be to draw as many students as possible to Washington to attempt to talk with their congressmen.

Attempts also would be made to talk with other liberal conferences. The idea of a breakfast where some liberal congressmen and some students would meet to talk over the situation is being considered.

OTHER BUSINESS--Tim Jenkins tried unsuccessfully to get the students to concentrate on voter registration and, instead of the SNCC fall conference, scheduled a joint meeting with the NAACP Youth Councils concerning voter registration. SNCC voted to continue plans for its own fall conference built around employment and table the question of another fall conference in cooperation with the NAACP and concerning voting until its Baltimore meeting. It was understood that the NAACP would probably underwrite such a conference.

In other financial matters, Tim Jenkins told the group that Harry Belafonte is interested and arrangements are being made for six SNCC representatives to meet with Belafonte and discuss the student program. If Belafonte is impressed, he has indicated he might be able to divert about $50,000 to SNCC.

CONCLUSIONS--While SNCC is still greatly disorganized, it has real potential. I think it is important for someone from the Council to continue attending the meetings, not only for our own information but to offer any advice we might deem helpful. It would also be helpful, in my opinion, if SNCC were invited to join the Southern Interagency Group.

Memo - LWD

August 14, 1962

RHAlexander

LWDunbar

Dottie Miller was given two weeks notice, effective August 15. She has chosen, with my concurrence, not to work beyond that date. She should be paid, therefore, through August 31, 1962 and her Annual Leave is to be figured through that date and compensated for accordingly.

Sept. 5, 1962

JS LWD

Wsh. Post, Robert Baker

This is a standing order: to show me all Washington Post stories by Robert Baker.

October 19, 1962

SB

LWD

Albany publication

1. /The page proofs look good. I have not attempted to proofread.

2. With the introduction, we may get by with 40 pages. If the introduction runs four pages long, I would suggest we direct Dixon to print on the inside back cover rather than go into 44 pages of paper. If the introduction is more than 4 pages long, I suppose we are stuck.

3. Can some mention be made of the arrest of the pickets in Albany last week? I would think it could appropriately be inserted on page 17 where there seems to be sufficient room.

4. Have Jack check the registration figures on page 17 to see if they can be up-dated and are accurate.

5. Should there be a question mark after the section title on page 28?

6. Has Dixon already ordered the cover stock? It seems heavier than needful to me. Is this what he specified?

7. Cover: lettering to read down instead of up
   grey or tan instead of green
   all other lettering together at bottom, e.g. McMillan pamphlet

As soon as

8. Since the proofs go back and the introduction is typed, Maggie should be given a copy of the whole thing to begin work on a press release

December 11, 1962

Staff LWD

Christmas holidays

December 24 as well as Christmas Day will be an office holiday. I request also that supervisors be as permissive as they can be in considering any requests for annual leave on December 26.

February 1, 1963

MET, PA, ML, and SB

LWDunbar

This is to call your attention to page 5 of the minutes of the Annual Meeting where there are listed nine (9) suggestions made from the floor regarding SRC program. No. 7 in that list does not concern any of you, but you should be thinking about the others.

SEA FOAM BOUND

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 28, 1963

To: THE STAFF From: LWD

Subject:

File
gd. Feb 19

Mr. John Wheeler has informed me, by letter, that the following action was taken by the Executive Committee at its meeting last week while in Executive Session:

> "By unanimous vote, the Executive Committee expressed its appreciation to the Executive Director and his entire staff for the excellence with which the program of the Council was carried out during 1962"

PA ✓
RHA ✓
VEP ✓
SB ✓
[redacted]
[redacted]
MM ✓
ML ✓
MG ✓
JS ✓

MEMORANDUM April 16, 1963

To: RHAlexander; cc: PAnthony, SBlackford

From: LWDunbar

Please charge the costs for "PLANS FOR PROGRESS" including author's fee to THE LEADERSHIP PROJECT.

File
Dunbar - Memos

April 23, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

Please remember that we customarily write an annual report for the Leadership Project to submit to RBF when requesting payment of the grant, which we ought to do in late May or soon thereafter. I authorized Brew, when he was here, to get a couple days time at home to write a three-year summary of his work.

4/29/63

WB LWD

The Executive Committee will meet May 21, and I would be appreciative if, at that time, VEP could, among other things, present the statistics on the LeFlore campaign; number of applicants, number of registrations(?), number of workers from the various organizations, number of people receiving instruction, etc., etc. I believe you already are pulling this kind of info. together.

4/29/63

PA

LWD

We should be preparing a plan, which can be from time to time revised if necessary, for the distribution of the ~~&&~~ $12,500 Field extra money for state councils.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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7

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 2, 1963

To: THE STAFF From: LWD

Subject:

Our expanded program and work load has made necessary the re-organization of the staff in order to achieve maximum effectiveness and efficiency. During the last few days I have talked with each one of you who is involved in the changes which will become effective shortly after May 10.

A sincere endeavor has been made to give each of you an assignment, not only in the present interest of the Council, but one which will be satisfying to you.

I ask you now to give your best effort, as you have done in the past, so that the re-organization will work, and the Council's program will be strengthened.

May 3, 1963

ML & PA LWD

Max Hahn has told an Indian visitor to look us up when he comes South, and has asked me to be on the look-out for him. Max was not sure when he would be reaching Atlanta; possibly he will be here while I'm away. He is an Eisenhower Fellow, and his name is NAROTHAN SAHGAL.

File -

May 14, 1963

RHA (cc: Mrs. MET, PA) LWD

Please credit all contributions received from churches and from religious organizations to the Fellowship of the Concerned, beginning January 1, 1963 and throughout the remainder of ~~the~~ this year. This, of course, does not include contributions specifically earmarked, such as the United Church's gift to the Voter Education Project.

6/3/63

VJordan LWDunbar

When you have time, would you please

1. plan and arrange for spot re-painting of office (check with Montez)

2. look into present arrangements for maintenance of typewriters and other office equipment; maintenance should be, I should think, on some regular basis.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
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MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
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Auburn 2-8764

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 5, 1963

To: THE STAFF - SRC From: LWD

Subject:

JJ ✓
NM
LR
BCC ✓
RB ✓
RH ✓
MG ✓
MM ✓
PA ✓
E.C.H. ✓
MA ✓
BP ✓
JH ✓
SB ✓
WL ✓

Representatives of Aetna Life Insurance have been trying very hard to persuade us to adopt their hospital and medical plan instead of Blue Cross-Blue Shield. They have asked for an opportunity to talk with you, and because Aetna has been most cooperative with us recently in regard to straightening out some problems in our group life policy, we have agreed to call a staff meeting at 3:30 p.m., FRIDAY, JUNE 7, at which time Aetna representatives will be here. The situation is this.

SRC and VEP now pay the entire cost of Blue Cross-Blue Shield. I do not think that we can, at this time, add anything substantial to this cost.

The Aetna program would cost more. On the other hand, there are substantially better benefits. I have not studied the matter closely, but it seems to me, on the basis of such study as I have made, that the additional benefits are worthwhile, and fairly cheap.

The only basis on which we can, at this time, adopt the Aetna program would be for employees to contribute the difference in the cost. This is entirely up to you, and I don't even have a recommendation.

You will decide (a) how the question will be decided. That is, whether &&&&& by majority or unanimous vote or what; and then, (b) you will decide whether you want to make the change.

Staff Memo - 2.
June 5, 1963

Ruth Alexander has, in her office, charts prepared by Aetna which show a comparison between their program and that of Blue Cross-Blue Shield.

Wake Tickler

PAnthony, SBlackford, MLong; June 7, 1963
cc: VJordan, HClark

LWDunbar

As you know, we are committed to preparation of a review and evaluation of all program activities. This will have to be completed in time to have it studied by the committee of Board advisers and by the Executive Committee in advance of the next Annual Meeting. We are very late starting.

Henry Clark will be with us during July and August, and possibly a bit of September. Henry's assignment is to help us get this done by being a catalyst and a prod. I expect him to keep us busy at this during the summer.

As a first step, I am asking each of you to prepare, by Henry's arrival, a memorandum which will (a) describe the present program of your office in sufficient detail to give Henry a picture of what you actually do; (b) indicate any disatisfactions and reservations you may have as to the present effectiveness of these programs.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted] GEORGIA
[redacted] 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 11, 1963

To: LWD

From: PA

Subject: Meeting immediate program needs

A few thoughts on the little planning and thinking on new priority programs done during your absence.

(1) In supporting the President's civil rights bill, concern with employment and school drop-outs, etc., we instinctively turn to the state Councils. This to me is an indication and reminder of having these groups far stronger as a grass roots movement. This need, therefore, I begin to put into the "high-priority" category along with those mentioned above.

(2) A memo has been prepared for Josephine Wilkins, at her request, to help in her general planning and as a means of exploring the idea of her working with us. The priority list and the specific work with state Councils has been included in that memo. We have made some progress if she adopts any of these as a major concern. Frankly, I am hopeful she will be interested in some high-powered "lobbying" for the civil rights package during the next six weeks and thereafter will transfer her energies to work with several state Councils (in uniquely promising situations). She could do quite a job for us.

(3) I am somewhat confused about the matter of additional staff and have done little about it; not so much from the confusion but rather from lack of potential candidates. Vernon and I have discussed this matter and agree that selective use of consultants for speical assignments may be more promising. At any rate unless someone comes in unannounced, we have little choice in the immediate future but to stretch ourselves in this way.

(4) To a slight degree I find these new priorities are getting in the way of may own first priority of the pre-September work with the Southern Leadership Program. The same situation exists with some of the state Councils (i.e., Georgia) and I am hesitant about placing too much emphasis on these new programs lest others of equal value and need suffer from the changed emphasis. Some of the state people take our advice very seriously!

(5) This indicates the need of not only selecting states for specific work but communities and local councils within states. For instance, an Atlanta Council program on school drop-outs would be particularly good and not interfere with our hoped-for work in Savannah and elsewhere. This possibility I have discussed with Eliza and will explore further, though there seems to be no great enthusiasm for the idea. I am more hopeful about the idea of the Atlanta Council beginning a meaningful program to reach Weltner.

(6) On the school drop-out problem I have done nothing other than discuss it with Eliza. In time more will be done. Desirably, serious and worthwhile programs will be developed in several cities where their efforts will be given as much help as possible from this office. Also, in mid-August I will discuss with H. Lee the idea of VCHR approaching the Virginia State Department of Education with the proposal of a state wide project using the local Councils in that state. Have no idea what response this suggestion will bring. In September and thereafter, this item will receive more attention.

(7) On employment much--compared to the other needs--is already being done. Every state Council is doing some work of this kind. Virginia has the obvious elaborate program with considerable local Council cooperation. North Carolina and Tennessee are doing good jobs on the state level and with the state governments. Other local Councils, such as Huntsville and Charlottesville,have this as a major program. I think we will be giving serious attention to this need if we encourage the interest which already exists and remain alert to offer special help at times of opportunity.

(8) On supporting the President's civil rights package, as you suggested, the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida will receive our main attention though some effort will be made in the other areas as well. Most of our planning is aimed for the month of August, though some things have already begun.

(a) Vernon's memo summarizing the bills has been sent to each state Council where they will be reproduced and sent to each member with the suggestion that Members of Congress be written. In the case of Tennessee, we ran 700 copies of Vernon's memo and he carried them to Nashville last week. They were sent to all members there.

(b) We will talk to each of these state directors about specific follow-up.

(c) The July newsletter will carry a not-so-subtle reminder of the above which all have agreed to.

(d) Have talked to Florence Robin about serving as a consultant to several of these more promising groups. As you probably know, Florence has been a lobbyist and speech writer for several congressmen including Gore and Javits. I think one or two day stints in places like Nashville with Kay Jones would be very helpful. Have told Florence that if we do this we would try to pay expenses and $40 per day consultant fee. (She will continue to perform with community preparation groups without charge but felt to ask more would be overdoing it.) Would like to discuss this with you as soon as possible.

PA
VJ
What about program?

June 27, 1963

PAnthony & VJordan

LWDunbar

file memos

(1) To recapitulate our Sunday talk, we should develop concrete, flexible, and urgent plans along the following lines for this summer:

(a) In at least some states and cities, plan and carry out a large effort to get human relations council members to register effective support for passage of civil rights legislation (I would rather we did well in some places than to spread ourselves everywhere).

(b) An effort should be made to get human relations members or officers, or the organizations themselves, in some places to adopt and carry out a plan for stimulating employment opportunities.

(c) An intensive, notable, and newsworthy effort in at least one place to combat the problem of school drop-outs.

(2) PA has been asked to plan and lead the above. He should get all the help he requires from VJ, and from any other staff member. I would like for Paul to move immediately toward obtaining new staff help for himself. He may undertake preliminary discussions during my absence, in his own best judgment.

(3) I believe the Fellowship of the Concerned this year, in some clear-cut way, should support the Race and Religion Conference.

done

(4) One of you, as you choose, is to prepare the memorandum on Prince Edward County.

(5) I had lunch with Josephine Wilkins on Tuesday, at her request. She talked with me again about the idea she has brought up several times before of a large program to form and guide discussion groups around the South. I promised Josephine that we would react to her idea this time in some way. I wish PA and/or VJ would find time soon to go over this with Josephine. Is it possible that Josephine's idea could be given a pilot trial in one state? How does Josephine work with Frances? Could Josephine's notion somehow be tied in with our hopes for a membership drive?

(6) As PA knows, I was disappointed that Tennessee felt that it could not undertake a concerted membership drive before fall. I wish we could get these councils to look on a membership drive as a program effort, as a way of spreading the gospel. It is really impractical, in Tennessee, to start something before October? Could we start in some other state?

(7) Vernon Eagle has asked me, and I have asked Vernon Jordan, to come up with some ideas about the helpful use of foundation money for job training and re-training. As I explained to VJ, these do not have to be ideas for SRC. I would like to respond to Vernon Eagle within the next month or so.

done

(8) PA is, if possible, to write Morris Abram.

(9) VJ is to continue his investigations into Atlanta contractor employment. Please instruct the front desk that if calls come from Charles Silberman or his assistant at Fortune (they have been calling regularly) they should be referred to VJ.

- END -

file
"Staff - Lyndhurst
Memos

December 30, 1963

SB; cc: WB

LBD

The VEP should see regularly all clips and other materials related to suffrage and Southern politics. It seems to me that the best way to do this might be for your staff to deliver to VEP every Monday morning all items which were received and categorized the week before. Will you please give the necessary instructions to your staff, and make the necessary arrangements with Wiley for custody and return of the materials?

3/6/64
+
3/16/64

February 6, 1964

VJ - cc: PA, PW, SB, ML LWD

I would like for you, at a very early date, to convene Maggie, Paul, Pat and Staige for the purposes of making <u>definite</u> plans to carry into effect the recommendations of the Program Review and Evaluation.

cked,
3/6/64
+
3/16/64

February 6, 1964

VJ & PA LWD

Will you two please get together and draft a staff recommendation to the Executive Committee for any necessary revision of the Life Fellowship provision of the By-Laws? Keep in mind the possibility that instead of a By-Law change, it might be preferable to adopt a clarifying policy statement.

-:-

MEMORANDUM March 27, 1964

TO: PA, LM, VJ, SB, BP, PW

FROM: LWDunbar

I know how busy all of you are, but we need to move on this publication. We are not going to do it by committee, but I would, nevertheless, like for each of you to read it within the next few days, because our problem is to get a firmer understanding of what kind of publication we want to do.

Some of the material here is not useable, some more is maybe undeserving of immortality. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of material here from which a good publication can be made, after we first decide what kind of publication we will do.

Read this with completely free minds. I do not think we need to feel wedded to the format of "High Cost of Conflict"; i.e., the quotations of other sources. This may or may not be a good idea for this time.

Do we want a publication covering all fronts? Do we want one limited to the questions related to compliance with Title II? Do we want something in between?

Can we agree that as many of us as possible will eat lunch in the conference room Friday, April 6, to thrash this out?

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

File
Dunbar memos
1964

MEMORANDUM June 4, 1964

To: MA; cc: RHA

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

I have drawn from stock two (2) copies of Ten Years of Prelude and sent them out as gifts. One to Mrs. Raymond Wheeler in Charlotte, and one to Mrs. Ralph Quick in Louisville. Both have been sent in acknowledgement of hospitality to me. My travel expenses on trips to Charlotte and Louisville were reduced by two nights lodging and several meals by this hospitality.

- : -

Clearing Office Stamp
FOLDER SCOOT

File
Staff - Lind
memos
1964

MEMORANDUM June 15, 1964

To: RHAlexander
cc: EStanfield

From: LWDunbar

Ed STanfield's salary is at the rate of $7,800 per annum, effective June 1. His title should be Special Assistant.

File: Live Memos

MEMORANDUM July 1, 1964

To: RHA and PA

From: LWD

Under Louis Mittchell's term of employment with the Florida Council, he received one month's vacation per year. During his year with the Florida Council he took no vacation and is, therefore, entitled to terminal pay from the Florida Council in the amount of one-month's pay at his salary of $10,000 per year. As per our arrangement with the Florida Council, we are chargeable with a proportion of this equal to Mitchell's period of service with us.

Please pay to Mitchell the entire amount ($833.33) and charge to OPERATION OPPORTUNITY.

Paul Anthony will inform the Committee (Davidson, Dreger, and Williams) of joint SRC and Florida Council members who have been designated to draw up a financial settlement between SRC and the Florida Council. That Committee should take into ~~an~~ its consideration this action, and should give it due allowance in its recommendations for final financial settlement.

File
Lwd memos

MEMORANDUM July 20, 1964

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

As soon as you settle with the Florida Council, we should be able to close the cost books on "Operation Opportunity," and I would like to do so.

File
Lock Memos
1964

MEMORANDUM July 20, 1964

To: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

Will you please issue a check for $50.00 to the Georgia Council on Human Relations, and charge to "Operation Opportunity." The check should carry the notation that it is for partial compensation for additional travel in connection with "Operation Opportunity."

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

LWD MEMOS

REGARDING:

RE: Summarizing plans for the remaining issues of New South.

DATE

July 24, 1964

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under NEW SOUTH.

File: Lwd - "Memos"

MEMORANDUM July 29, 1964

To: PWatters

From: LWDunbar

Maybe the following points will help in the preparation of the press release:

(1) Negro registration as of April 1, 1964 in the 11 states is an estimated 1,900,000.

(2) This compares with an estimated figure of 1,350,000 when VEP began in the spring of 1962.

(3) VEP programs had resulted in the registration of 551,328 people by March 31, 1964, of whom all but about 50,000 (in Texas) were Negro.

(4) VEP programs are, consequently, chiefly responsible for the two-year increase in total Negro registration, and would have carried the total figure even higher had it not been for voters moving from the region, and for purges that had gone on in some states and localities.

(5) It must also be remembered that VEP, though associated with most of the registration activities going on in the last couple of years, has not been responsible for all of it. There have been some organized drives without VEP sponsorship, and then, of course, there has been some normal day-to-day registration.

(6) It is important to see this two-year gain with some historical perspective in the entire decade between 1952 and 1962. There was a net increase of Negro voters in the South of not more than 350,000.

(7) Since April 1, 1964 Negro registration has clearly passed the 2,000,000 mark, though state by state figures are not yet firm.

File: Land Memos

MEMORANDUM August 4, 1964

to: RHA

from: LWD

I shall be on annual leave from August 7 to August 28, 1964.

File
Civil Memos

MEMORANDUM August 4, 1964

to: RHA & BCC

Ruth,

Les asked me to tell you that he would like for you to buy a large supply of the "Register to Vote" postage stamps -- just out. ~~He&&&&~~ He recommends your putting aside whatever postage stamps you have on hand and use the new stamps until after the November election.

Bernice,

In this same connection, Les asks that if it is not too inconvenient that any mailings going to Mississippi (and this includes everything from first class letters to packages), be stamped by hand so that the new "Register to Vote" stamps can be used on them.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

File: Rev Memos.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

MEMORANDUM September 2, 1964

To: The Staff
(Please initial and return to MMJ)

From: LWD

I wish to recommend to each one of you membership in, and participation in, your state and local Council on Human Relations, whether in Georgia or in your own state.

The Councils on Human Relations do a magnificent job. They also express and represent our outreach into community affairs. They deserve the support of all of us.

VJ SLW
NM
LE
PW
RHA
PA
MM
MT ✓
MP
VK
BC
HB

File
Cust. Memos

MEMORANDUM September 2, 1964

To: MET, RHA, PA, ML, PW, VJ, WB, LE

From: LWD

This request should have been sent to you earlier, but all things right now are behind.

If you have any suggestions of names to be put before the Nominating Committee for Council membership, please get them to Mildred Johnson as soon as possible, and not later than the early part of next week.

File
LWD: Memos

MEMORANDUM October 14, 1964

To: PA

From: LWD

I talked with Ernie Lent at the NAIRO meeting both about himself and about the Jacksonville Council. I cannot help but be filled with forbodings, which I hope prove unwarranted, as to the possibility of another messy situation between a local and a state Council after Ernie's departure. I suggest that as soon as possible after your return you look into the situation closely.

- 30 -

October 16, 1964

MEMO TO: RHA

FROM : LWD

RE : Telephone Calls

Please give me the charges on the following telephone calls when they come in:

New York City - - - - Swarthmore, Penn. - Oct. 7, 1964

Swarthmore, Penn. ---- Washington, D. C. - Oct. 15, 1964.

Thank you.

October 16, 1964

MEMO TO: MA

FROM : LWD

RE : Mailing list (research)

Please add the following names to our research mailing list (complimentary) and also complimentary subscriptions to New South:

Mr. Robert Talbott
4512 Wilmslow Road
Baltimore 10, Maryland

Please make sure, however, that he is not already on the mailing list at some other address.

Please send in an initial mailing of the following:

New South - - - - - - - - - January, 1964
The Annealing of the South - Leslie W. Dunbar
The Exposed Nerve - - - - - - Leslie W. Dunbar
New South - - - - - - - - - Sept., 1963
New South - - - - - - - - - March, 1964
New South - - - - - - - - - Oct., Nove, 1963
One Hundred Years Later
Bob Coles Pamphlet
Charlottes- - - - - - - - - Pat Watters

Thank you.

MEMORANDUM October 20, 1964

To: RHA

From: LWDunbar

Please add the $3,000 received from the Aaron E. Norman Fund to the Special Fund for Educational Projects, and charge the disbursement of $1,000 to the Southern Consumers' Cooperative to that project.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

File SRC

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 26, 1964

MEMO TO: SRC STAFF and VEP STAFF

FROM : LWD

There will be a staff meeting Tuesday morning at 9:15 on October 27, 1964.

It is requested that you be on time.

Please initial and pass along as quickly as possible.

Thank you.

SR ✓
BP ✓
SLW ✓
RHA ✓
NM ✓ L.J.E.
JS ✓
PW ✓
MM ✓ VJ ✓
LK ✓
RH ✓
BC ✓
MP ✓
BJ
JM ✓
JV ✓
BSM ✓

N.G.D.
jet
J.D. (out of city)
MA

October 26, 1964

MEMO TO: RHA

FROM : LWD

Would you please make a check out to the Southern Student Organizing Committee for $2040.

This contribution is made possible by a grant to us from the Aaron E. Norman Fund.

Thank you.

ck no. 3873

November 12, 1964

Memo To: RHA

FROM : LWD

Effective November 1, 1964, Pat Watters salary is increased to $10,500. This has been approved by all members of the Personnel Committee.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 17, 1964

MEMO TO: PA, VJ, AU, PW, ML, LE, and MET

FROM : LWD

For the remaining weeks of 1964 there is to be no further travel without my special authorization. For those trips you have already discussed with me, please see me again.

You are also asked to be extremely sparing for the rest of 1964 in the use of long distance telephone calls.

Thank you.

November 17, 1964

MEMO TO: James Mackay

FROM : Leslie W. Dunbar

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is primarily an affirmation of dignity. This is very important, but to a large extent the importance is symbolic. The Act represents a registering of the national will by the only body -- Congress -- which is representative enough to be able to speak the nation's will. So the Act is historic. But, it will have very little direct effect on the basic problems of Negro Americans.

As I see it there are two problems more basic and more troublesome than any others.

(1) Although some tremendous gains have been made in race relations and civil rights the last 15 to 20 years, proving that the American system can produce and accommodate change, one part of the system has not helped much and it is a crucial part: the economy. There has been only minimal narrowing of the economic gaps between white and Negro Americans since World War II and none at all since the Korean War. I am not an economist but it seems to me that we have need to reappraise some of our economic theory. We have thought that the central economic responsibility of the government is to take care that a satisfactory rate of growth is maintained. Economists seem generally agreed that the rate of growth for the last few years has been a healthy one. Yet, what we are seeing in our economy is that there are large pockets of population where people seemingly do not benefit from the generally good growth rate. These people of course are not all Negro; in fact, most of them are white. But a very large

percentage of the Negroes fall within these pockets. I do not think there is much realistic chance for improvement in Negro status in any fields, such as housing, employment, education, until these pockets of people are hitched on to the national economy so that their conditions improve as the economy itself grows, and not only improve but steadily catch up. Or, in better words, that such poverty as we may in the future have in this country be diversified, and not an attribute of race, geography, etc. There is a big problem here, of course, as to what is cause and what is effect. But I would, nevertheless, say that the basic problem is the integration of all Americans into the economy, to the point where the economy has a need for everybody.

(2) Prejudice. This may seem almost old-fashioned to say. I have not yet got over the idea, even if everyone else has, that an awful lot of educating has to be done. The basic decisions in race relations are really decisions about what kind of country Americans want this to be. These decisions are going to be made not by the White House, or by you, or by Martin Luther King. They are going to be made by millions of home-owners, trade-unionists, church-goers, parents of school children, etc. who will be called on to say whether they wish to pay a premium to live with, worship with, go to school with only people like their selves. One of my nightmares is an America which becomes evermore made up of socially insulated groups. When I see private school enrollment going up disproportionately, municipal swimming pools closing down, restaurants converting into private clubs, etc. I get mighty worried, not about Negroes, but about white people. It is this kind of narrowing of the public sector of our lives, which if it continues, will keep Goldwaterism (and Pickettism) a live force.

The South has never been able to solve its problems, except to the point that it has been able to clear its head and its talk of the old battle cries; states rights, constitutional government, southern way of life, "The South," judicial tyranny, etc. A bad thing is that sometime the South has had a point, which the rest of the country could not properly hear because of the way we shouted, e.g., "constitutional government." Nor do I have to tell you how it is possible, even in a gathering of intelligent white Southerners, to wreck all possibilities of rational discourse by someone's telling a colored joke. Then of course, there are the poisonous epithets and stereotypes.

Another block to rational consideration of our problem is the way the North talks about "The South." What is, of course, important in both the North and the South is the understanding of the variety of the South. Sometimes in reading American history it almost seems as if the opinion leaders of both the North and South have been in conspiracy to force the South to regard itself as a single monolithic region.

How can we ever solve our school problems when we talk about them in terms of segregation, integration, desegregation, etc. This kind of language leads us on to futility. Public schools of Washington, D. C. are largely segregated; they can't be anything else when better than 80% of the enrollment is Negro. Manhattan is not far different. We have, in some way, got to approach our school problems, not in these terms, but in the terms of how best to educate our children. Here, in the past, Americans frequently have tended to think that one of the requirements for a good education for their children was a school which kept out all kids who didn't "fit in" and weren't "nice." I believe that a good education for all children requires a school which opens their social experiences. But the point of view has got to be educational. When the Atlanta school board says that it can not do something because the court has not yet told it to do so, this is sickening. It is almost as bad to see the New York school board write and re-write its policies after being visited and pressured by Negro and white groups.

What, after all, is a "Negro?" And isn't this the biggest of all semantic blocks to intelligent thinking? Some place far back in my wife's ancestry an Indian apparently entered in. Is she an Indian? This whole thing is ridiculous.

Who, for that matter, are the "poor?" I realize that the government has to have some kind of index, and so do the rest of us. And I realize that it may not be of any great consequence to most people; but I came out of the hills of West Virginia and there are a lot of proud people there (still, I hope), and it is cruel to break their already slipping hold on their pride by labeling them all, indiscriminately, the poor, and by rushing about to do them good.

No word currently plagues our vocabulary more than the word "extremist." I suppose that, logically, there are extremes for any question. Actually, most questions in the U. S. are discussed within a rather narrow framework of alternatives. The real danger of Goldwater was the threat that the framework of alternatives would be greatly expanded, so that we would truly have a conflict of extremes. I suppose that if we approach problems from the springboard of race we shall not avoid extremists, though the fact is that the record shows (so far) that these have chiefly been all on one side. If we approach our problems from other springboards, perhaps we can avoid this. If our question is how to give our children the best education, or how to make use of the talents of each person, or how best to make each person self-sustaining, etc.

Finally, anybody who starts out calling old people "senior citizens," or poor people."underprivileged," kids from bad neighborhoods "culturally deprived," etc. already has at least one strike against him in trying to think clearly.

November 24, 1964

MEMO TO: Vernon Jordan

FROM : Leslie Dunbar

Please add at once to the Board list the eleven new members. (Remember that Jim Silver is until Spring at Notre Dame.)

Please make sure that Ben Muse has been added.

Please make sure that these same persons are deleted from any other mailing lists they may be on.

Please remove at once from the Board list Brunini, Carter, Crate, Crossman.

Please make sure that Crockett and Proctor have been deleted.

Please add Carter, McGill, Weatherford, Terry, Wesley, and Waring to Life Fellows list (or is that same as Board list?)

No new Board list should be typed as yet.

Please let me know what our stock of letterheads is.

You and Ruth, in ordering new letterheads in the future, should recall that Vice-Presidents will probably change each year. Consequently, we should try to order only enough to get us by the first of each year.

November 25, 1964

MEMO TO: John H. Wheeler
Raymond M. Wheeler
Marion A. Wright
Mat Welch

FROM : Leslie W. Dunbar

As agreed, I have re-drafted the resolution approved in principle by the Council and herewith forward it for your study and revision.

Practically speaking, the key section is the last two paragraphs. By the phrase "as he sees best," I intend that he be free to keep this resolution in his pocket if he wants or, alternatively, to leave it on many desks if he wants.

Whatever drafting skill I may sometime possess, I did not have it this time. Rather than hold it up until the muse favors me, I send it out now for your merciless revisions. If you would care to talk among yourselves, the calls may certainly be charged to SRC. I shall await your letters or calls, and suggest that they be submitted as soon as possible: the President might send up an appointment at any time.

Because I greatly value the advice of Paul Johnston I asked him to review this draft also. I am sure that all of you on the committee will approve.

All good wishes.

cc: Paul Johnston

November 25, 1964

MEMO TO: ~~Wofford Smith~~ Duncan Gray
Reese Cleghorn
Pat Watters

FROM : Leslie W. Dunbar

Here are questions we would like to have guide your reports. I know what a staggering lot of work they represent, and therfore hardly expect that you can cover all of them adequately.

As I have said, we want a confidential memorandum from each of you, analyzing and evaluating the summer program, its follow-up, its plans, and its prospects. These questions, while suggesting points we are interested in, should not bind you nor should they blind you to other aspects which they do not cover.

In the margin, I have set initials by each question. This means only that we would like that person to make sure that his memorandum covers that point. It does not preclude the other two from writing on the same point. I hope strongly that each of you will have something to report and to say on many of the questions. Vaguely, I count on Wofford for effects on Mississippians, on Reese for the stuff about organizational politics, and on Pat for close-up views of the COFO program out in the field.

Length, detail, personal opinions - all are virtues.

DEADLINE: mid-January?

If there are questions of who does what or any other questions that need coordinating, let Pat decide them. Requisition expenses as needed from him or me. And, of course, we want to do this job as quietly and discreetly as possible.

MEMORANDUM - 2.
November 25, 1964

WS 1. General effect of summer and later program on white Mississippi. In addition to over-all impressions, you might discuss effects (if that is the right word) on elements of white Mississippi, such as press, church, business men. And, of course, the direct or indirect effects on the state government, and on state and local law enforcement.

WS 2. In discussing #1, would help to talk not only about the summer program in general, but its specific parts: SNCC, CORE, various lawyer groups, National Council of Churches, the Wednesday women, the summer students as distinguished from the SNCC pros, etc.

WS 3. Effects on Negro Mississippi.

PW 4. What is the validity of the SNCC grass-roots approach? Its feasibility (assuming a modest flow of money to be available).

WS 5. Does the COFO program help create or does it inhibit the opportunities for moderate or liberal opinions to develop in Mississippi and be of influence?

WS 6. Effect of COFO program on Citizen Council, Klan, APWR, etc.

WS 7. What impression do you have as to the probable stamina of the COFO operation (assuming again a modest flow of money)? Will they keep at it, and at what pace?

RC 8. Observations (that's a more exacting word than "impressions") about the quality of leadership of: COFO; SNCC; CORE; Lawyers' Committee; Legal Defense Fund; National Council of Churches; Wednesday women; Lawyers Guild. About quality of staff, supporters, etc. Does SCEF have a role? For that matter, does SCLC?

RC 9. What about relationships among groups?

RC 10. What about left-wing influences? (Interpret word "left-wing" broadly, but make clear your meaning).

WS 11. How much actual influence did Mississippi Negro leadership have (and has) on program? (Who's a "leader"? Henry, Miss Hamer, R. L. T. Smith, Ever, Jack Young?)

RC 12. What is role and attitude of NAACP re-program?

WS 13. Talk about the Freedom Democratic party. Influence, who controls or leads it, impact.

MEMORANDUM - 3.
November 25, 1964

PW 14. Evaluate the Freedom Schools and the Community Centers.

RC 15. Sepcifically, would like to know a bit about present role and importance of following: Henry, Moses, Jim Foreman, Ella Baker, Jack Minnis, Kunstler.

WS RC PW 16. If possible, reactions to any of these questions would be welcome from all or any of the following you might be able to interview: Duncan Gray, Dan Beittell, Aaron Henry, Jim Silver, Gordon Henderson, Mary Ann Henderson, William Winter, Hodding Carter III, Claire Collins Harvey, Jack Young, Father Law, Rabbi Nusbaum, John Herbers, Bill Minor, Howard Zinn, Ed King, Jack Reed.

WS RE PW 17. In talking with SNCC and other COFO people, you may pick up information about projects in planning or in prospect. Please note these, purposes they are to serve, and any descriptive information.

November 30, 1964

MEMO TO: VJ

FROM : LWD

May I please have before the end of the year a concise written report, indicating steps taken to implement each recommendation in the "Clark" report?

November 30, 1964

MEMO TO: VG, PA, JS

FROM : LWD

May I please have before the end of the year a written report on the change-over of New-South subscriptions with state council members?

December 4, 1964

MEMO TO: RHA

FROM : LWD

Please despoit the check from the American Study Foundation of $1,000 to the account of the VEP.

Please transfer the 1963 disbursement of $1200 by the Registration and Voting Survey Project to the VEP by crediting VEP funds to the RVSP. This will bring the balance of RVSP to $1552.92 according to my figures.

cc: Wiley Branton

LWD Memos

December 10, 1964

MEMO TO: RHA
FROM : LWD

I entered a subscription for the Council to the Journal of Politics: price $5.00. Paid by me in cash.

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 14, 1964

To: STAFF From: LWD

Subject: Christmas Eve

Christmas Eve will be an office holiday.

cc: John H. Wheeler
Raymond M. Wheeler

****

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Telephone 524-7764

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 17, 1964

To: STAFF From: LWD

Subject:

1. All staff who travel are asked to have any outstanding expense accounts settled before December 31. Although VEP does not operate on a calendar fiscal year, its books are audited as of the year-end; consequently, VEP staff should also have all expense accounts in.

2. All staff are asked to report to Ruth Alexander or Janet Smith before December 31 any annual or sick leave not already reported.

3. As late as 9:20 A.M. today (Dec. 17), this office was nearly empty. Office hours are 9:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M., and all of us are expected to observe them. Occasional late arrival or early departure has never been objected to or even noticed at SRC. For health and family reasons we have also encouraged one or two employees to work irregular hours. But an empty office at 9:15 is a shock!

LLW ✓ JBM ✓ JV ✓ W.G.B. DL NM JE BM RHA JV ✓ M.E.J. R.H. ✓ MP ✓ LK ✓ BCC ✓ MM ✓ MLV ✓

File
LWD memos - 1964

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Leslie W. Dunbar

REGARDING:

His memorandum of December 17, 1964 - prepared for submittal to Vice-President Hubert Humphrey

DATE
December 17, 1964

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder under U.S.GOVERNMENT and marked "Executive Branch"

December 23, 1964

JS LWD

According to Sandra's account, my bill for stamps is $4.85. Please deduct this amount from travel expenses due on expense account of 12/23/64.

January 14, 1965

RHA LWD

In late 1964 we granted $2040 to SSOC from the Contingency fund; $40.00 of this amount was for travel reimbursement.

The travel expense should not be changed to Contingency. Please transfer the $40.00 charge from there to general operations travel.

February 16, 1965

RHA LWD

Per attached letter from Lionel Newsom, please pay him as follows and charge it to the Southern Teaching Project:

Travel Expense -- 1443 miles at 8¢
per mile -- $137.80

Honorarium -- $150.00

February 16, 1965

RHA

LWD

Please issue a check to Reese Cleghorn for $500.00 as honorarium. Please charge to the Mississippi Project.

file
LWD
Memos

February 24, 1965

RHA LWD

Please set up on our books for 1964 a project titled "Second Special Fund for Educational Projects" Assign to it the Norman grant of $300 and the two disbursements made under it. Set up this same project for 1965. You will shortly have a Taconic grant and some expenditures to charge against it.

March 17, 1965

VEJ LWD

I would like for you to look into these things personally. I seem to recall that we have had other recent complaints like these. Is the problem merely that we haven't been sending any publications out lately? Or have these people fallen off our mailing lists? Please see what has happened, and see to it that Meier and Vaner Zanden get replies. I see no reason why Meier can't pay for New South.

Enclosures - 2.

Letters from Mr. Meier and Mr. Vander Zanden

March 22, 1965

Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn

Leslie W. Dunbar

The attached is a suggestion of how I think the book might be organized. Obviously, this is and can be not more than an indication of how it might be done. How it will be done will need your thought.

Enclosure

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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Auburn 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 1, 1965

To: STAFF From: LWDunbar

Subject:

File Staff-wide Memos 1965

It may be that we shall receive inquiries from the Un-American Activities Committee regarding its investigation of ~~a plan~~ the Klan(?) and other matters. If so, please refer any inquiries we may receive, whether written or oral, to me.

File
Cook memos.

MEMORANDUM
CONFIDENTIAL!

April 6, 1965

To: RHA

From: LWDunbar

Please do not put through salary raises for the following people until further notice from me:

Bernice Cook

Ruth Howard

Mattie Patterson

File
Staff - Rev & Memos
1965

MEMORANDUM April 26, 1965

To: RHAlexander; cc: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

I would like to have the $16,000 received from the Field Foundation April 20 invested or put in savings. This money is for the Mississippi Council during 1966 and 1967. We shall need $8,000 of it the first of 1966, and $8,000 the first of 1967.

-:-

File - Staff - L.W.D. - Memoranda. 1965

MEMORANDUM April 28, 1965

To: RHAlexander; cc: MLong

From: LWDunbar

Please set up your records so that each year, beginning with 1965, we can show the cost of New South printing, postage, and fees separately for issues dated that year and issues dated the year before.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

MEMORANDUM April 30, 1965

To: THE STAFF

From: LWDunbar

During the first three (3) months of 1965 our telephone bill was too high. PLEASE BE RESTRAINED!

File
Staff - Lwd Memos, 1965

Fire - Staff - Luncheon Memos, 1965

MEMORANDUM April 30, 1965

To: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

Ruth,

Please issue a check in the amount of $15.00 for entertainment - in honor of VJordan, SRusche, and WBranton who will be leaving the Council.

file
LWD - Memos
1965

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

May 3, 1965

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

Will you please transmit a copy of my annual report, with insert, to each church contributor with an appropriate note suggesting that we shall be grateful for their continued support.

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible] 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

See Staff Memos 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

May 26, 1965

TO: THE STAFF

FROM: LWD

RE : HOLIDAY !!!!!!!

Please be advised that Monday, May 31, is to be observed by the Council as a HOLIDAY.

file
Dunbar - Memos
1965

June 18, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

I charged three (3) personal calls from Bradley Beach, New Jersey to my SRC credit card. Please inform me of the charges when they come in. The three calls were made to South Hadley, Mass., New York, and Washington.

file
Lud Memos - 1965
Cr. ref. field Fd.
re: distribution of
$50,000 Grant

June 24, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Ruth House Alexander

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

The Field Foundation check for $50,000 received June 18 should be invested. We shall need to have half of it about this time next year and the remainder about this time 1967.

js

File - Staff
LWD - Memos, 1965

MEMORANDUM June 29, 1965

To: Staff

From: LWDunbar

Re: Encounter...

I would like for Mattie Anderson to keep a list of all quantity orders (ten (10) or more copies) of Encounter... Anyone who fills such an order, please notify Mattie of the recipient and the quantity. To begin with, I have filled two (2) requests:

10 copies to James Silver, Mississippi

12 copies to Dr. C. H. Parrish, Louisville, Ky. (C.H. will carry his copies with him to South Africa.)

file
LWD - Memos, 1965

MEMORANDUM July 2, 1965

To: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

Ruth,

Please put into the mails today a check in the amount of $20.00 to the following:

"The Atlanta Secretarial League"

Mail check to:

Mrs. Mary P. Harmon
210 Hermer Circle, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

NOTE: The above $20.00 is to cover cost of SRC ad which appeared in the Atlanta Secretarial League program on "National Secretaries Day", April 1965.

Charge to: "Miscellaneous"

file
LWD - memos - 1965
Cx. of Field Foundation
re: When equal installments will be needed by Sec.

MEMORANDUM July 14, 1965

To: RHAlexander

From: LWDunbar

The $75,000 received, by letter of July 6, from the Field Foundation should be invested. We shall need $25,000 of it early in 1966; $25,000 early in 1967; and, $25,000 early in 1968. You should check, however, with Paul Anthony later this year regarding further handling, and I suggest that you make a notation on your calendar to do so some time in December.

File
Staff - LWD Memos

MEMORANDUM July 15, 1965

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

We now have a fair bit of advance appropriations invested. It might be a good idea for you sometime to go over the figures with Ruth, and perhaps review the status of the investments with the Finance Committee. s

- : -

file - Lib. Memos

July 15, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Samuel Adams

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Ordering books for the library is a continuing chore that does not take much time, but does require constant attention and intelligent selection. We have not had this chore organized systematically; perhaps you can do so.

As I understand it, it has worked something like this: Members of the staff request books for order through Nobbie; Nobbie places the order; when the books are received, Bernice Morrison catalogs them. I previously have done much, maybe most, of the selecting. You should have this responsibility instead of me.

Nobbie usually orders directly from the publisher. In years past, we used to place our orders through Rich's, and that involved a little less letter and check writing, and you might want to discuss the pros and cons involved and consider placing orders either through Rich's or some other local book store.

There should be a better arrangement than now exists between the library and Maggie Long. Maggie receives a number of books for review and, unless these books are actually reviewed in New South, they should go to the library and SRC could save the expense of buying them.

Our library should be a "selection" and not a "collection." We tend to order everything about southern race relations; most things about the South, especially politics and economy, and most things about race relations generally unless they are such that they are of no obvious interest to anyone except social scientists.

Labor file
Cr. LWD Memos 1965
Cr. ref NILE - Labor

MEMORANDUM July 16, 1965

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

These are my thoughts on Joe Mire's letter to you of July 12. I think his letter requires utmore care and response.

The arrangement for Emory to direct the Athens program seems to me good. I would suggest, however, that you make clear in your response that the $1,500 payment from NILE comes to us regardless of whether we go into the Disadvantaged Unionists Project. In fact, you may wish to consider whether this $1,500 should not more appropriately go into the budget of the Human Relations Project.

I recommend that you not undertake any commitment to the Disadvantaged Unionists Project which exceeds, by one penny, the amount of money which NILE can pay to us. I think it would be endless trouble for us to have to have any fund-raising responsibility here. I think it would be just as bad for us to undertake a project expecting Joe to raise the balance of the budget. I believe that our role here should be that of a contractor: Joe should tell us how much money he can make available to us, and we should tell him how much program we can give him for that amount of money.

On the other hand, over one-half of the budget for the Disadvantaged Unionists Project is for the salary of the project director. Obviously, there should be an opportunity here for economy, because Emory will be directing the Human Relations Project.

Please tell Joe for Pete's sake stop fretting about the Human Relations Project. The grant is made; at least so far as he needs to be concerned, it is made for at least one year of full operation. Tell him to get what he can get out of Johnson's Wax, and leave the rest to us. There is no reason why he cannot now write to Johnson and tell them that Taconic granted one-half the funds for at least two years. I would suggest that you clear this one up with Joe now, even if you want to postpone full response tohhis letter until you give it further thought, or confer with Emory.

File
Lwd - Memos

MEMORANDUM July 28, 1965

To: JSmith

From: ~~BHA~~ LWDunbar

The attached check from the Field Foundation covers in full expenses for my trip to New York the week of July 19, including flight checks, Biltmore Hotel charge and Diners' Club and American Express charges, all as shown on my expense account.

The Foundation requests for its records copies of the flight checks when they are returned. Can you and Ruth please make a note to watch for these.

file
Lind - memos - 1965

MEMORANDUM August 2, 1965

To: PAnthony

From: LWDunbar

Ray Wheeler cannot make the Executive Committee meeting of September 10. Will you and Mildred please decide what to do; that is, whether to meet without him, or to try to set a new date. There might be something to be said for posponing this meeting until after Ford has acted on our proposal, but I don't know when that will be exactly.

Lw-d-Thermos

MEMORANDUM September 1, 1965

To: SAdams

From: LWDunbar

I noticed your letter to the unsuccessful bidders for the Coles pamphlet. This is a good idea. It should be standard practice also, and more important perhaps, to write a letter to the printer doing the job in which you make all of the conditions and specifications a matter of record. Mildred can show you samples of old letters of this kind.

Lind Memos - 1965

MEMORANDUM **September 3, 1965**

To: SA; cc: ML

From: LWD

You might add to your list of future projects a revised and up-dated report on private schools. See NEW SOUTH, APRIL 1964, and an old Special Report, ~~&&sanctuaries&&~~ "Sanctuaries of Tradition."

File - Lud Thomas, 1965

MEMORANDUM September 22, 1965

To: RHA

From: LWD

Please transfer $14,000 from the VEP account to General Operations. This transfer has the approval of Stern, Taconic, and Field. Paul Anthony can supply the auditors with verifications if they are required.

To: HCF
FBR
MET
JH II
CHP
JC
PA
RHA

From: LWD

This memo is to inform you of the procedure now followed by the Research staff in selecting items to be clipped from periodicals. We believe that these procedures will provide usable, comprehensive files and will also permit an efficient utilization of our time.

I. The following periodicals will be clipped systematically, i. e. will be examined throughout by the Research staff and all items of interest to SRC will be clipped:

The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal & Constitution (Sunday)
The New York Times
Time Magazine
U. S. News and World Report

Our basic clipping file will, therefore, be built up from these sources.

II. The following periodicals will be examined by the Research staff, and clipped for -

a. Editorial and columnist comment
b. Stories not reported in the first group of publications
c. Stories reported with noteworthy differences of treatment or of length

The Atlanta Daily World
The Atlanta Journal
Arkansas Gazette
The Chattanooga Times
Norfolk Journal & Guide
The Washington Post & Times-Herald

III. The following periodicals will be examined by the Research staff. The periodicals marked with an asterisk will not be clipped; inserts for the files will be made noting items of interest and the periodicals kept in SRC's permanent collection. Those unmarked will be clipped, and the clipped issues kept for a year and then discarded.

*The Augusta Courier
*The Carolina Israelite
*The Citizen's Council
*Community
*NAACP Newsletter
*The Petal Paper
*The Southern Patriot
*Southern School News
The Christian Century
*Interracial Review
The Nation
The New Leader
The New Republic
The Presbyterian Outlook
Progressive
*Southern Newsletter
*Crisis

IV. The following periodicals will not be examined by the Research staff; only as requested by other staff members will items be clipped for the files:

The Black Dispatch
Los Angeles Tribune
The National Guardian
The Open Forum
The Sun Reporter
All the trade-union papers received

V. The learned journals received by SRC will not be clipped and items in them will not be cross-referenced in the files. Indices will be copied annually and filed. The journals will be retained permanently. These are:

The Journal of Negro Education
Phylon
Race Relations Law Reporter

The periodicals listed in this memo include all which SRC is now receiving. As in the past, changes (either additions or deletions) will be made in the list from time to time. I would be most grateful for suggestions from any member of the staff as to periodicals to which we should subscribe or which we should discontinue.

File "Staff-Level Memos"

Dabbs - get off letter to Mrs Kennedy
LWD will write to Johnson & Bob Kennedy

1. Should be Executive Committee meeting as soon as possible, probably early December. John Wheeler is okay for Dec. 2, 7, 9, 11. Staff reaction to these?

2. Jordan & Mildred phone each -- beginning with Dabbs -- and check dates. Pick best and send wires.

3. Pick several possible January dates for Annual Meeting. VJ & MJ check these with Executive Committee by phone at same time. Set date and write notices to members. See #5 and #7 also.

4. Executive Committee agenda include: budget, tax problem, public statement, life fellowship clarification.

5. Wire state directors to ascertain January dates which would be inappropriate for our Annual Meeting. PA do.

6. Annual Meeting program as planned.

7. Annual Meeting date should also be cleard with Jimmy Stewart.

8. For accouunting purposes, RHA should debit after the Executive Committee meeting of December a reserve equal to the difference between the budgeted amount for 1963 Executive Committee and Annual Meetings and the amount actually spent. This can be used to help defray 1964 costs.

9. RHA prepare for LWD eleven month 1963 expenditures and income figures for use at Executive Committee meeting. Prepare 12-month unaudited figures before Annual Meeting, and re-stencil that page of 1964 budget.

10. PA decide on an equal sum for all, not to exceed $1,000, and send to State Councils first of year, informing them that this will do until Annual Meeting approves schedule.

11. Hold Executive Committee meeting in January at time of Annual Meeting. Ought to be little business to transact except salaries.

12. The VEP statistical report should be released as soon as it can be completed.

13. LWD finish up Nominating Committee report.

14. ML and PW start now to plan and prepare February New South. Historical issue will be January, but this cannot be printed until after Annual Meeting. This is crazy, but so be it. On the other hand, if Executive Committee throws out idea

NPH meet-?

what Jan dates are incorrect?

Jan 29 25 out 47 28?

Expense accounts

Wilkins?

of public statement, historical issue can go to printer earlier.

15. LWD write his annual report before Annual Meeting if at all possible.

16. LWD plan December trip to New York re funds for 1964 and beyond. This will need to be followed by another trip in February or March.

MLK Papers Project

Some Suggested Recipients
of RBF publications and
other materials

Although the distribution of RBF publications, releases etc. should certainly be specially planned for each item, the following might well be considered in drawing up each distribution list:

Newspapers

Christian Science Monitor
New York Times
New York Herald Tribune
Wall Street Journal
Baltimore Sun
Washington Post and Time Herald
Southern state newspapers, at least one in each state, e.g. Richmond Times-Dispatch, Charlotte Observer, Columbia State, Atlanta Constitution
Southern School News

Trade periodicals

Manufacturers' Record

Magazines

Time
Newsweek
U.S. News and World Report
Business Week

Organizations

All state Chambers of Commerce
Chamber of Commerce of principal cities
All chapters League of Women Voters in the South
Human Relations Councils
Municipal associations (for a complete list with addresses see the Municipal Yearbook)
Leading colleges of business administration (for a complete list see the College and Private School Directory of the U.S. - "the Yellow Book")

Officers and Officials

Research Departments, Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta, Richmond, St. Louis, Kansas City, Dallas.

Officers and Officials (continued)

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Atlanta Office
Mayor or City Manager of principal cities
All state development boards (for a complete list see the appendix of the Book of the States 1956-57 under heading of "Commerce" and heading of "Planning and Development")

Stewart
Lu Harvey
William
Clark

File

Staff
Lunch meeting

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2. Jordan & Mildred phone each -- beginning with Dabbs -- and check dates. Pick best and send wires.

3. Pick several possible January dates for Annual Meeting. VJ & MJ check these with Executive Committee by phone at same time. Set date and write notices to members. See #5 and #7 also.

4, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31

4. Executive Committee agenda include: budget, tax problem, public statement, life fellowship clarification.

5. Wire state directors to ascertain January dates which would be inappropriate for our Annual Meeting. PA do.

6. Annual Meeting program as planned.

7. Annual Meeting date should also be cleard with Jimmy Stewart.

8. For accouunting purposes, RHA should debit after the Executive Committee meeting of December a reserve equal to the difference between the budgeted amount for 1963 Executive Committee and Annual Meetings and the amount actually spent. This can be used to help defray 1964 costs.

RHA Council 11/26/63

RHA - pls note & return to me

9. RHA prepare for LWD eleven month 1963 expenditures and income figures for use at Executive Committee meeting. Prepare 12-month unaudited figures before Annual Meeting, and re-stencil that page of 1964 budget.

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ML

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LWD

file

December 12, 1960

Mr. R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor
The Negro Educational Review
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

We shall be glad to participate in the special issue on the sit-ins which you are planning.

While I should be happy to contribute an article myself, the member of our staff who is best fitted to do the job you want is Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, our director of research. Dr. Dunbar has agreed to have a manuscript for you by March 10.

I wonder if you have seen the Southern Regional Council's various reports and case studies on the sit-in movement. If not, I shall be glad to send them to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Negro Educational Review
Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

December 3, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the past decade The Negro Educational Review has sought to present (1) scholarly articles and research reports, (2) competent analyses and descriptions of current problems, and (3) significant compilations. Hence, it seems iminently fitting and proper that The Review now seek to contribute to an intelligent understanding of the facts and implications of the recent "sit-in" activities of American students.

We are inviting you to participate in this worthy understanding by preparing, or assigning someone on your staff to prepare, a manuscript — not more than 3000 words in length — analyzing the "Impact of the Sit-In Movement on New Legislation" for inclusion in our April, 1961 issue. (1) To what extent have municipal and/or state legislatures passed legislation designed (overtly or covertly) to cope with the "sit-in" activities of students? (2) What is the nature and scope of these new laws? (3) What are the findings when one compares and contrasts these statutes? (4) Is there any correlation between the type, severity, and so forth of the new laws and geographical location, general attitude of the governor, mayor, and/or other leaders, and so forth? Obviously, these questions have been posed merely to indicate some possible approaches to the subject. You are free to approach and develop the topic in whatever manner you deem most appropriate.

Please consider this matter carefully and let us hear from you regarding it at your earliest convenience. We certainly hope that you will be kind enough to "squeeze" this additional chore into your busy schedule. The manuscript should be received in the Office of the Managing Editor on or before March 10, 1961.

Shall we look forward to hearing from you regarding this matter at your earliest convenience? Thank you.

Very truly yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:bg

JC -
not MA

January 18, 1961

Mr. R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor
The Negro Educational Review
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, our reports and studies of the sit-in movement. Unfortunately, we have no more copies of the study by Clarence H. Patrick, chairman, Department of Sociology, on Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

New South? Exchange list

We shall be interested in receiving The Review, and appreciate your putting us on your regular mailing list. Your name will be added to our mailing list to receive all subsequent research mailings.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960
Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy, Price
Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas, Morland
Settling a Sit-in, Westfeldt (Nashville)
Dime Store Demonstrations: Events and Legal Problems of first 60 days, Daniel H. Pollitt
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, McMillan
New South, March 1960, "North Carolina Student Protest"
July-Aug. 1960, "Standing Up For the American Dream"
September 1960, "Student Drive Proves Successful"
October 1960, see bibliography, pp. 13-14
December 1960, "The Jacksonville Story"

The Negro Educational Review
Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

February 3, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please be advised that the special issue of The Negro Educational Review dealing with certain aspects of the recent "sit-in" activities of American students will come off the press in April. Now that committments have been received from contributors, and deadlines established by the Editorial Board, please be kind enough to have your manuscript in the Office of the Managing Editor not later than March 10, 1961. Please adhere strictly to this deadline as advance notices regarding this issue are being sent to outstanding social scientists, public officials, religious-civic and social leaders in the United States and abroad. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:bg

Enclosures 2

HF ✓
MA - file
if there are other
if Lawrence will also
provide an
interesting issue

Special Issue

THE NEGRO EDUCATIONAL REVIEW
April, 1961

I. Introduction

— R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

II. The Sit-In Technique: A Behavior Typology

— A. A. Thompson
Faith Congregational Church (Conn.)

III. Symposium:

Implications of the Sit-In Activities of American Students

(a) Economic Implications

— W. O. Bryson, Jr.
Morgan State College

(b) Political Implications

— J. Erroll Miller
Lincoln (Mo.) University

(c) Socio-Psychological Implications

— T. C. Cothran
Atlanta University

(d) Religious Implications

— H. V. Richardson
Interdominational Theological Center

(e) Educational Implications

— K. C. King
Tennessee A. & I. State University

(f) Summary

IV. Impact of the Sit-In Movement on New Legislation

— Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

V. Impact of the Sit-In Movement on Academic Freedom

— Dorothy Dunbar Bromley
American Civil Liberties Union

VI. Significant Legal Aspects of the Sit-In Activities of American Students

---

VII. Evaluation

— NER Editorial Board

The Negro Educational Review
Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

February 28, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Plans for the special April issue of The Negro Educational Review dealing with certain aspects of the recent "sit-in" activities of American students have been completed. Advance notices regarding this issue are being sent to outstanding social scientists, public officials, and religious-civic-social leaders in the United States and abroad. Hence, the purpose of this letter is to thank you for your cooperation with this project.

With very best wishes to you, and looking forward to receiving your manuscript not later than March 10, 1961, I am,

Very truly yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:bg

Enclosure

Wire: Air mailing manuscript today
sent 3-13-61 - MA

C O M I N G

Special Issue

THE NEGRO EDUCATIONAL REVIEW
April 30, 1961

I. Introduction

— R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

II. The Sit-In Technique: A Behavior Typology

— A. A. Thompson
Faith Congregational Church (Conn.)

III. Symposium:

Implications of the Sit-In Activities of American Students

(a) Economic Implications

— W. O. Bryson, Jr.
Morgan State College

(b) Political Implications

— J. Erroll Miller
Lincoln (Mo.) University

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VII. Evaluation

— NER Editorial Board

Subscription Rate: $3.85 per year

Single Copy: $1.00

Subscribers and persons submitting orders from outside the country should add 25 cents to the prices quoted above.

Send subscriptions and orders to

R. Grann Lloyd, Managing Editor
The Negro Educational Review
P.O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

for Negro Educational Review
mailed: 3-13-61

LEGISLATURES AND STUDENTS

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

The sit-ins provoked a new wave of legislative resistance in the South. Fortunately for the South, it has not been as massive as the earlier one which rolled over the region after the 1954 and 1955 decisions of the Supreme Court; nor have all the southern states been reached by it.

This latter fact may be only temporary. Every state legislature which met in 1960 did pass laws to regulate the sit-in activities. One can only hope that the legislatures convening in 1961--Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas--will have had time to escape the conditioned reflex which seems to impel southern governments to take some action whenever new racial problems arise. All states presently have on their books adequate laws to protect the peace and to restrict trespass. New and pretentious legal restraints create only new deterrents, psychological as well as political and legal, to policies which can help solve the South's racial troubles.

The active legislatures have been those of Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, and later pages of this paper will indicate what they have done. North Carolina is a special case: in 1953, it gave itself two laws (General Statute Numbers 14-134, 14-126) which penalize entering the lands of another after being forbidden, and these have been

used in the sit-in controversy. Arkansas, while not meeting in 1960, had acted in 1959.

The most elaborate and comprehensive of the new laws are those of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. Neither of these states seems to have accomplished anything more than did Georgia, whose statute is quite simple, as well as brief (Act 497, February 18, 1960). A criminal trespass is committed by a person when he fails to leave the premises of another when requested; in practice, this requires that the request be made in the hearing of a law enforcement officer. The trespass is a misdemeanor, which under Georgia law is punishable by a maximum fine of $1,000 or six months in jail or 12 months in a public works camp or all three; no other state has provisions for quite so harsh a sentence.

Virginia legislated almost as quickly after the initiation of sit-ins as did Georgia. Her laws, all of which were labelled emergency measures, were enacted February 25. Chapters 97, 98, and 99 of the 1960 Acts create three distinct misdemeanors, each punishable by a fine up to $1,000 or 12 months imprisonment, or both. Chapter 97 makes it a crime to enter or remain on the lands, premises, etc. of another, knowing that such has been forbidden, either orally or in writing or by posted sign. The other two statutes make it a crime to solicit, encourage, etc. another or others to enter or remain where one knows he or they have been forbidden; and to conspire, confederate, or combine to do so. Chapter 98, the solicitation statute, also covers acts which

prevent or seek to prevent service being rendered "to any person not so forbidden."

The Louisiana acts, part of incoming Governor Davis's massive program of segregation defense, became law on June 22, 1960. The legislature was concerned not only with the sit-ins, but also with schools, voting, and in fact just about every aspect of racial mania. Some of the new laws were clearly directed at the sit-in movement; others may have had more than one object. Altogether, seven acts plus one constitutional amendment would seem to have bearing on sit-ins and to have been motivated by them, at least in part. It is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine up to $500 or six months imprisonment or both, to do any of the following:

interfere with the conduct of business while in or at a store, restaurant, hotel, lunch counter, bowling alley, barber shop, beauty parlor, etc.; (Act No. 70)

enter or remain in or on a structure, bridge, "watercraft or any other movable" after being forbidden either orally or in writing or by posted sign; (Act No. 78)

incite, solicit, urge, etc. another or others to enter or remain in or on a structure, bridge, etc. knowing that such person is forbidden there; (Act No. 79)

refuse to identify oneself to an officer on his demand, while he is enforcing the above; (Act No. 79)

willfully obstruct "the free, convenient and normal use" of public streets, highways, etc., or entrances or corridors of public buildings. (Act No. 80)

Bona fide labor organizations and their lawful activities are exempted from all of these acts.

Act No. 69 makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine up to $200 or four months imprisonment or both, to provoke a breach of peace, or to do any of the following under circumstances such that a breach may be occasioned: (1) crowd or congregate with others on streets, highways, etc., in public buildings, hotels, stores, restaurants, lunch counters, movies, beauty parlors, swimming pools, etc.,* and refuse to disperse when ordered by

Act No. 69 makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine up to $200 or four months imprisonment or both, to provoke a breach of peace, or to do any of the following under circumstances such that a breach may be occasioned: (1) crowd or congregate with others on streets, highways, etc., in public buildings, hotels, stores, restaurants, lunch counters, movies, beauty parlors, swimming pools, etc.,* and refuse to disperse when ordered by authorized persons; (2) insult, disturb, interfere with etc. another or others; (3) cause a disturbance on a public carrier; (4) refuse to leave the premises of another when requested. If any of these actions result in a breach of peace or riot, and the injury or death of another person, it becomes a felony, known as "aggravated battery," and is punishable by imprisonment up to two years. Labor unions are exempted.

---

* Only the acumen of a Louisiana legislator, perhaps, would suffice to understand why cafeterias and swimming pools are included in Act No. 69, but not Act No. 70 supra; and why drug stores, bowling alleys, and barber shops are in Act No. 70 but not No.69. "Drive-ins" are covered by Act No. 69; "drive-in theatres" by No. 70. Act No. 69, however, extends to "any sports or recreational area or place, or any other place of business engaged in selling or serving members of the public;" and No. 70 extends to any lawful business "which engages in selling articles of merchandise or services or accommodation to members of the public, or engages generally in business transactions with members of the public." So the situation would seem well in hand, although the hand may have been rather hasty when drafting its decrees.

Act No. 76 amends and strengthens the law relative to resisting an officer, and sets the punishment for an offender at $300 maximum fine, or six months in jail, or both. This is also the only act of the group not labelled emergency legislation. Act No. 77, dealing with the crime of "criminal mischief," carries the severest penalty: $500 fine or one year imprisonment or both. The statutory definition of the crime is amended to include taking temporary possession of any part of a place of business, or remaining there after being ordered to leave.

A rather puzzling constitutional amendment was approved by the voters in November, 1960. Article X, Section 5 of the Louisiana Constitution empowers parochial and municipal corporations and public boards to levy taxes for public purposes. The amendment (Act No. 630 of the 1960 session) adds a section which provides that when any facility, that was segregated at the time its supporting tax was authorized, is ordered integrated by "any commission, board or other authority," the governing authority of the political sub-division shall recall the appointment of all members of the commission or board, and declare the facility no longer to be "a function of the government." School boards are specifically exempted. According to the press, the Amendment is aimed at such facilities as golf courses and swimming pools, and presumably the administrative body would be recalled if a federal court were the "other authority" ordering integration.

But strangest of all has been the behavior of the solons of Mississippi. Even an observer who has become accustomed to the instinctive predilection of southern legislatures to react in panic and irrationally to defend what they like to call the "southern way of life" is startled momentarily. For Mississippi had done the job, one would have thought, in 1956. Chapter 257 of that year established a proprietor's right to select his customers (prudently exempting public utilities), and declared it to be trespass, punishable by a fine up to $500 or six months in jail or both, to enter or remain on the premises of another when forbidden. Chapter 256 set the same penalty for creating a disturbance or a breach of the peace in any "public place of business of any kind whatsoever" by loud talk, threats, "or any other conduct."

Mississippi's law-makers evidently still felt insecure, for on March 23, 1960 three additional measures were signed into law, each carrying a punishment up to $500 fine, six months in jail, or both. Chapter 244 makes it unlawful wilfully to obstruct "the free, convenient and normal use" of streets, passageways, etc. by hindering traffic thereon. Chapter 246 is one of the usual prohibitions of entering or remaining on premises, etc. after having been forbidden orally or in writing or by posted sign. Chapter 245 is the companion measure, dealing with those who incite, solicit, encourage, etc. others to enter or remain, knowing that such others are forbidden.

A year before the North Carolina sit-ins began, Arkansas enacted a new trespass law, perhaps influenced to do so by the sit-ins which began in 1958 in its neighboring state, Oklahoma. Act 14 of the 1959 session makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than $50.00 nor more than $500 or 30 days imprisonment or both, to remain on the business premises of another after having been ordered to leave; or to cause, encourage, etc. others to do so. The Arkansas statute is interesting on several grounds. First, it does not apply to the premises of common carriers. Second, it does not contain the prohibition usual in the states discussed above against entry, knowing that such is forbidden; it applies only to refusal to leave when requested, although the "encouraging" section does reach entry as well as remaining. Third, it spells out the duty of law enforcement officers to remove trespassers on the request of the owner or manager, thus making somewhat more explicit what attorneys for students who have been arrested in several states regard as the main constitutional defect of the trespass laws, viz. that they embody "state action." Finally, this is declared to be emergency legislation, and the justification is the legislature's finding that the rights of business establishments to choose their clientele "are not clearly prescribed by law and that this Act is immediately necessary to clarify those rights and privileges;" with this finding in view, "it would seem arguable that if legislative history showed, despite any disclaimers within the text of the statute, that restriction of Negroes was the intent of the law there would be substantiation of the claim that enforcement represents state action.

The South Carolina statute, approved May 16, 1960, is somewhat different from the others, in that it provides that any person who enters a dwelling house, place of business, etc. within six months after being warned away is guilty of trespass; so too is any person not warned but who refuses to leave on request. As in Arkansas, all peace officers are directed to enforce this law. The wording seems unclear on one important point, and that is whether each person must be warned individually or whether a single warning can extend to a class of persons. The punishment is a maximum of $100 or 30 days.

Brief mention may suffice for ordinances in several cities.* Montgomery (Ala.) on March 22, 1960 enacted Ordinances Numbers 10-60, 11-60, and 12-60 which relate to trespass, the holding of parades, and disturbing the peace. Danville (Va.), by two ordinances of April 4, 1960, restricted the use of the public library to card holders (subsequently, in September, difficult requirements for card issuance were established), and the use of municipal recreational facilities to residents of the neighborhoods in which they were located. A Dallas (Tex.) ordinance of January 30, 1961 prohibits congregating or loitering when forbidden by the police; according to the press, the measure is aimed at both sit-in demonstrators and mobs opposing school desegregation. A hurtful boycott led to a Savannah (Ga.) ordinance in May, 1960 against mass picketing in front of stores, and the use of force, intimidation, etc. to further boycotts. Greenville

* This summary does not purport to be exhaustive.

(S.C.) in July, 1960 set a 9 P.M.-6 A.M. curfew for all youth under 21. New Orleans (La.) in September, 1960 instituted a license system for parades or street processions. L

Legislation is not the only form by which the rules of a modern society are set. Other modes of regulation have, accordingly, been employed in response to the sit-ins. State Boards of Education in Tennessee in April and in Georgia in May adopted stricter disciplinary policies for the case of students at state supported colleges or universities arrested and convicted on charges involving personal misconduct. The State Board of Louisiana in October set new, strict rules for class attendance. The Greenville (S.C.) Public Library segregated its patrons by sex, after abandoning racial segregation in September: three tables in the reading room for women, four for males--probably discriminatory!

The enforcement of existing statutes has been as vigorous and probably as effective in combatting sit-ins as has been the new legislation. Students have been arrested on a miscellany of charges in the various states: breach of peace, loitering, conspiracy to interfere with trade, incitement to riot, and others. Sometimes, old laws have been found more useful, for the purposes of the police, than the new. When merchants in Savannah (Ga.) showed a reluctance to prefer charges under the trespass law, the local police started in April arresting under a state unlawful assembly statute. In Memphis (Tenn.) students were arrested in May under a state law, and made bond; charges were quickly brought under a city ordinance which authorizes holding without bail if the city is in a "state of tenseness." The <u>Commercial-Appeal</u>

(May 18) described it, gently, as a "rarely used" ordinance.

Selected at random, a column from the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune of December 9 illustrates sufficiently the variety of attacks employed by officials against the sit-ins. A St. Petersburg dispatch reports a department store's obtaining of a temporary injunction to halt picketing. From Tallahassee, came news of an assault by white youth on Negro pickets. The staff writer added: "Police roared to the scene with city officials just a bit too late to catch the youths. This is the third day in a row that Negroes have picketed the store and the third day in a row that police have arrived just a little bit late to stop incidents." In Jacksonville, the head of the NAACP Youth Council was taken into custody by Juvenile Court, on charges of contributing to the delinquency of a minor, by persuading him to take part in a sit-in; when it was ascertained that the Council leader was himself under 17, charges were dropped.

Official reaction to the sit-ins has occasionally favored us with a bit of humor. One that did, not only drew a smile, but a lesson as well, a lesson about self-delusion and white man's conceit. When a few Negro college students in February, 1960 sat in the "white" gallery of the Georgia House of Representatives, they were promptly evicted. The authority asserted was the House rules. When the students and newsmen asked for specific citation of the rule, chagrined functionaries discovered there was none requiring or authorizing a segregated gallery. They next asserted that state law controlled; but investigation turned up no applicable statute. Thereupon, the Speaker proclaimed that segregation in the gallery would be enforced under "the old, old law of Georgia custom."

Not all the legislative response, of course, has been of this defensive, harassing nature. Since the sit-ins began, Kentucky has created a commission on human relations, and the legislature of a second border state--West Virginia--has one under consideration; one important border city--Baltimore--has strengthened its anti-discrimination ordinance. In Florida and Oklahoma, human relations committees were established by the governors and have done good work, though a gubernatorial change in Florida has ended the venture there. In Louisville (Ky.), the Aldermen in February, 1960 rejected a proposed anti-discrimination ordinance, on the ground that enactment would exceed their powers; the gain here occurred when, in March, the state Attorney-General formally ruled that the power existed.

In truth, no southern state has ever found itself powerless to legislate in the field of race relations. Now as in the past, the only question is as to whether that power is used for oppression and obstruction, or for the strengthening of the peace and good will of the community.

The Negro Educational Review
Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

May 1, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The editorial board of The Negro Educational Review appreciates your contribution to our special issue on the student "sit-ins." Your manuscript was both of high quality and essential to the success of the issue. We thank you for your participation.

During the past twelve years The Review has sought to present (1) scholarly articles and research reports, (2) competent analyses and descriptions of current problems, (3) significant compilations, and (4) succinct, penetrating reviews of books of especial interest and value to our readers. The pages of The Negro Educational Review are open to you for contributions in any of the aforementioned areas, as you complete research studies, manuscripts, and book reviews in the future.

Sincerely yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:bg

August 29, 1961

Mr. R. Grann Lloyd
P. O. Box 478
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

We would like to have, if possible, some reprints of the article by Leslie Dunbar in your April, 1961 issue of The Negro Educational Review, Vol. Xii, No. 2. If reprints are not available, please send us two copies of this issue @ $1.00 each, and we will send you our check.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

LWD ✓

MA

The Negro Educational Review

Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 478
Nashville 2, Tennessee

your article

October 11, 1961

Thank you

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Southern Region Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Your letter of August 29 has finally reached us. We are sending you the two copies of Volume XII, No. 2 of The Negro Educational Review as per your request. We hope our response is not too late for your purposes. However, we were not in Nashville when your letter arrived; it was forwarded to us and apparently arrived at several destinations shortly after our departure.

Very sincerely yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:hc

February 28, 1962

Dr. R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor
The Negro Educational Review
Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 447
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Lloyd:

I shall be pleased to review Merrill Proudfoot's, Diary of A Sit-In , but I cannot possibly do it before April 15. If you need an early review, I shall be glad to return the book to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The Negro Educational Review
OFFICE OF THE MANAGING EDITOR
P. O. BOX 447
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

February 26, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

For more than a decade now The Negro Educational Review has sought to present (1) scholarly articles and research reports, (2) competent analyses and descriptions of current problems, (3) significant compilations, and (4) succinct, intelligent book reviews. Hence, it seems eminently fitting and proper that we continue to be intelligently selective in choosing both our book reviewers and the books to be reviewed in our columns. Hence, the Editorial Board is inviting you to review Diary of A Sit-In by Merrill Proudfoot.

Please restrict your review of this publication to not more than 750-1000 words. We have come to you because we realize that such short reviews are harder to do and require more skill than the longer ones. However, the Editorial Board believes that you are not only well-qualified to review the aforementioned publication, but that you probably prefer a short assignment because of your many activities, committments, and duties.

Please consider this matter carefully and let us hear from you regarding it at your earliest convenience. The review should be received in the Managing Editor's office on or before March 26, 1962.

Shall we look forward to hearing from you soon? The publication is being sent to you in an envelope attached hereto. Please accept. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:vh

WHEN LWD IS READY TO REVIEW THIS BOOK

CHECK WITH JEAN LEVINE FOR FOLDER IN HER

DRAWER MARKED: "NEGRO EDUCATIONAL REVIEW"

(There may be some materials which will be useful to him.)

The Negro Educational Review
OFFICE OF THE MANAGING EDITOR
P. O. BOX 447
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

March 2, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 28, in which you accept our invitation to review Proudfoot's Diary of A Sit-In. Please get your review to us by April 17. Meanwhile we will ask our printer to reserve space for it in the April issue, and send your review in when we return the corrected galley proofs.

With thanks and best wishes, we are,

Sincerely yours,

R. Grann Lloyd

R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor

RGL:vh

CC: Mr. Paul H. Rohmann

April 16, 1962

Dr. R. Grann Lloyd
Managing Editor
The Negro Educational Review
Office of the Managing Editor
P. O. Box 447
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Lloyd:

Enclosed, as promised, is a review of Merrill Proudfoot's DIARY OF A SIT-IN prepared by Mr. Dumbar.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Merrill Proudfoot, DIARY OF A SIT-IN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. xiv, 204 pages. $5.00

Merrill Proudfoot, a white man teaching at Knoxville College, kept a journal while the sit-in movement, in which he was prominent, won its Knoxville victory during the Summer of 1960. This book is that journal.

Mr. Proudfoot has added a score of pages of reflections on Knoxville, on the sit-in movement generally, on the problem of civil disobedience, on the Christian conscience, and the Christian's church. These are woven into one of the most instructive and serious essays on the new turn of southern racial relations that I have read. The essay, joined with the diary, earns this book the rightful title of contemporary history.

As any good history, this is an honest book, claiming to be no more than it is, and fulfilling its aim. It is neither the story of the sit-in movement or even the Knoxville sit-in. Knoxville was an atypical city, because the demonstrations there were led and to a sizeable extent manned by adults, and because rather more than the usual number of whites took part. Mr. Proudfoot served a faithful lieutenancy, but is not able to tell the story from the vantage ground of one of its "leaders", or of a Negro, or of a student. What he does do, and this is why the book is valuable and penetrating, is to reveal the perceptions, the hopes, the uncertainties, that possessed a sensitive and intelligent man who chose to involve himself. He has the gift of detachment, that enabled him to be objective and candid about himself and his friends even in the excitement of their struggle.

Throughout the book, Mr. Proudfoot probes for a sign that the church, of which he is a minister, is a live witness for justice. He never finds it. "Our record remains clean... for not being able to attract [to the movement] any

white minister of orthodox persuasion who has a congregation." "The church as an institution and the ministry as a group have been distressingly cautious, as often as not putting God's blessing either overtly or by implication on whatever social patterns already exist." "I finally had to admit this morning that apparently the members of the Ministerial Association, when they adopted the letter to the merchants, did not intend their names to be published... [The] president of the... Association... was indignant upon hearing that his name was included... He had not intended to sign it, he asserted, and furthermore was against the action in principle." "I have no fear of making a false judgment when I say that the church as a whole and as an institution has failed and is failing in its response to the challenge of racial discrimination."

This is a book to be studied and enjoyed. It also, and without labored design, contains more social science than most of the advertised entries in that field.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

4/16/62

LWD
Speaking
Engagements

Open Forum

December 19, 1962

Mr. Rhodes Thompson, Jr.
Vice President & Program Director
The Open Forum
326 Palmetto Avenue South
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Enclosed is a glossy print and a biographical sketch. I would suggest that the description of my talk could remain the same as you had it for Mr. McGill with the one change, substituting the word "political" for the word "social." Thus it would read, "A commentary on the changing political scene in the South." What I would like to try to do is to discuss the present and possible effects of a number of concurrent developments: reapportionment, urbanization, the growth of Republicanism, the growth of the Negro vote. As a title you might use "The South at Political Crossroads." This is awfully trite and stilted, and if you can think of a better one please go ahead.

I hope you had good luck with Bob Harris.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures

LWD
Speaking engagement

December 6, 1962

Mr. Rhodes Thompson, Jr.
Vice President & Program Director
The Open Forum
326 South Palmetto Avenue

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I shall be very pleased to speak before the Daytona Beach Open Forum on March 17. Thank you for thinking of me.

In a short time I'll get off to you the various things you need.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE OPEN FORUM

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

December 4, 1962

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DR. P. T. FLEUCHAUS
ROLAND D. BARZE

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It was good to talk with you on the phone yesterday, and to learn of your tentative interest in appearing on our Daytona Beach Open Forum program on Sunday afternoon, March 17, 1963. I am enclosing a folder announcing last year's series, as well as an early draft of our 1963 series. This will indicate to you something of the caliber of our programs. We know that you would be a splendid addition to our 1963 program.

If you can be with us we would appreciate your earliest confirmation of this fact. In addition, we shall need a glossy print photo, a biographical sketch, a topic, and perhaps a clearer delineation of your general subject area. We shall be glad to leave the particular aspect of our changing social scene in the south with which you will deal to your discretion. We are confident that anything you might choose would be of great relevance and importance.

As I said over the phone, we shall be glad to offer you an honorarium of $200.00 plus your travel expenses.

We shall look forward with anticipation to hearing from you within the next few days.

Truly,

Rhodes Thompson

Rhodes Thompson, Jr.
Vice-President & Program Director
326 So. Palmetto Avenue

RT/f
enc.

DAYTONA BEACH OPEN FORUM PROGRAM
January 13 - March 17, 1963

Jan. 13 -	DR. WILLIAM G. CARLETON Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida	TOPIC: (How well does America's political party system serve our democratic society?)
Jan 20 -	(to be named) A Minister of Government, Jamaica	TOPIC: (Problems and opportunities confronting a newly independent nation in today's world)
Jan. 27 -	DR. SEYMOUR MELMAN Associate Professor of Industrial and Management Engineering, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.	TOPIC: "The Peace Race" (A proposal for a creative alternative to "The Arms Race" and for peace with freedom
Feb. 3 -	MR. B. TARTT BELL Executive Secretary, Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee, High Point, N.C.	TOPIC: (A constructive evaluation of the purposes and achievements of the United Nations)
Feb. 10 -	MRS. EDITH GREEN U. S. Representative from the Third District of Oregon Washington, D.C.	TOPIC: (A consideration of the challenges confronting our nation in public education)
Feb. 17 -	MR. JOHN HUTCHISON Administrative Officer, Division of Selection, The Peace Corps, Washington, C. D.	TOPIC: (The story of the growth and development of the Peace Corps)
Feb. 24 -	MR. PHILLIP ADAMS Director, The Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio	TOPIC: (An interpretation of the arts for the layman)
Mar. 3 -	DR. RICHARD FAGLEY Executive Secretary, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, World Council of Churches New York, New York	TOPIC: (A consideration of human responsibility in face of the population explosion)
Mar. 10 -	MR. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER U. S. Senator from Kentucky Washington, D. C.	TOPIC: (An appraisal of the political scene by an eminent senator and former ambassador)
* Mar. 17 -	MR. ~~RALPH~~ McGILL Publisher, ~~The~~ Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, ~~Georgia~~	TOPIC: (A commentary on the changing social scene in the South)

* ~~Tentative~~ acceptance, with ~~confirmation by early January~~.

MR. LESLIE DUNBAR, DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ATLANTA, GA.

YOUR OPEN FORUM PROGRAM for 1962

51st Year

PEABODY AUDITORIUM

Daytona Beach
Florida

January 14 - March 18

Sundays — 2:30 P.M.

10

PROGRAMS

"LET THERE BE LIGHT"

"LET THERE BE LIGHT"

Questions And Discussions From The Floor

Please write your questions on this portion and ushers will hand to moderator.

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HOLLACE E. ARMENT
HEAD, HUMANITIES AND MUSIC
DAYTONA BEACH JUNIOR COLLEGE

Sunday, January 14

Dr. Thomas P. Hardeman

Author and Lecturer, Tampa, Fla.

Topic: "Academic Freedom; Its Meaning and its limitations."

Many a campus controversy hinges on this topic. Are Profesessors free today? Whence come the threats to Academic Freedom? What of Federal Control of Education. A discussion by a teacher of fifteen years experience.

Sunday, January 21

The Honorable J. M. Udochi

Ambassador from Nigeria
Washington, D.C.

General Subject: Africa's Role In World Affairs.

An interesting and timely report of a Continent coming into its own among the nations of the world. A first hand report of the economic and social conditions which confront the peoples of this awakening Continent.

Sunday, January 28

Mrs. Esther Peterson, Asst. Sec. of Labor, substituted for

Mrs. Edith Green

U.S. Representative from
3rd District, Oregon

General Subject: A Woman's Role In Politics.

In 1960 Mrs. Green was the first woman ever to be elected to be Chairman of any State delegation to the Democratic National Convention. There she seconded the nomination of President John F. Kennedy. She is a member of the Education and Labor and House Administration Committees and Chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Education.

Sunday, February 4

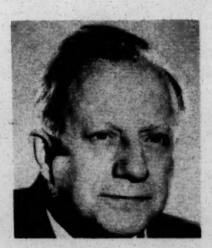
Dr. William G. Carleton

Professor Emeritus, Political Science, University of Florida, Gainesville

Topic: "Who's Winning The Cold War?"

Dr. Carleton is recognized nationally for his many writings and conrtibutions in the field of world affairs. More than one hundred of his articles have appeared in national and international magazines and periodicals. He is currently working on a book on the History of American Political Parties.

Sunday, February 11



Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger

Executive Director, American Association for the United Nations, New York City.

General Subject: United Nations

A member of the executive Committee of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. He is the Author of the United Nations Charter. What is the fate of the United Nations? More light on national and international affairs.

Sunday, February 18

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard

Staff Director, Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.

General Subject: Civil Rights

Received the Arthur S. Flemming Award as one of the 10 outstanding young men in the Federal Government in 1960. First named by President Eisenhower to his present position in January 1960, then renamed by President Kennedy in March 1961, and confirmed by Senate in July 1961. Mr. Bernhard will bring new light on the vital work of this independent governmental agency.

The Open Forum Is

Enlightenment

At Bargain Rates

In cities where such Forums still exist, and serve to strengthen Democracy, admission ranges from $5 to $10 for a series comparable to the one offered by the Daytona Beach Open Forum. Here, however, Sustaining Member Season Tickets are only $2! And they entitle you to attend all of the Sunday afternoon concert-discussion events.

The tickets, and your silver offerings at the door, are necessary if the Open Forum is to continue to bring you these worthwhile programs.

Give as generously as your means permit!

Sunday, February 25

Dr. Harold E. Fey

Editor, The Christian Century
Chicago, Iillinois

General Subject: The Attack Upon The Churches.

A world traveler and Editor of "America's leading Protestant weekly." Mr. Fey has interviewed many of the world's leaders including Mr. Nehru. He has just returned to the United States after attending World Council of Churches Third General Assembly, New Delhi, India in November and December.

Sunday, March 4

Lewis Schmidt, Asst. Deputy Director of USIA, substituted for

Mr. Ralph McGill

Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution,
Atlanta, Ga.

General Subject: The Changing Social Scene In The South.

Mr. McGill's newspaper column appears in many leading newspaper. An interesting and informative discussion relating to the changing South can be expected from this Pulitzer Prize Winning writer who also is a lecturer in demand throughout the nation, and a first hand observer of World trouble spots.

Sunday, March 11

Mr. Simon Davidian

Minister and Lecturer,
Tallahassee, Florida

General Subject: A Visitor's Report from Inside Russia.

Dr. Davidian has made many visits to Europe and other foreign countries and he is considered one of our most reliable interpreters of foreign affairs. His latest visit to Russia was in 1960. He stresses three things, humor, inspiration and Americanism.

Sunday, March 18

Dr. Albert M. Barrett

Assistant Professor of Psychology, Education and Rehabilitation Counseling, University of Florida Gainesville.

Topic: "People Under Pressure"

Out of a background of many year's experience in vocational and rehabilitation counseling, Dr. Barrett will share some helpful insights on how to live creatively in the face of the pressures of modern life. With humor and charm, he both entertains and stimulates his audiences on this timely topic.

The

Open Forum

A community non-profit, non-salaried attempt at maintaining free two-sided discussions of controversial subjects.

Plan now to attend each program this season and bring a friend.

Each speaker is preceded by a half hour musical program beginning at 2:30 P.M. each Sunday.

Under the direction of

Dr. Hollace E. Arment
Head, Humanities and Music

Daytona Beach Junior College

Admission
Sustaining Member Tickets $2
Silver Offering At The Door

WK folder
(Brochure w/Fund - at home)
1/29/63

January 25, 1963

Mr. Rhodes Thompson
326 S. Palmetto Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Your Open Forum program for 1963 looks excellent both in format and in content. I feel honored to be a part of it.

At this time, I am planning to drive down if my wife and son can accompany me. I would imagine we would get in some time Saturday and stay through Sunday.

I had supposed we would, if we come this way, pick up a motel room somewhere. If you happen, however, to know of a particularly choice and economical place to stay, you might drop me a line.

Best wishes, and I shall see you in March.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE OPEN FORUM

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
326 S. Palmetto Avenue
January 9, ;963

Rec'd 1/11/63

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ROLAND D. BARZE

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are looking forward to your participation in our 1963 Open Forum program. I am enclosing a Brochure and think you will agree that we have an outstanding program arranged.

We shall need to know right away when and how you will be arriving, so that we may meet you and offer any assistance. Let us know if you will need help in securing hotel or motel reservations. Also it will be necessary for us to know the time of your departure.

For now, very best wishes and a Happy New Year.

Truly,

Rhodes Thompson

March 4, 1963

Mr. Herbert Davidson
Editor
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Thank you for writing. I'll speak to the Unitarian Society and will promise not to duplicate my Forum talk if you'll agree that I need not have a prepared address for the Unitarians. I think I know what you have in mind; whether I can say anything to it is another matter. What I would like to do is try out some ideas which I have been fooling with lately. If you need a title I'll give you a mysterious one: "Feeling and Acting."

Thank you very much for your invitations. One of them I think we cannot accept, and the other I would like to ask a little modification on. The reason is that we had decided to make this trip, in part, a small vacation. I need a couple days off about now, and thought that they might as well be spent in Florida. My wife and thirteen-year-old son are planning, therefore, to drive down Friday, March 15, probably arriving late that evening, and drive back on Monday, March 18. This will give us, in addition to a couple days of not to bad driving, one full day on the beach (if we are lucky with the weather) and part of Sunday. Peggy and I would be delighted to come to your home Sunday night though I think, because we'll have Tony with us,

that it should be after supper. He will be content then -- I suspect, happily content -- to be left alone in a motel room with the TV.

I would be deeply grateful if you could choose a motel for us. I don't know Daytona Beach and, therefore, I don't know what is best for our purposes. I think we would like to be close to the ocean though I would also like something not too expensive. If you could make a reservation for us for Friday (arriving late), Saturday, and Sunday nights and have your secretary drop me a note as to where, I would be ever so grateful. We would need either one big room or two singles.

Best wishes, and will see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Feb. 26, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I note with delight that you are to speak here on the Open Forum program on Sunday afternoon, March 17. I understand I am to introduce you.

Last night I promised the board of the Unitarian Society of Daytona Beach that I would urge you to provide a 30 minute lecture-sermon for us at our 11 a.m. services on the 17th. I do hope you can; if so let me know promptly, with topic. Here, I think, is a fine opportunity to stress the ethical problems involved, the psychopathology of prejudice, etc. Can do in 30 minutes? Of course, talk must not duplicate Forum address.

I'll take care of your lodging Saturday and/or Sunday nights. If a houseguest with us at present should stay that long it will have to be at a motel; otherwise at our home. Also, we'd like to have a few people in to meet you Saturday or Sunday night, perhaps for a buffet.

We visited Alice Mitchell in Scotland last July and will tell you all about it.

Sincerely,

HMD.

Herbert M. Davidson

HMD/nb

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

March 7, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

It is simply swell of you to agree to talk at the Unitarian services. Your "sermon" probably will be all the better for being informal and the topic sounds most intriguing. We'll have an item in the newspaper about it next week, separate from the usual Forum announcement. The more publicity for SRC the better we like it!

With the help of Fred Steadman of the Forum speakers committee (incidentally our retail ad manager), we have found you a large room with two double beds at the ocean-front Holiday Shores Hotel for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights at $10 a night. Although this is motor-racing weekend and the height of the season the manager-ess told Fred "anything for the Forum". (I wish she had said "anything for the SRC"). However, the season rate on this room is $16. I think you'll enjoy it.

I'm to call for you and take you--and of course, your wife and Tony--to the Unitarian affair. We'll leave you alone on Saturday as you suggest. I should appreciate a phone call when you arrive and I suppose the Forum folk will want to talk to you. Then we'll discuss a social evening, probably with some local members of the FCHR executive committee. It won't be onerous.

It is now final that I am to introduce you at the Forum.

Liliane and I are looking forward to seeing you and your family.

As ever,

Herbert

Herbert M. Davidson/nb

March 20, 1963

Dr. Merlin G. Cox
President
Open Forum
Daytona Beach Junior College
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Dr. Cox:

We had a good drive home which capped off a most pleasant weekend. Speaking to the Open Forum was, for me, a fine privilege, and it was a great pleasure to meet you and Mr. Thompson and others.

As you know, my family had accompanied me, and we had driven. I have checked the air fare to Daytona Beach and the other expenses itemized below are, I think, reasonable estimates of what the trip would have cost had I been alone.

Air fare round trip: Atlanta-Daytona Beach.....	$48.72
Airport buses	5.70
Room	10.30
Meals	3.00
Total:	$67.72

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo

air fare round trip,
Atlanta to Dayton
Beach - 48.72
airport buses - 5.70
room - 10.30
meals - 3.00

$ 67.72

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226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

DAYTONA BEACH JUNIOR COLLEGE

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

DIRECTOR OF SERVICES

March 5, 1963

CL 3-7667

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In answer to your letter of last month to Rev. Rhodes Thompson, let me suggest either the Holiday Shores Motel, 1015 S. Atlantic Ave. or the Holiday Inn, 1202 Ridgewood Ave., Holly Hill. You might prefer the Holiday Shores if you like to be located on the ocean.

We will look forward to meeting you at Peabody Auditorium by 2 P.M., on Sunday, March 17. The speaker usually confines his remarks to a maximum of forty minutes and there is time for a thirty minute question period.

With cordial best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Merlin G. Cox

Merlin G. Cox
President, Open Forum

MGC:hr

Serving Flagler and Volusia Counties

THE OPEN FORUM

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

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DR. P. T. FLEUCHAUS
ROLAND D. BARZE

March 29, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

It was a real pleasure to meet you and to hear your discussion of "the South at the Crossroads" for Open Forum. You made a very scholarly presentation of these problems.

Enclosed is a check for $67.22 to cover expenses of your trip.

As you may have learned during your visit with us, the Open Forum faces real financial problems. We depend largely on contributions at the door. The weather and a fear of controversial issues on the part of our business community have combined to keep our income low. Nonthe-less, we are now contacting a number of people for the purpose of providing an honorarium for all of our speakers.

With cordial best wishes,

Merlin G. Cox

Merlin G. Cox
President, Open Forum

MGC:hr

THE SOUTH AT POLITICAL CROSSROADS

By: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "fourscore and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If we, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, look back four score and seven years, we confront a far less happy and auspicious event. Our gaze would be on 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. The contest was to be settled in favor of Hayes. He became the nation's President after deals were made and compromises reached that have affected American life to this day. One of those deals, and a basic one, was that federal troops would be at last withdrawn from the South, and Reconstruction ended. For the next 70 years or so, the white South would be left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had, thus, freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution -- the 14th and 15th -- which for the next 70

years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

And we are still, the South. We are still the one region of the country which looks upon itself as distinct, as different, as a sort of sub-nation within the republic. We have defined "The South" in terms of its differences from the rest. Neither we nor our northern and western friends have given as much thought or interest to those qualities and forces which unite us.

We have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. It was -- and still largely is -- a white man's society. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Our society has been moreover, one which places a very high value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population has moved into cities, the rural districts have kept political power. And North, and South, East and West, we all believed

that <u>any</u> man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, have been the stuff of which were made old <u>Saturday Evening Post</u> covers, or the primers we had when we were in the first grade. What we have called the "American dream" has been a priceless fabric of political ideals and humane values. But when we have contemplated the "dream" we have tended, I think, to see it as the blessing and special heritage of strong, Anglo-Saxon men and women, living close to earth and neighbors, getting ahead in life through the benefits of their own work and the benevolence of a just Protestant God.

I am not drawing here a profile of America intended to be unpleasant. To many of us, it is still an appealing picture, because few indeed are the persons who can forget what they early came to believe was cleanest and most honorable and most good.

1876 was a turning point for the South. I believe that we are now at another, though not so sharp, and one which we shall not pass for perhaps several years yet.

I believe, further, that this crossroads where we now are is crucial beyond parallel because what is at issue here is not only our differences from the rest of the nation, but these qualities and forces which have in the past united us. I shall

try to make this as clear as I can during the next pages, but let me first state my proposition simply. It is this: the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from our traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us. I believe we are overcoming this crisis with some success. All the more is it urgent that we know what it is, and where we are heading.

I would like to call your attention to five landmark dates. They illustrate changes which are occurring in American society. Although these changes affect the whole nation, they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody -- Arthur Koestler, I think -- once spoke of the Jews as humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes I feel that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or, at least, most apparent, here.

First of the landmarks is 1944, and the Supreme Court decision in the case of Smith v. Allwright. This was the decision which outlawed the white primary in the South and which, thereby, ended the last legal bar to Negro voting. Change has not been rapid. There was a spurt of registration which lasted until 1952 when the Negro vote in the eleven states of the South reached about 1,200,000. Since then there has been only a slow increase. The Negro vote in the South today is

probably less than 1,500,000, which is only about one-fourth of the eligible number. The vote will grow, however, and is already a potent factor in the politics of a number of southern cities, and has recently become of state-wide importance in a couple southern states. Nationally, and especially since the presidential election of 1948, the power of Negro voting has grown and may well have been the decisive factor in the outcome of the last presidential election.

From 1944, therefore, we can date a profound development. White men no longer have a monopoly of the power to make political decisions. The monopoly is broken, and we shall see, for some years, a continuous spread of political influence across the country to nonwhites.

The second landmark is 1954, and the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Topeka. Again, progress has been slow and, I think, cruelly and stupidly slow. More than eight years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision there are only about 12,200 Negro children in schools with whites in the old South. This figure doesn't mean much, however, because about 6,700 of these are Texas children, and most of those are living in west Texas -- which is hardly "South." If you subtract these, you have left only 5,500 or so Negro children now attending school with whites all over the South. Even this figure doesn't mean much. For example, in Tennessee there are

1,800-odd Negroes attending schools with white children; however, nearly one-third of these are in one school in Nashville with one white child and one Chinese child. The same inflation of figures occurs in Florida.

Nevertheless, school desegregation is moving, and will undoubtedly pick up momentum. Most interestingly, the controversy has moved to the North and West where in any number of cities and towns Negroes are pressing for school integration. This is an interesting example of what I said earlier. The school desegregation controversy has not concentrated solely on a difference between the South and the rest of the nation. It has, instead, exposed the fact that although the South has done it one way, and the North has done it another way, both have been united in the practical segregation of Negroes.

I think we need to recognize that the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 meant, for the long run, more than the desegregation of public schools. Its deeper meaning was that henceforth the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race. Those of us who are white have tended, I am afraid, to think of civic institutions as belonging to us. It is "our" schools, "our" church (not God's, but "ours"), "our" parks, "our" neighborhood swimming pool, "our" theatres. We have even thought of

it as "our" government, and well we might, because the very term "republic," Cicero taught us, means the public's property. Now we must be learning that the "public" includes all of us, white and nonwhite, and that all together own and are to enjoy the republic and what it has created.

The third landmark date is 1960 and the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States. For the first time, someone other than a Protestant received the nation's highest office. The symbolic importance of this election was, in its way, comparable to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. The election confirmed the fact that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the highest decisions for this country.

The controversy now raging about the Supreme Court regarding religion in the schools has a similar meaning. It happens that I have, personally, some doubts about the wisdom of the federal courts stepping into this field. But I think we Protestants must candidly recognize that the religious exercises that have been held in the public schools of this nation over many generations have, for the most part, been Protestant exercises. We must also recognize that this is not a Protestant country in present fact, and that if we seek to have persons who are of other faiths or of no faith at all conform to our sense of worshipful proprieties, we are acting

the part of oppressors.

The fourth landmark is 1962, and again a decision of the Supreme Court, this one in the case of Baker v. Carr. In that case, the Supreme Court ruled that when the apportionment of legislative seats in a state is grossly unfair, the federal courts can give relief. I don't believe we have yet begun to realize the enormous importance of this decision. In contrast to the slow pace of desegregation, we have seen already Alabama, Florida, and Georgia move toward more democratic representation. Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia all have the issue before them.

Throughout our history, but most especially during the last few decades, rural people have had an unfairly large measure of political power. State legislatures all over the country have been biased in favor of rural districts. So, too, is Congress. Long after economic power moved from agriculture, and long after the majority of our people moved to the cities, the rural sections retained what has almost amounted to political dominance. In the South, it has been dominance. The politics of most southern states is still today, and it has been since the early 19th century, controlled by the Black Belt -- that region where once cotton was king. Predictions are always risky, but I think it is probable that during the next few years there will be a profound transformation in American politics, and that urban thinking and urban men will play a much bigger part.

My fifth and final landmark is 1940. This was the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. In 1940, after seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment shot up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really shot up - to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been very little improvement since, and President Kennedy, just a week ago, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%. I might add that many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.

Now I am not an economist, but there are some facts so obvious that we do not have to be economists to recognize them. Neither the policies of Republic nor Democratic administrations have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Our unemployment is high despite the fact that our government is boosting the economy with huge expenditures for armaments

and for space exploration; without those expenditures would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940? A basic complication certainly must be the spread of automation and technological improvement throughout American agriculture and industry, displacing human beings by machines and electronic devices.

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has so often happened in the past, Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of history itself. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to that time American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration nearly cut off since the first World War, industry has met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including the farms of the South. There are still on the farms and in the small towns of the South white women and men who are available for industrial employment; but the bottom of the barrel is in sight. The only remaining large supply of under-used labor and skills in the United States is our Negro population, and the tragic irony is that at this time when Negroes, always the last hired, are finally, next in line, the job market is declining.

I do not see how anyone can, in the face of these facts and figures, continue to believe that America is for everyone a land of opportunity where <u>any</u> man can get ahead by dint of

his own hard work. If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that from some six to seven percent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs; and that this is the predicament of these persons and their families even though there is general prosperity in the country.

These five landmarks mean, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in these United States. The price of that democracy will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union -- which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership -- can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf, if we allow the division to continue.

To put it differently, the policies which Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina still are advocating would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and other like-minded areas from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become aliens in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

There is no need for me to repeat the old familiar tale of the South's economic and educational shortcomings. They are too well known. The most worrisome aspect is that the South's position is not clearly improving. Two critical measurements are, for example, personal income and years of school completed. In 1950, the median number of years of school completed by Americans over 24 years of age was 9.3; by 1960, this had advanced to 10.6, a gain of 1.3 grade. In the South during the 1950's we made a tremendous effort to improve education. Yet only one southern state -- Virginia -- had a larger gain than the national (8.5 - 10.9). In 1950, two southern states -- Florida and Texas -- were above the national median; in 1960, there was only Florida. We had, in short, fallen farther behind.

Similarly with income. Per capita income in the United States in 1950 was $1,491; in 1960 it was $2,223, an increase of 49%. The percentage increase in southern states was generally greater than this, but the dollar gap widened -- and people spend dollars, not percentage points. To illustrate, in 1950 the highest per capita income in the South was in Texas: $1,339, or $152 less per person than the national average. In 1960, Florida had become the southern leader, with a per capita income of $1,988; but this was $235 less than the national average.

Now there is nothing particularly wrong about being below average. After all, whenever you have averages someone has to be below -- and I would, personally, just as soon live in a region where the pace is a bit more leisurely. What would be disastrous, however, would be for the South to isolate itself from national movements with the inevitable result that it would fall farther and farther behind. I have already mentioned that I think that this was real danger with which we were threatened, when all over this region state governments and state politicians preached the gospel of massive resistance. That is still gospel in large areas of the South, and for the people of those areas the prospects are, it seems to me, gloomy indeed.

But I would like to add also another thought. The South has generally, during the last couple decades, moved more and faster than it ever has before toward economic integration with the rest of the country. Politically, we have moved farther apart, and this is true still even in areas such as Florida, which no longer adheres to the pure doctrine of massive resistance. I think we have tended to forget that only a few years back southern Congressmen worked not only <u>in</u>, but <u>with</u> the national Democratic Party. For example, Senator Byrnes of South Carolina was one of President Roosevelt's principal Congressional captains, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was a

faithful supporter of the New Deal, Alabama's Hill and Sparkman were noted for their economic liberalism, and Florida sent Claude Pepper to the Senate.

I want it clearly understood that I am not implying praise for these men because they were liberals. In fact, whether the South is liberal or conservative, Democratic or Republican, does not seem to me to be the main question. The really critical question is, "Will we end or continue our political isolation?" And I think this is the crossroads where we are now.

One-fork in the road which faces us leads toward perpetuating, here in the South, a politics whcch is not really anything except a politics of opposition, based on a crude and defeatist belief that the South must defend itself against the invader -- even it the invader be the spirit of democracy, and even if the invader be the religious spirit of brotherhood. The other fork of the road leads us toward union with the political and intellectual life of the country as a whole.

Southern oppositionism, in its modern form, dates back, I think, to 1947 when President Truman appointed his civil rights committee, and subsequently espoused its recommendations. From this time on, Democratic politicians from the South have retreated from the Democratic Party, and step by step have come

to oppose virtually everything for which the national Democratic Party stands. At the very time that the South was moving economically toward the rest of the nation, the South politically has been pulling away.

There are some developments in the South today which make me very pessimistic as to where we shall come out. There are some other developments which warrant optimism. I want to conclude by mentioning, briefly, what these are.

On the pessimistic side, whether we are Republicans or Democrats, I think we need to be thoughtfully concerned about the deterioration of southern statesmanship. One of the Congressmen from Georgia a few weeks ago announced his opposition to President Kennedy's tax reduction proposals. That was all right. What was not all right was the reason he gave. He said that everything in his experience, as a small-town businessman, taught him that we should not cut taxes at this time. I submit to you that we cannot delude ourselves into believing that the experience of a small-town businessman is the criterion by which grand issues of the national economy can be tested. And, as I suggested earlier, the South used to know better. We did, after all, send to Washington men such as Glass of Virginia, and Bankhead of Alabama who, for all their ingrained conservatism, knew that the public's business was a job for statesmen. Yet it

seems to me that today all over the South we are forcing on our politicians the sort of instinctive defense of the most simple ideas of a non-existent and never-was laissez-faire capitalism which, in an earlier generation, was associated with Congressmen from the mid-West, and not from the politically sophisticated South.

Secondly, I think we have to be concerned, though perhaps not as much as a few years back, by the social nervousness which gripped the South after 1954. The South, let me remind you, was the one region of the country which never took Senator McCarthy very seriously. Shortly after the rest of the country got over its McCarthyite binge, we started. The uneasiness which came from the racial crisis infected us generally, and we have had our period of investigating committees, hunts for Communism, purging of textbooks, and other such activities. I believe that as the racial controversy quiets, this social nervousness will also end, but we still have it with us.

A third cause of concern is more troublesome. One of the authentic southern traditions was a deep concern with the foreign relations of the United States, and a regional commitment to the idea that the United States must play a wise and leading role in international affairs. One particular aspect of this tradition was that we were, as a region, dedicated almost religiously to the idea of low tariffs and virtually free trade. I think we need to be profoundly worried over the fast withdrawal

of southern politicians, and other civic leaders, toward isolationism and away from the principles of free trade.

But there are currents of optimism too. First, there is the improved racial climate. I would have said "greatly improved" racial climate, except that I would not want anyone to infer that we have more than just begun to overcome this most ancient of the South's problems. In fact, we need to prepare ourselves for greater and more intense pressure from Negro Southerners for full civic rights -- and we should welcome it. As with any group of deprived people, every gain enlarges the desire for more gain, and increases impatience.

But the greatest asset the South has today is, I think, that we are making progress on this question.

Secondly, I think we shall derive great benefit in the South from re-apportionment. Our most critical problems in the next decades will be urban. We shall be far better able to cope with them when urban thinking is fairly represented in our legislatures and in our Congressional delegations.

And finally, on the side of optimism is the emergence of a realistic two-party system in some of our states, with the prospect that a two-party system may spread to other states in the near future. It seems to me that the Republican Party is, in the South, growing in the right way; i.e., by draining conservatives from the Democratic Party. Analysis of the growth

of the Republican Party in Texas since 1956 clearly shows that its growth has been due to conservative Democrats deciding that their best interests lay in casting their lot with the Republican Party. I suspect that much the same is happening here in Florida, aided, of course, by the migration to Florida of many people who have brought their Republic politics with them. The Republican Party is growing in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and in various cities of other states such as Atlanta and Shreveport.

I am extremely doubtful that a one-party South could make the right turn at the crossroads of which I spoke before. A one-party South will be an oppositionist South. I believe that the growth of a two-party system, with southern Democrats truly allied to the national Democratic Party, and southern Republicans truly allied to the national Republican Party, is the best means for ending southern isolation.

And I would add that I believe that the only feasible way that we in the South can preserve what is good of southern traditions and southern manners, is to stop defending what is bad in southern traditions, and to give up oppositionism, and to cast our lot with the nation.

- END -

File
Random Notes - Lwd

December 17, 1964

MEMORANDUM

This memorandum presents observations and comments on the manner in which federal agencies perform functions presently assigned them in areas related to civil rights, including the race relations aspects of anti-poverty programs. It is written from the viewpoint of private agencies and their particular concerns. Whatever qualifications the author has have come almost entirely from his working experience in the South.

1. The civil rights controversy has been engaged in, on the side of racial equality, by an unprecedented number of private agencies. It would probably be accurate to say that no other issue in American history has produced such an outpouring of organized supporters. The amount of activity and the variety of programs of these groups is amazing and can no longer be kept track of by anyone. Much of the activity is un-coordinated.

2. At the present time, for example, 38 agencies belong to the Southern Interagency Conference, which is a loose network to improve communication among the agencies; their names are set down in the footnote to illustrate the range of organizations which have program in the South. Similar range could be shown by listing the organizational membership of some other liaison

group, such as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights or the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

Participating in the Southern Interagency Conference:
AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
American Baptist Convention
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
Anti-Defamation League
Congress of Racial Equality
Disciples of Christ, United Christian Missionary Society
The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Jewish Labor Committee
Mennonite Service Committee
The Methodist Church, Women's Division, Dept. of Christian Social Relations
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Labor Service
National Urban League
Penn Community Services
The Potomac Institute
The Presbyterian Church in US, Board of Christian Education
Protestant Episcopal Church
Southern Baptist Convention
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Regional Council
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Service Committee
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department
United Church of Christ
United Presbyterian Church in the USA
US National Student Association Southern Student Human Relations Project
Southern Area Council of YMCA's
YWCA
National Conference on Religion and Race
Committee of Southern Churchmen

3. Some of the agencies are -- in current jargon -- "action" groups; many others might be conveniently distinguished by calling them "human relations" groups. Most of these have, what none of the action groups traditionally have had, other interests as well as race relations. Lately, a number of ad hoc groups have come into being, such as the Lawyers Constitutional ~~Committee for Constitutional Defense~~ Defense Committee and Books for Equal Education.

4. All of ~~the~~ this proliferation of organizations should not obscure for the federal official the crucial importance of local Negro and human relations organizations, little known outside their own localities. This is especially important to recognize in connection with the anti - poverty programs. The Voter Education Project discovered that the most effective voter registration work was done by local, independent groups (although often they were supported in one way or another -- though not financially -- by the larger action groups). Similarly, the anti-poverty programs will need to discover, for any given locality, who are the effective leaders and what is the trusted and appropriate group with which to consult.

5. The magnitude of the commitment by private agencies assures the federal government of a broad base of support for programs in behalf of equal opportunity. There is need from time to time for better focus and for the stimulus of a Presidential charge. The White House conferences called by President Kennedy

in 1963 served ~~three~~ these purposes. Similar conferences called to support a more imaginative and vast national attack on poverty are worth considering.

6. On the other hand, these groups provide a special kind of problem for the Executive Department. At least prior to the election of 1964, they were short on Congressional influence and, in the South, terribly short on influence with state governments and the political party structures. Consequently, they have thrown almost the whole weight of their demands and influence against the federal executive, and not through normal channels.

7. For many and substantial reasons, this is not a good situation. Although it will change, through increased Negro voting, re-apportionment, etc., the Administration should use what leverage it can to make party structures in the southern states more responsive to the private civil rights and human relations agencies. In particular, it is again the local groups who can most effectively relate to the parties and be most easily assimilated.

8. Another serious problem is somewhat of the same order. A governmental agency develops its own constituency of groups, interests, and persons whom it seeks to please. This is ~~most~~ not unwholesome. The civil rights and human relations agencies are seldom an important part of the constituency of any federal agency. The U. S. Office of Education, for example, has a constituency of public school administrators, the NEA, certain

Congressional committes, etc; many of ~~its~~ the OEO's officials came from tnis background. Other federal agencies are similar. ~~Although~~ Although they may have or come to have considerable sympathy for the aims of the civil rights movement, tney are not typically very responsive to the presentation of those aims by the private agencies.

9. These federal agencies, however, often try. During the late Summer and early Fall of 1964, for example, we (Southern Regional Council) were called to several meetings and were more informally consulted by federal agencies drafting regulations to implement Titles IV and VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. There consultations were generally along the lines of "tell us what the problems are." There really isn't much that can come out of such consultations. I finally wrote ~~the~~ to Secretary Celebreeze and said that if you want our assistance we could best offer it by reviewing the drafts of your regulations before they are sent to the White House; I received no reply. The point is <u>not</u> tnat the private agencies <u>should</u> have received the draft regulations; the point is that <u>if</u> the federal agencies consult them it snould be in ways designed to be frutiful. The federal agencies, especially since 1961, have ~~taken~~ taken up an awful lot of the time of private agency people in rather pointless consultations. Insofar as this has been contributive to getting to know each other it has had some value. But insofar as it has been, as it has frequently been, a mere gesture it should be stopped.

10. The reverse is, of course, also true. Federal agencies have been imposed on by the private ones. Most of the criticism here rests on the private agencies, but much of the imposition stems from the heady atmosphere of 1961. Prior to 1961, almost the last place a private agency would think to turn was to a federal office. This is an exaggerated statement, but not much. The Kennedy administration brought a new day. Suddenly everyone was welcome and, indeed, sought out. SNCC youngsters told each other what they had said to "Bobby" or what "Burke" or "Harris" had said to them. Human relations agencies staff came to feel on the "inside," partners in a combined venture. Inevitably and desirably, relationships became more regularized. There are still, however, some private agency staffers, of both the action and human relations types, ~~what~~ who seem to think they have a vested right in the time of federal officials. ~~By and large, there tend to be representatives of agencies that don't know what in the hell they should be doing, or incompetent staff of others; federal agencies should recognize this.~~

11. Perhaps from this same 1961 aura has derived the acute sensitivity of some federal offices to public criticism from civil rights groups. It must be recognized by federal offices that criticism is an essential part of the American political process; that some of the private groups are intended by their charters to contribute to public discussion; and that, moreover, criticism from friends ~~infrequently~~ is frequently a necessary

counterbalance to the inevitable criticism from opponents and that without it the federal agencies might well be pulled off course.

12. One of the great acnievements of the Kennedy administration was that it took ~~to take~~ long, hopefully decisive, strides toward building an ~~xxxxxx~~ alertness for civil rights into the institutional fabric of the bureaucracy. As we move into the day of Titles IV and VI and VII, into the anti-poverty programs, this achievement seems doubly important. The bureaucracy is vast, and intricate, however, and a primary job of any Administration will continue to be that of strengthening its own shop.

13. Within tne bureaucracy, there are individuals at key Washington, regional, or local desks who are unsympathetic. This is probably, however, the least of problems.

14. Much more formidable are certain virtues (I would regard them as such) of our federal establishment. Many of our federal departments and large agencies are decentralized to a degree extraordinary among modern governments. In the field, they are highly responsive to local interests and opinions. Some of

them (e.g., the Department of Agriculture, the R. E. A.) entrust some programs to boards locally elected ~~boards~~; some (e.g. the Department of Labor) depend on private interests to administer programs; in the program of nearly all federal departments and large agencies, state and local governments have statutory roles.

15. Although federal regulations and federal diligence should strive to build a concern for civil rights and equal opportunity into this ~~laab~~ labyrinthine structure, it is probably not realistic to expect that everything can be done from the top, and I think not desirable to transform the decentralized system. Private agencies need to grow in sophistication, and to learn how to bring telling influence on the outer-reaches of the bureaucracy. But the problem is (and should be) basically one of where political power rests and who, therefore, can influence administration. Regulations can be written and directives signed, but a lot more good would be done by high level Washington support for voter registration.

16. ~~Which~~ We have never really had this although everybody talks about it. The simple little idea of plastering post offices and mail tracks with "Register and Vote" signs has been spurned, and anything beyond that has not been seriously considered. The V.E.P. spent $1,000,000 of private money doing a job that could have been far easier and far more productive with the right kind of support. What can be accomplished through even the highest national leadership depends now, as it always has, on the political strength which underlies the effort. Voting is no panacea, but it is the sub-stratum of all progress. How far, realistically, can we go in achieving President

Johnson's goal of the "full assimilation of more than 20,000,000 Negroes into American life" when the highest voting turn-out last November in a southern state was Florida's 53%, with the other southern states ranging down to Mississippi's 33%? What we need is a "register and vote" campaign carried on nation-wide with White House leadership, and with all the crusading ~~from~~- fervor of a war bond sale campaign.

17. Even if and when regional and local offices of the federal government can be made more responsive to civil rights and equal opportunity, the government will be faced with its eternal problem of internal communication. At S.R.C., we are aware of great improvement in recent years. Directives do get down, and they are given attention. The record is, of course, not perfect. I cannot be certain of this, but within the last fortnight, for example, ~~as~~ an SRC and an American Friends Service representative returned from Houston County (Ga.) both convinced that Air Force Regulation No. 35-78 (Equal Opportunity and Treatment of Military Personnel) was hardly known of at the Warner-~~Robbins~~ Robins Base.

over

~~18~~ 19. Communication is of several kinds. There are still federal officials who regard civil rights as just another form of "agitation." These officials can treat a civil rights complainant about as a city functionary treats a complain~~ant~~t that garbage hasn't been picked up. Much of the distrust, for example, that the direct action groups have toward the F.B.I. can ~~be~~ never be document~~al~~ed because it derives from the way the telephone was answered, the smile on an F.B.I. agents' face or the lack of one, his appearance while observing a demonstration.

~~19~~ 20. Or, again, communication can be by "images." Let it be said that images are not always accurate. The distortion can be

18. The C.R. Act of 1964 injects into the civil rights field some federal offices which, rather conspicuously, have avoided contact with the subject as far as possible these last ten years. Now these agencies ~~will be an foreign~~ must represent a administration forward looking policies. It to name these agencies is not necessary. A coordinator or of federal program might be well advised to pay particular attention to the performance of these old, established offices newly charged with "equal opportunity" responsibilities.

in the eye of the viewer and not the ~~privacy~~ primary responsibility of the viewed. The federal agency, however, needs to be concerned with how it is seen. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which has in fact achieved a great deal, does not have the general trust of the private agencies, basically because of a suspicion that employers have taken it over, and also because of its seemingly incurable disposition to release only window-dressing facts. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing has an even worse "image" because nobody knows what it has done and consequently believes that it is a pretense. The Community Relations Service created a huge and prestigious advisory committee, and has done nothing with it; I can from my personal acquaintance attest the sense of deeply moved dedication with which ~~many~~ some Committee members accepted their appointment, and also to their later let-down feeling when not given anything to do. Government agencies would be well advised to have in positions of public visibility persons who enjoy the trust of the civil rights movement, and to speak candidly to the public. If the private agencies share one common and typical characteristic it is skepticism; an Administration which is interested in having their working confidence should elevate candor to an administrative virtue.

To involve more citizens in constructive programs

~~20~~ 21. What with the C.R. Act of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act, the carry-over Area Redevelopment and Manpower Development and Training Acts, the pending Appalachia meausure, and other prospective programs, this is a time of gigantic challenge to federal administrators. Coordination and liaison will be imperative. Washington will have the responsibility to effect this, but it might consider the help some private agencies can be each on an informal arrangement. For example, here in Atlanta SRC some times ago,

at the suggestion of a couple federal employees, invited all federal people operating out of Atlanta with "equal opportunity" responsibilities to meet with each other in our conference room. Some of them, it turned out, had never seen each other before. They found the meeting helpful, and since have met in our conference room monthly ~~without our participation participation~~ to exchange experiences and ideas. Things of this sort perhaps can not be planned, but if government representatives and private agency people are in frequent communication with each other, similar opportunities will develop.

22. To this lay observer, some duplication and confusion of functions under the new laws seems apparent. This need not, at least from the viewpoint of the private agencies, be altogether bad, on the pragmatic premise of getting as much energy and activity as one can into the field. Efficient use of governmental money and personnel will be advantageous, however, but a danger that must be guarded against is coordination to the point of erasing statutory responsibilities. The Department of Justice after 1961 did this to the Commission on Civil Rights, with disastrous results to the latter. The Commission abandoned clear statutory duties in the voting field; on top of that, when it was prevented by the Department from holding Mississippi hearings it suffered a loss in staff morale and public respect from which it has not recovered. Coordination should be, in other words, of statutory assignments, and should not over-rule them.

23. The Commission on Civil Rights is a special case because it is the one independent agency in this field. It is also the federal agency which probably has the most friendships with private agencies, both because of this independent role and because of its

network of state advisory committees. Yet at the same time, private agencies are tending to look on it as a good but impotent friend. They get the impression that neither the White House nor Congress takes the Commission seriously, and that it would be got ~~rei-~~ rid of if anyone knew how. The Commission, especially, needs to be assured that its role is to fulfill its statutory assignments with vigor.

~~23~~ 24. There has been a need since 1955 for efficient and effective federal mediation. This was not satisfactorily supplied by special appointments (such as Mr. Dulles or Col. Blaik and Mr. ~~Crity~~ Royall) or by the Department of Justice. The new Community Relations Service can be a tremendous asset, and not only in the South. At least for the next few years (and hopefully it may not be needed longer) it will require, in order to do an effective job, obvious White House support. It would seem worthwhile for the President to find frequent opportunities to show his confidence in Governor Collins.

~~24~~ 25. There are too few Negroes in federal "equal opportunity" positions in the South. Men such as Vince ~~Sewett~~ Suitt of the Air Force and Robert Thompson of HHFA (both

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in Atlanta regional offices and both, incidentally, alumni of local Urban Leagues) do an apparently effective job, attesting that Negroes can represent the government's policies in this field in the South. There is still hesitation, however. A regional official for an "equal opportunity" program is recruiting for an assistant, and said to us that he doubted "we are ready" to hire a Negro. The Commission on Civil Rights has recently reversed an earlier decision to create an Atlanta office because of internal disagreement on the question of appointing a Negro to head the office.

26. The great record of the Kennedy administration was deeply marred by its appointments of federal judges in the South. Each Judge Cox must have created a need for another group of positions on the Civil Rights Division's lawyers staff. These appointments must stop, even if judgeships have to be left vacant for a while. Moreover, one would hope that before 1968 there will have been Negro attorneys appointed to the federal bench, not only in the upper South but the Deep South as well.

27. Finally, Negroes and Negro groups should be brought into the war on poverty. One hopes fervently that Washington will require from local communities uniquivocal assurances that plans presented for federal support are truly community plans, which means that the benificiaries of the plans should have participated in their formation. If direct participation is not feasible, they should participate through representatives who stand closer to them than do city or county officials.

29. The principal points of this memorandum are thought to be as follows, in the order they were discussed:

a. Local Negro and human relations groups can be of indispensable help to federal agencies in the Anti-poverty program.

b. It is to the interest both of the government and of private agencies for the latter to have improved and open access to state and local political party structures.

27. A really tremendous job has be
since 1961 in ~~the~~ federal employment of Ne
do not have survey data at this time, bu
still very few Negroes in professional & semi-p
in Southern posts. Secondly, even fewer
law enforcement in the South. There are abo
a couple marshals, are there any F.B.I. a
length if desired, but our view is th
federal law enforcement. Thirdly, there see
Southerners to "equal opportunity" positio
Hill at HHFA, Proctor at Poverty are
~~the~~ government's work in the South would
who are intimately familiar with the p
Rights division, the Community Relations

een done ~~by the federal executive service~~
egroes. There are still some problems. We
ut our observation in the states are
professional jobs (from GS-7 up, e.g.)
are the Negroes in ~~executive~~ federal
ut few assistant district attorneys +
gents? This point can be argued at
~~that~~ Negroes would be positive assets in
ems to be a reluctance to appoint Negro
tion in Washington. Holman at CCR
about all we can remember easily. The
l benefit from having qualified Negroes
problems on the staff, the Civil
n Service, etc.

2

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c. Consultations, formal or informal, between federal and private agencies are extremely valuable, but only if designed to elicit concrete proposals and ideas.

d. Federal agencies must recognize and accept the desirability of public criticism by private agencies

e. <u>Continued progress in race relations is hardly possible unless the voting turn-out is much increased</u>.

f. Within the government there will be always a need for attentiveness to communication downward to sub-offices; candor should be the principle guiding the government's communication with the public.

g. Coordination of federal agencies in their field is necessary, but should not diminish any agency's statutory responsibilities.

h. Qualified Negroes ought to be appointed to the federal bench in the South, in larger numbers to

i. Local communities should be required to bring the beneficiaries of anti-poverty community programs into the planning of them.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

southern offices and to law enforcement work in the South. Negro Southerners could strengthen Washington "equal opportunity" offices.

File Random notes - Staff, Lund

Randa&
Sent to Mr. David S. Seeley
U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. (HEW)

April 20, 1965

Issuance of more instructions, revision or supplementing of those already issued, would probably not be advisable between now and June 30, 1965, unless corrections are plainly needed. It would be helpful, however, in any statements from HEW to mute and gradually abandon the precept "may differ from community to community." This (a) invites experimental evasion; (b) produces suspicion and sharp criticism from Negro and civil rights groups; (c) will in practice likely prove impossible for O. of E. to make intelligible and to administer.

Alternatively, O. of E. might stress in its various public statements that, for those districts not eligible to sign the 441, what counts is the policy direction of the school board, not the specifics of its plan. In practice, this would be more susceptible of determination. In every locality, there are knowledgeable people who can see the probable effects of a plan and concretely interpret them to O. of E. Indeed, in many cases probable effects will be apparent on the face of the plan submitted to O. of E. Probable effects which are generally acceptable to the Negro community of a locality should be acceptable to O. of E.

On one point, O. of E. should be especially firm, both in its own thinking and in its statements: teacher integration. This is because (a) few really believe that

O. of E. is firm on this point; (b) non-racial assignment of teachers is an effective encouragement for the long haul of de facto desegregation; (c) the O. of E. has an obligation to the profession it represents not to accede to racial restrictions within the profession.

Geographic zoning will characterize many if not most plans. Rational zoning will in many cases maintain de facto segregation. Inevitably, O. of E. will be pushed by civil rights groups (despite Sec. 401b) to adopt policies that counteract this. O. of E. could provide needed educational leadership for the whole country by early adopting the position that the schools cannot be intelligently expected to overcome segregation created by housing and other social causes. Such a position would draw heavy fire from civil rights groups, but perhaps less the sooner it is adopted and, quite possibly, O. of E. will have to adopt it in time anyway. Some of us would find ways to support this position. Furthermore, it would help O. of E. in its vexed relations with southern school boards; probably, it would also be gratefully received by school administrations over the country.

The lack of a clear statement from O. of E. regarding the permissible pace of desegregation for non-441 districts is a serious defect. All plans should be required to specify

a date by which the district will be able to satisfy O. of E.'s criteria for signing a 441. For <u>any</u> district, the outside date would seem to be the <u>earliest</u> date allowed by a federal court in <u>any</u> of the court cases within its state.* O. of E. might, in fact, consider whether the interests of clarity and certainty would not be served by its disclosing that it will in all cases accept such a date, revising it from time to time as new court decrees are made. This would put some of the burden for accelerating desegregation on the Legal Defense Fund but that would be (a) the existing situation and (b) an incentive to the Fund, knowing that whatever it could win in one case as a final date would apply state-wide.

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*Or, to allow for judicial eventualities, 1967 at the earliest.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

(1) The power to decide the course of strategy is diffuse. Congress, President, Department of Justice, NAACP, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Martin King, SNCC, CORE, the National Urban League to some extent, a myriad of local groups, VEP, foundations. Perhaps a writer such as Baldwin should be included. Perhaps SRC has power sufficient to seed strategic ideas. Most southern governments have withdrawn from exercise of initiative: now merely defensive; need to get them to return to decision-making, but on other side.

(2) Even though decision-making so diffuse, valuable to seek an over-all understanding, in order to define particular function.

(3) Chief problem fields seem to be, in order of immediacy,: erasure of racial barriers; use of human resources; education and training; housing; the family.

(a) Solutions cannot be compartmentalized. On the other hand, progress in erasing barriers has to proceed ahead of others

(b) Moreover, problems of family life, which in many ways are the most basic of all, probably cannot be substantially solved until large progress made on all others

(c) Helpful to discuss problem fields in reverse order of immediacy.

(4) The longer I work and study in race relations, the more convinced I become that the root hardship is the weakening of Negro family life. The worst crime committed by the white South during both slave times and the years since has been to discourage by nearly every conceivable means Negro family stability.

(a) It seems to be the predestined role of the bourgeosie of all societies to be lampooned and criticized. And certainly the Negro bourgeosie needs to support strongly the civil rights campaign -- if for no reason other than self interest. Nevertheless, the only real measure of achievement of the campaign is how many people are enabled to live middle-calss lives; as a matter of fact, this goal is implicit in the purposes of all the civil rights groups, including CORE and SNCC.

(1) Over the next few years, one of the really interesting and important national developments will likely be within the Negro leadership, in the form of debate and tension between those (symbolized by the NAACP and NUL) working for integration without other

economic or political ends; and those (symbolized by Bayard Rustin and some of the SNCC spokesmen) who see a need for identifying the Negro cause with that of other far-reaching changes. Though the latter would undoubtedly deny it, the end sought either way is to be bourgeoir.

(b) Problems of family stability cannot be solved until and as progress is made in the other areas. But there is a reciprocal relationship here too, and progress in the other areas is and will be dependent on a steady growth of the strength of family units.

(c) Family programs of the NUL and local Urban Leagues are, therefore, helpful even if only ameliorative; and those of other social welfare agencies too. They would be far more helpful if they included instruction in birth control. There is an urgent need for more counselling, by either public or private agencies, to the families newly arrived in the cities from rural areas.

(5) I am a pessimist about how successful non-economic measures can be in abolishing ghettoes; and until the ghettoes are broken, the whole chain of problems, which include Negro family life and

inferior schools, will be with us. I think these measures should be used, and vigorously, but I don't expect from them great results. By non-economic pressures I mean governmental regulations, church teaching, exhortations, etc., etc.

(a) The great contribution of governments (and it would be a large one) can be in the area of, generically, planning. Governments all the way down the line should be asking themselves -- or, realistically, should be made to ask themselves -- every time a decision is to be made on highway locations, urban renewal projects, school site selection, annexations, sewer or street or water main location, park construction, etc: "Will this tighten or loosen the patterns of housing segregation?" Civil rights advocates would accomplish more by dogging these questions than by promoting anti-discrimination laws. (There are, on the other hand, some conceivable situations in which other factors would outweigh: e.g., I think it conceivable that, all factors considered, the one best location for a particular new school might be in the heart of a raciallh homogenous area. But the question should each time be raised and faced.)

more fun — reverse process

(1) Who can do this? Local Urban Leagues where they exist and, hopefully, local Councils on Human Relations. But this task shows clearly what is one of the crucial requirements of better race relations, and that is a growingly strong network of local organizations.

(2) There are undoubtedly at least some opportunities here for the Legal Defense Fund to work.

(b) But, basically, the answer to housing discrimination is more housing. To abolish the ghetto you must have housing integration; to have integration you must stop white flight; to stop white flight you must have a short supply of Negro buyers; and to have that, you must have, if not fully a buyer's market, at least a market in which the buyer has multiple attractive choices.

Recent market [illegible]

(1) From this point of view, I would say that an example of a truly big contribution lately to civil rights promises to be the Church Homes apartments, sponsored by the Wheat Street Baptist Church with guidance from the Atlanta Urban League.

(2) Why can't philanthropy open up more funds for Negro housing, under auspices of Negro organizations?

(6) I shall not in this paragraph refer to the effecting of compliance with Brown v. Topeka, but with the submerged part of the iceberg: de facto segregation and the enormous disparities of educational opportunities within our population. Very clearly, or so it seems to me, these represent the biggest single tractable problem in our race relations, and the one most demanding of huge governmental programs and constant attention.

(a) I think it is wrong to separate the two questions. De facto segregation and under-education should be merged into a single problem, of how best to educate the children. Consentrating simply or primarily on de facto segregation leads into such cul-de-sacs as New York and Chicago are experiencing now, where demands are being made that perhaps cannot be met without assuming that racial balance is a value superior to any other educational value.

(b) If we merge the questions, I think we would conclude that we cannot educate the children well in a racially restrictive school system. But we would not be putting the cart before the horse, and substituting an ideological goal (integration) for the real goal, which is the best development of the child.

(c) Nor is there anything inherently inferior in a ~~child~~ Negro college, or a predominantly Negro one. Some few of the Negro institutions are at the threshhold of being first-rate liberal arts schools, and are deserving of as devoted and un-self conscious development as, say, Brandeis, or Sewanee, or Notre Dame, or Vassar.

(d) On the other hand, to help perpetuate many of the Negro colleges is as ~~foolish~~ foolish as, say, helping to perpetuate some of the sectarian white colleges scattered profusely over the country.

(e) In the whole area of education, it seems to me, there are three paramount and equal needs:

(1) Ideas -- where is the independent body of thought to guide the school boards, the NAACP, and the public in such hassles as Harlem and Chicago? Who has done any thinking comparable to Conant, about the rural schools, particularly those of the Black Belt? What philosophers are evaluating Higher Horizons or Grey Areas, or the plans of the North Carolina Fund? Who is thinking about how you educate migrant laborers'

children? etc. SRC can and will contribute something here, and so can organizations such as Potomac or ADL. But there should be extensive work at the colleges, particularly the Negro colleges.

(2) The inculcation of adequate standards -- let me say only that in my experience the under-education of southern youth -- Negroes, but whites too -- is not as serious a problem as the falsity of these standards. The under-education can be cured, but it takes dynamite, if that will do it, to jerk the minds onto a new level of valuation of work. Foundations, it seems to me, have a very special responsibility here. They should not grant a dollar toward Negro or any southern education program which would contribute to the security of present low standards; and they should imaginatively seek for ways to infuse the best standards throughout Negro and southern, generally, education.

over stated

(3) Money

(7) A basic difference between a primitive and a so-called develped society is that in the former the economy is fitted to the human

resources while in the latter human beings adapt or try to adapt to the economy. One might hope for a happy medium, but, unless we get some new cultural attitudes and some new philosophy infused into our society we need to concentrate hard on how we can make our economy use in satisfying ways all our people. With immeasurable irony, our present economy has least use for two of our oldest groups of inhabitants: (a) Appalachian mountain folk; (b) Negroes. The problems are vast and hard, and include the maintenance of an expansive economy, <u>including</u> a job market big enough and qualitatively good enough to provide happily for the work force; sophisticated job and career training plans that are large and that accord with an ever changing job market; education that suits people for enjoyable and self-sustaining leisure. All this, as well as the removal of artifical barriers -- such as discrimination -- to the free flow of talents and skills to their own level.

(a) This suggests certain conclusions. It is not in the interest of Negroes for them to subscribe to a single political platform: civil rights. Negroes have a greater stake than anybody in economic growth, and it is bad politics for them to get in the position of being appeasable by civil rights concessions.

(b) The doorways to the job market -- vocational training schools, apprenticeship programs, employment agencies (public and private),

professional schools, etc. -- are of crucial importance to Negroes. Vested interests arounnd the doorways are,therefore, ultimate enemy, To keep the doorway clear is a job to which many -- NUL, NAACP, Negro newspapers, direct action groups, CHR's, SRC -- can contribute.

(c) Better and more thorough counselling in the schools serving lower income groups is of key importance. This is a field ripe for (1) philanthropy (2) and pressure by civil rights groups for larger governmental outlays for counselling.

(d) Lower income children have got to stay in school to some terminal point -- which means that the schools have got to be made fit to stay in.

(8) Finally erasure of racial barriers: civil rights.

(a) <u>School integration</u>

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (?) is not going to be of much help, and we <u>do need</u> Congressional action. We need ideas for Congress, and efforts such as the Notre Dame Conference to supply them. Lobbying by NAACP should be expanded. The VEP is helping to

alter climate in southern constituencies; it is of key importance to get some southern Congressmen on our side, and to keep others on defensive.

But we need helpful action as well -- or even more -- by state legislatures, state departments of education, and local school boards and administration. We must outgrow the idea that these are necessarily to be written off as agents of positive leadership. SRC (and others) should be trying to define and get publicly accepted their responsibilities, and the Negro groups, the CHR's, and the intergroup relations agencies generally should be pressing them to assume leadership.

Finally, there is a terrific job of legal mopping-up to do. Legal Defense Fund will need to be active for years, and ways should be found to get more southern lawyers -- especially Negro lawyers -- interested; there are nearly 2,000 school districts in the South which are legal sitting ducks, and where only plaintiffs and trial lawyers are needed to effect starts.

(b) Politics

In general, voter registration and voting must be pushed through VEP and -- hopefully -- through the carry-over of

VEP stimulated activity in the post 1964 period.

Beyond this, encouragement should be given to the development of Negro political leadership. Increasing the supply of Negro lawyers has, accordingly, a double purpose, given America's traditional tending to draw politicians from the ranks of lawyers. The SNCC workers -- who have tasted not only leadership, but some of its temptations -- represent a national concern, in that it is to everybody's interest to get them "integrated" into the regular channels of advancement and political preferment.

The traditional emphases in the curricula of Negro colleges -- teacher education, sociology -- must be altered in the direction of subjects such as economics and political science which have greater training value for politics and public administration.

Negroes should participate much more than they do in non-race groups, such as League of Women Voters, the political parties, ADA, YAF, etc.

(c) Employment

Much of what is said under 8a regarding school integration applies here, though the

Act of 1964 may be of substantial help.

We need:

(a) Continuous studies, with ~~figures~~ frequent public releases, of the administration and results of federal and state anti-discrimination programs.

(b) To get far more deeply embedded than we have the public understanding that discrimination is harmful to the whole economy.

(c) To be on guard that federal and state anti-discrimination commissions are not, in the traditional manner of regulatory bodies, captured by and put to serve those they regulate. The President's Committee is beginning already to look this way.

(d) A great deal more and more effective use of consultants, seeking to persuade, advise, and assist employers. Private agencies have tried this and been ineffective (including the Urban Leagues?); but how could they have done much better than they have? The most effective consultants would be representative of state ~~and~~ or local governments.

(e) Continued use of tactics such as Operation Breadbasket which drive home what is the true fact: initiative and responsibility must come from employer.

(f) Far, far more thorough and skilled job counselling in the schools.

We do not need:

(a) Quotas or preferential plans. (1) More than anyone else, Negroes have an interest in economic growth and productivity; (2) Would boomerang in ill will; (3) When you try to outsmart the system (which is different from trying to reform it), the system, or those who benefit from it, will outsmart you, because they can.

(d) Public and Private Institutions

(e) Market Place

Assuming the Act of 1964 includes the public accommodations section, the South will be faced again with a great challenge to obey federal law.

(a) Pressure for local ordinances should continue unabated, in order to get local enforcement machinery in play.

(b) Effort should be made in every southern state and leading city to get civic leaders committed to some such position as:

"This is now the law, and the South must not again undertake the turmoil

of resisting. To challenge the law in the courts is proper. But in the meantime, and until and unless it is voided or changed, obey. And neither state nor local governments should in any way seek to frustrate the Congressional command or add to the citizen's (proprietor's) difficulties in obeying."

(c) Efforts should be made throughout the South to get church bodies, women's groups, etc. to announce early positive support.

(f) Marriage.

File
LWD - Random Notes

Notes for JHWheeler

AREAS OF FOUNDATION RESPONSIBILITY AND PRIORITY

- : -

1. **Integration**

Don't be misled into believing that because of new decisions and attitudes in Washington or even in the state capitals the civil rights struggle is over. It is not, and the campaign for integration is just beginning. I would advise foundations against devising their own strategies. I would advise instead that they keep the door open to the tax exempt organizations working in this field (Legal Defense Fund, National Urban League, Southern Regional Council, the state Councils on Human Relations, and a few others perhaps); become familiar with their programs, staffs, record of achievement, and plans; and be responsive to their needs as they define them.

2. **Education**

The largest educational need, of course, is for programs that reach the elementary grades and even pre-school years. The sums of money are so vast, however, that only public treasuries can supply them. Foundations can make their indispensable contribution by (a) pilot and experimental programs, (b) studies to guide public programs.

Higher education is probably the academic area in which foundations should concentrate their resources. I agree with the conclusion of Earl McJ. Grath in his authoritative new study of the Negro colleges (The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition): every one of the private Negro colleges is presently needed and there should be "rigorous efforts ...made to strengthen them;" (I am not as sure that all of the state owned Negro institutions need to be preserved.) Two questions seem to me of basic importance in determining philanthropic policies:

(a) should foundations help be directed principally toward helping the individual (student and faculty) or the institution? My answer would be that we should work toward basic improvements, and that requires that help to the institution be given first priority.

(b) Should the philosophy of foundation giving express a special concern for Negro education? My answer is no. We should regard the so-called Negro colleges and universities as simply parts of America's educational structure; We should recognize them as a neglected and hense frequently inferior part; and we should resolve to bring them up to a level of maximum usefulness to society, available to serve the whole of society. Please note that this cuts more than one way; e.g., if enrollment at a Negro college were to drop because of desegregation elsewhere, the temptation might be to abandon that college. On the contrary, the enrollment needs of today and tomorrow dictate that that college get special help, to the point where it can attract and teach its share of our youth.

3. Poverty Programs

This is, of course, a field rightly pre-empted by the federal government and, through federal aid, state and local governments. I suggest, however, that foundations have an indispensable role for several reasons: (a) to permit programs of a more experimental nature; (b) to provide yard-stick programs in this area in which everyone is groping for best methods; (c) to maintain through private agencies and students continuous study and evaluation of the effectiveness of government programs.

4. Counselling

The disadvantaged people of this country -- all of them in all their many categories -- need counselling, of many sorts: family counselling, college selection, career guidance. Programs of the O.E.O. will, hopefully, meet much of this need, but foundations should keep the needs under constant surveillance and assist as indicated.

Folder Look - Notes

PUBLIC POLICY AND RACE

Purpose

1. Everyone agreed that treatment and assimilation of minority group is a principal domestic problem, with implications for our international relations.

   (1-A. Also widespread agreement that our foreign policies need to take account of the aspiration and unrest of non-white peoples throughout the world. This issue could well be included in the proposed study; no further reference is made to it, however, in these notes.)

2. Problems of minority groups are in the hands of legislatures, courts, and administrators; new law and public policy are being produced in profusion at federal, state, and local levels.

3. In perhaps every other important field of law-making, legislatures can call upon informed, objective, non-partisan analysis and opinion.

4. In race relations, such non-partisan expertise does not exist, except among sociologists and psychologists; nor is a special board of inquiry such as the CCR, a substitute for independent, professional, continuing analysis.

5. These social scientists are not the specialists to advise on legislative programs, administrative methods, political and legal norms and values which are affected by new legislation, constitutional principles.

6. The intent of this study would be to encourage critical scholarly thought, and creative recommendations about the direction public

policy should take, consistent with other values and principles of American constitutionalism and culture.

Basic premises

1. Constitutional rights to equality should be fully realized as quickly as possible.
2. The preservation of the federal system remains a basic value of American politics.
3. The continuing and accelerating concentrations of people in metropolitan centers gives new character and dimensions to race relations.
4. The United States, both for reasons of its internal growth and its international situation, faces an imperative that talents be fully developed, manpower resources fully used, and citizen responsibility fully emphasized.

Examples of questions to be studied

1. Adequacy of federal civil rights legislation - what is the federal responsibility in this field?
2. Adequacy of federal enforcement machinery for civil rights.
3. The wisdom of positive federal programs (e.g., financial aid) to promote integration of schools - if wise, what sorts of programs would be practical?
4. What policy guide-lines and what administrative devices should and could the federal government adopt in its other activities (e.g., housing, procurement, employment, aid to education) to reform and improve race relations.

5. The anti-discrimination commission of Northern states and cities: - objectives - their effect on private property rights - their administrative practices - the legal concepts being developed by their rulings - are they ad hoc agencies or likely to be permanent? - their relation to judicial review.
6. Should public policy be confined to ending discrimination and compulsory segregation, or should it seek to bring about actual integration? (e.g., in the schools)
7. The Lisbowitz-Fischer point of view in New York City: should non-white migration to cities be controlled?
8. The rural migrant: are federal or state programs needed to equip him with urban skills? - if so, what sort of programs?

Personal (the names represent the sort of people who would be desirable)

A. E. Sutherland, Harvard Law

Harris Wofford, Notre Dame Law

Robert Harris, Vanderbilt Political Science

Henry Brandis, North Carolina Law

Frederick Watkins, Yale Political Science

James Mitchell, Secretary of Labor

G. W. Foster, Wisconsin Law

or

Louis Pollak, Yale Law

Brooks Hays, TVA

John Wheeler, Durham business

J. M. Nabrit, Howard Law

Albert Dent, Dillard

Society for the Study of Social Problems NYC
Speech 8/27/1960
LWD

REFLECTIONS ON THE LATEST REFORM OF THE SOUTH*

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

I need not speak in justification of your concern, as sociologists, with the sit-ins. Nor will I attempt to portray the demonstrations and their effects on southern society with broad strokes of interpretation. As some of you are aware, I hope, the Southern Regional Council has more than once ventured to put the movement into perspective and I have, frankly, little if anything to contribute further to that end. In our first report, on February 25, we said:

> The deeper meaning of the "sit-in" demonstrations is to show that segregation cannot be maintained in the South, short of continuous coercion and the intolerable social order which would result.

I still think that statement is correct. The sit-ins showed how near we had come to the fork where a wrong-turning could lead to terroristic policies, akin to those in South Africa; and they said to the American people, more clearly than had been said before, that the only acceptable alternate road is a short path toward desegregation.

Committed still to this broad generalization, what I shall do this morning is string together a series of observations which I submit in the hope they may have some value to the social scientists who will someday write the definitive studies of the reform of the South.

1. Almost from the beginning the sit-ins have been referred to as a "movement." That both participants and observers felt this way about them is noteworthy, because the name "movement" does not catch on unless people sense that it does apply. No one ever speaks of the "school desegregation movement." One accomplishment, then, of

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* This is a revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, August 27, 1960, in New York.

the sit-ins was to achieve, almost from the start, recognition.

The textbooks undoubtedly contain definitions of social "movements." One could suppose that a "movement" is distinct from other social events in at least three ways: (1) it is broadly based; (2) its adherents are committed to a specific set of principles; (3) the participants are willing to expend a great deal of personal effort. On the third point the sit-ins surely qualify.

As to the first point it is interesting to ask when this affair which four youngsters in Greensboro started became a broadly based movement. If we ask that question, some places and dates become especially interesting: High Point (N.C.), where on February 11 occurred the first sit-ins not led by college students; Rock Hill (S.C.), where on February 12 there was the first demonstration in a Deep South state; Montgomery (Ala.), where on February 25 sit-ins erupted in an area of notorious tension, proclaiming that the movement was to go, so to speak, right to the lair of the opposition; Petersburg (Va.), where on February 27 the first sit-in occurred elsewhere than at a lunch counter (it was at the public library), and afforded a clearer understanding of the serious intent of the demonstrations. By the end of the first month, the sit-ins had made firm their roots in popular support.

Equally important, as evidence of the validity of the movement, has been its resurgence in the early months of 1961, after the nadir of the second half of 1960.* In the early days, there was a bath of publicity, which by now (March, 1961) has abated. A new demonstration gets only a brief mention in the press; arrests, if there are any, are reported on back pages; if those arrested refuse bail and crowd the jails, this attracts lessened public attention, on the old journalistic premise that expected behavior is not news. The downplay has also been, in part, the result of a deliberate management decision to mute the controversy. Yet controversy and protest continue strong, and the students have compensated for the decline in public interest by fanning their own concern with newsletters and a student newspaper.

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* Except around Jackson, Tenn.; somehow public attention never rivited on the Lane College students despite the strength and courage of their protest.

2. As to principles, I would say that there has been remarkable consistency on two points: (a) segregation is a social and moral evil which can no longer be acquiesced in; (b) non-violence is the technique best suited for waging this particular fight. To the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and some other leaders, non-violence is far more than a technique, but they have had difficulty as yet in getting their ideas understood; their labors to spread the philosophical commitment do, however, continue. For the mass of participants and adherents of the movement, non-violence is a method both morally attractive and recommended by self-interest and prudence. Moreover, there are many cultural and traditional factors which deter Negroes from attempting organized violence, even violent retaliation, against white men.

3. The movement began in the Piedmont. The first six cities affected were in the Piedmont, as were eight of the first ten. This is probably where social scientists would have predicted the origin, had they been prescient enough to anticipate what would happen. And yet I cannot down the feeling that the Piedmontese origin was largely accidental, that the crucial factor was not geography but the presence of a group of Negro colleges situated close to each other, and that the movement could as well have begun at any one of three or four other locations. As a matter of fact, there may be something in the observation that when the movement spread to the Richmond-Norfolk, the Nashville, and the Atlanta areas--each a center of Negro colleges--the nature of it changed somewhat in each place from the lunch-counter-sit-in-plus-negotiation pattern of the Piedmont.

4. The movement underscores again the almost total failure of traditional race relations to encompass educated Negroes. Southern states have, of course, always been stingy and still are in providing higher education for Negroes. The meagre provision has been prudent in terms of the traditional race relations which had room for, indeed needed, a handful of "leaders of their race," but cannot accommodate large numbers of educated Negro men and women. Those large numbers, the products of colleges supported by the states, by churches, and by

private philanthropy, now exist and are growing, and are radically subversive of southern racial practices.

5. This is a movement of underprivileged persons, in the correct meaning of that much misused term. The Negro demonstrators have been, typically, people with advantages, but with less of them than some other groups in their society. These Negroes are not a downtrodden, destitute mass. Their advantages include an educated leadership; a power to invoke national public opinion in their support; economic strength sufficient to carry off effective boycotts; apparently ample money resources within the Negro community to pay bail and legal costs; the services of skilled lawyers; and a system of constitutional law which protects and defines their rights and limits the power of southern states to inhibit their actions.

6. The social scientist of the future who will write the definitive study of the movement will most certainly want to view it against a background of regional economic change, of southern industrialization and urban growth, and he may likely conclude that the movement has some of its deepest roots in that fabric of social change and reorganization. I would like to urge one point. It has often seemed to me that a curious contradiction creeps into the scholarly analyses which, for at least two generations, have dissected the South. On the one hand, there is an awareness of the distinctness of the South's culture, and this has led to concrete descriptions which have been tremendously valuable. But on the other hand, the scholarly assumption seems to be that the South of the future--the industrialized South--will be just like every other industrial region, and that, therefore, certain textbook concepts about industrialism and urbanism can be readily applied as predictors of the Southern change. Now, I think this doesn't follow, and I think the record bears me out. The contemporary South is, after all, by any world-wide or historical criteria a well developed industrial, urban region. And it has beyond doubt borrowed many of the characteristics of other industrial, urban societies. But it still remains culturally distinguishable, and will, I

suspect, continue to relinquish but slowly its own ways. So I hope the social scientist of the future will not uncritically move into place his concepts of urban and industrial social patterns when he comes to explaining the origins and the fortunes of the sit-in movement. I hope instead that he will look for the peculiar features, not only of the traditional South, but of the changing South. Let me offer you one example. In cities North, West, and South there is a movement away from the central city to the suburbs. This frequently means a city electorate more and more influenced by low income, minority groups. The peculiarly southern feature, however, is that these low income groups include a growing proportion of white immigrants from the countryside, who bring to the cities their rural attitudes and their strong attachment to racial prejudice. The result may be--and I repeat, may be--that southern cities will not over the next decade or so be liberalizing centers, but will turn in various ways toward sharper opposition to social change. This is more likely to happen, if at all, in a few cities rather than generally, and Birmingham and Montgomery as examples of harsh race relations, and Dallas and Houston as examples of anti-libertarian zeal, ought to be sufficient demonstration that cities can generate a specially intense sort of reactionary spirit. But, at the very best, factional or party politics in many of our cities will tend to become increasingly permeated by the conflict of attitudes regarding race.

¶. The prediction may be hazarded that the social scientist of the future will find that the effective cause of the spread of the 1960 sit-ins was a profound impatience over the rate of change, and that the single largest factor in that was disillusion and disgust over the progress of school desegregation. Agreement with this observation has led a number of voices to proclaim that Negroes are shifting their main hopes from the courtroom to direct action, and that henceforth undaunted youths and not graying lawyers will lead. How people interpret to themselves what they are doing is always important, though not always of first importance; events often follow their own logic and not the motivations of their participants, a fact

which historians understand better than do social scientists as a whole. At any rate, I shall not presume to explain what the temperament and outlook of the student demonstrators is; others have already done that in quantity, and I doubt that anything I could say would relieve the present confusion. One thing, though, would seem clear: on any rational comprehension, impatience would be directed not at the method of legal attack on segregation but at the white power-holders who have evaded the law. Instead of saying, as so many have, that the sit-ins represent a new strategy, would it not be more reasonable to regard them as opening up a new front? Instead of announcing that the sit-ins meant a downgrading of the courtroom struggle, would it not be more reasonable to recognize that litigation is not an effective means for desegregating lunch counters, and that sit-ins are not an effective means for desegregating schools?

8. On the other hand, we do the cause of racial equality no good if we are too timid to discuss its potential problems. One of these is the possibility of organizational rivalry--the ancient curse of liberal movements. Up to the present, the campaign for Negro rights has had a certain simplicity. The principal arena was the courtroom, the immediate objectives were chosen by the lawyers, and the argument always was an appeal to the Constitution. This was a very simple program, and there was little in it to cause factional jealousies or divisions beyond occasional grumbling over this or that legal maneuver. I do not, of course, mean to say that work for racial equality was confined to the courtroom; I only point out what is the fact that the legal fight was the spearhead and acknowledged as such. Now the sit-ins have thrown a tremendous effort into an extra-legal movement. The field is open for honest disagreement over objectives, methods, and leaders. To maintain their old unity will be a real test for the liberal forces who have supported the N.A.A.C.P.

9. I suspect that even those of us actively engaged in race relations work do not always sense what a tremendous and complex problem it is. I believe it will become more so as throughout the

country and the world the primary task of racial reform changes from equalization to cultural assimilation. The Negro communities of the South are not today well equipped with the social organization seemingly required by modern society. This is true of urban as well as rural Negroes. There is fertile soil here for new organizations--new instruments of leadership--and for the continuous adaptation of old organizations to new problems.

10. The Tallahassee study by Lewis M. Killian and Charles U. Smith, modest though it was, is most provacative.* They found that not one of the six persons regarded by whites and Negroes as the Negro leaders of Tallahassee before the bus boycott was ranked by either whites or Negroes among the first five post-boycott leaders; and that not one of the five post-boycott leaders was ranked among the first ten in pre-boycott days. This is the old story, familiar to all students of social change, that new objectives claim new leaders. It is hard to believe that the Tallahassee development is fully typical, but something like it, if less drastic and abrupt, seems to be occurring over the South.

11. Yet as Killian and Smith also imply, protest is one thing and reform is another. There is some evidence in the stories of how a number of southern cities have desegregated lunch counters to suggest that the older Negro leadership and the protest leaders can and do fruitfully complement eachother, though coordination and mutual trust have sometimes been hard come by. My guess would be that this is the true interpretation. Negro leadership in the South is being broadened by an infusion of new elites. In the meaning of Pareto and Mosca, the established leadership generally is giving evidence not of its demise but of its health, as shown by its ability to open its ranks to new talents.

12. There has been a great deal of talk about the "new Negro." I hope there will not be a great lot more, and that social scientists will not succumb to the term and try to elevate it into a concept. It is, or so it would seem to me, after all rather condescending to herald the young man or woman acting responsibly in defense of his

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* "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," Social Forces, March, 1960.

or her own dignity as a "new Negro." It is patronizing of him and belittling of the labor and ideals of the older Negroes. What would one expect? Should social scientists or liberals be as surprised as is the tradition-minded South to observe educated people asking to be treated as such? I must confess to a certain amount of intellectual squeamishness about the present preoccupation in scholarly as well as journalistic circles with interpreting the Negro personality. That last phrase I used advisedly, because I want to make emphatic my belief that there is usefulness in scientific analysis of Negro behavior and motivation. What seems to me objectionable is the non-scientific, dilettantish examination of the Negro as if he were some curiosity, which is only a variation of the way the traditional South discussed him. We can't all be scientists, but we all can know when to keep our mouths shut. If I need to make my point any clearer, I would say that the effect of most of the pseudo-philosophizing about the "new Negro" is, to put it bluntly, the creation of new stereotypes.

13. Social movements tend to require symbols. In a most tentative way, one can by now believe that the Montgomery bus boycott and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. have made the Negro populace of the South deep, symbolic impressions.

14. The focus of the sit-ins on lunch counters has been frequently treated as a mere tactic or as the occasion for facetious punditry. The treatment often has been to belittle the immediate objective--the cup of coffee, the hot dog, the doughnut--and to say that it represents only a convenient issue. Of course there are wider aims inherent in the movement. But the casual cup of coffee is important in itself. It is one of the myriad amenities taken for granted by white persons and denied the Negro. It is one of the multitude of minor slights and deprivations which Negroes feel, one should imagine, as intensely as they do the great denials. On the day I write this I had for lunch cheese blintzes and sour cream; I may be wrong, but I doubt that there is a place in Atlanta or the whole state of

Georgia where a Negro could buy blintzes. This is not a trivial matter when we see it as a rightful part of an issue which looms clearly in front of our society. Whenever we have discussed equality we have usually tended to think of the equality of public facilities and public rights. But there is also the question of the freedom of every individual to enjoy all the pleasures and the concerns of his culture. The state anti-discrimination commissions are an approach to this problem; but there are good grounds for doubting that, racial biases aside, southern political theory will embrace such a solution. Is there any other? Is it at all possible that something we are witnessing now in the South is and will increasingly become an alternative to the anti-discrimination agency? Reflect on the devices which are being employed: protest demonstrations; negotiations between white business men and Negro representatives; the creation of official and semi-offocial race relations committees; mediation by local, state, and national administrators. Could these same devices be effectively used in the South over the whole gamut of problems which in the North and West are dealt with by anti-discrimination agencies? If so, would they represent an inferior method? Are the regular procedures of the commissions necessarily to be preferred to the public excitement produced by the protests? Or does a democratic society derive a beneficial tonic from the direct confrontation of people and issues, as long as violence is avoided?

15. The sit-ins challenged the South a second time to form new policies to meet a new demand. When the Supreme Court in 1954 and 1955 required school desegregation the South responded with massive resistance. When the students this year demanded equality at the lunch counters, the South has responded considerably better. Many stores in an impressive number of cities outside the Deep South have desegregated. This has been satisfying not only to the Negro youth who have had the sweet experience of success; for white southerners of good will there also has been the rare satisfaction of seeing themselves "handle" a racial controversy and bring it to an agreeable solution without outside intervention. Of particular interest* has

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* Over and beyond, i.e., the amazing intricacy of the process as it

(continued page 10)

been the ingenuousness of the students and the determined role-playing of the merchants. The students' innocent and vague perception of the durability and inertia of custom, and of the maze which surrounds the levers of decision making, has been a constant strength and an occasional handicap. They have ventured where older heads would not have, and in the outcome proved again that youth is not always inferior to age in practical wisdom. On the other hand, there has been in some places an evident interval of discouragement, when students found their moral appeal and the economic pressures which they mobilized to be not enough to effect a quick victory.

The merchants and the business communities generally have almost invariably responded to sit-ins by a disclaimer of responsibility. They too have been ingenuous. For they have not seen their role as civic captains to embrace leadership of social practices; this is not the role they have assigned themselves, and they have shied mightily from assuming it. I suspect that at least a significant part of their reluctance has had nothing to do with race relations or fear of economic reprisals if they desegregate; mixed with these has been a sincere distaste to act, gua businessmen, in this or any other field of social practice in a way that makes them conspicuous and which forces on them the exercise of a power which they would prefer to think they don't have.

16. Could the movement have been crushed had local and state authorities chosen to overwhelm it with force? What would have been the effect on it had mobs, without official sanction, rioted in more places than they did? Can von-violent protest attain a practical objective where the rights of demonstrators are not protected by impartial law enforcement? In only one city (Nashville) where violence and official repression greeted the protests was there a settlement during the first six months. Interesting too is the

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unravels in a large city: as one watches, one's feelings vacillate between impatience--"why won't they do this simple thing?" --and an apprehension that this is the way the game of decision making has to be played out. A chronicle of the play in one or several cities--say Atlanta, Richmond, Houston, Dallas, or Nashville--ought to be an illuminating chapter in the study of social control, and one hopes that a talented social scientist will someday write it.

apparent fact that the bombing of Mr. Z. A. Looby's home was the catalyst which shocked business and political heads of Nashville into a disposition to reach a settlement. In later months, desegregation has been achieved in Chattanooga and Portsmouth, in both of which there had been considerable disorder; in neither place, however, had the city's law enforcement power been directed against the Negroes.

17. As is appropriate for a movement rooted in a demand for justice, its participants have had to confront and resolve various ethical issues inherent in their own activity. One example is the question of fairness in the singling out of certain types of establishments, or of singling out for special pressure a particular chain, or a particular store. Another example is the question of fairness in picketing or boycotting the northern stores of a chain in order to induce it to change its southern practices. Another, and most important of all, is the issue of the legitimate uses of civil disobedience. Both the morally jaundiced and the morally self-confident may regard such questions as dilatory; I think they are not. There is no easy answer to them. What is important is the faithfulness of the participants to their own ethical standards, and their constancy in carrying on a dialogue with themselves about the quality of the means which they employ. Whether this is done may well determine the durability of the movement.

18. The issues brought to head by the movement have ramified in a number of directions, and this too is typical of all really important social events. Already, for example, we have had sharply presented questions of academic freedom, of the Christian tension between obligation to conscience and law, of the degree of control of colleges over their students; ~~questions of law, of the degree of control of colleges over their students;~~ questions of law enforcement methods and principles; questions of the obligations incurred by states and localities in accepting federal financial aid. The movement has made tracks through many fields other than its own battlefield of segregation.

19. The prediction was sometimes made that the sit-ins would arouse Negro southerners to make a more determined effort to apply for admission of their children to desegregated schools. This has not yet happened, except perhaps in Nashville.

20. There has been of late years intensive concern with matters such as conformity, weakness of national purpose, political apathy, and anomie. If values and purposes are in decline, one explanation might be the disappearance of tensions and conflicts within our society. Despite the ferocity of our time, we live, in a sense, in a marking-time age. Our finest political energies have in the past been given to horizontal struggles within our own civilized order, contests wherein parts of our societies have engaged each other. The extinction of slavery, the humbling of the nobility, the correction of an over-powerful church, the shattering of royal absolutism, the repudiation of plutocracy and the extension of economic benefits--to such ends have the vitality and the talents of our ancestors and some of us been directed. Now there remain but scraps of unfinished business from these historic great causes, random skirmishes yet to be fought. A good part of current despair and cynicism, perhaps most of it, can be traced to the absence of battles that are really challenging to mind and spirit. In the United States we had a last burst of enthusiasm during the New Deal period of the 1930's. The citadels of economic privilege fell surprisingly easily, and the enthusiasm died almost before it was snuffed out by the exigencies of war; when our post-war President tried to revive it, we found that people were not really interested any longer. For a great cause has to have more to recommend it than simply the satisfaction of an appetite for more goods by those who already have considerable; it has to have at its center a protest at injustices deeply felt. We mark time now, waiting for new issues to arise and claim our allegiance. The old horizontal struggles within our societies have been replaced by vertical contests of West vs. East, of constitutionalism vs. dictatorship, of freedom vs. Communism. For western peoples, these state-led struggles do not elicit the same spirit.

But an exception is the American Negro. He has his battle and it claims his energies. In a parasitic but not therefore unmanly way others of us derive purpose from joining his cause. In the process, we come to see that the Negro revolt against injustice is a movement which can operate, and to some extent is operating, as a cleansing agent for many institutions and values of American life.